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METAL-WORKING IN HOMER¹

IN discussing the transition from bronze to iron in Anatolia, Dr. Stefan Przeworski incidentally identifies Homeric conditions with the stage in the historical development of metallurgy which he calls Chalcosideric.² Professor Nilsson and Miss Lorimer³ have argued briefly but effectively that the poems contain elements from different periods; but belief in an historical 'Homeric Society' dies hard and justifies a more detailed examination of all the references to metals in the poems.

Przeworski's transitional age began about 1300 B.C. in Anatolia and about a century later in Greece; in both it ended about 700 B.C. Before it began, bronze was the useful material for all industrial purposes, and the rare uses of iron were ornamental or magical. After it ended, iron was the normal industrial material, and the more malleable bronze was used for fine work or elaborate modelling. The characteristics of the intermediate period are: 1. Imitation of Late Bronze Age types in iron. 2. Simultaneous appearance of bronze and iron objects of the same purpose and type. 3. Inlay of bronze objects with iron. 4. Combination in the same weapon or tool of iron working and bronze ornamental parts. 5. Addition of iron working parts to bronze objects such as cult-wagons and utensils. 6. Use of bronze rivets on iron weapons and tools. 7. Repair of bronze objects with iron parts (Przeworski 175-6.) Most of these characteristics are so technical that they are unlikely to be reflected in poetry. Moreover, so many bronze objects were in common use at all periods, including the full Iron Age, that the most significant evidence may be taken to be the relative value of the metals, the relative frequency of bronze and iron weapons and tools, and the degree of familiarity shown with the methods of the forge as distinct from the foundry.

Judged by the number of times it is mentioned, χαλκός is beyond dispute the Homeric metal. If nouns, adjectives, and compounds are all included, the metals occur: ⁴

	<i>Iliad.</i>	<i>Odyssey.</i>	Total.	[<i>Iliad</i> reduced proportionately to length of <i>Odyssey</i> for comparison.]
χαλκός	322	97	418	[249]
χρυσός	131	105	236	[101]
ἄργυρος	59	43	102	[45]
σίδηρος	24	25	49	[18]
κασιτέρος	10	0	10	[8]

The only numerical difference of any importance between the two poems is that bronze and tin are mentioned comparatively seldom in the *Odyssey*. This is the main reason why references to iron are there 25½ per cent of the references to bronze, whereas in the *Iliad* they are only 7½ per cent. The 816 passages are grouped below according to use, for estimating wealth and value in Table A, for decoration and fine craftsmanship in Table B, and for armour and tools in Table C. Table D gathers together the few general references to sources and production and the metaphorical uses. Supernatural ownership has been ignored if similar things made of the same metal are also used by mortals, but objects found only in the possession of immortals or in the fairy-tale Palace of Alcinoos are marked by an asterisk. References are given for all but the most frequent and obvious uses. It is sometimes doubtful whether, for example, a weapon is made of a metal or decorated with it, but on the whole the classification provides distinct groups which may be compared with the archaeological material.

In the first group (Table A, p. 2) iron is paradoxically an indication of earliness, not of lateness. In Babylonia in the reign of Hammurabi iron was nearly thirty times more valuable in comparison with silver and fifteen to nineteen times more valuable in comparison with copper, than it was in

¹ Much of this material was used for papers read to the Manchester Branch of the Classical Association and the Oxford Philological Society in 1948. I wish to thank Dr. C. H. Desch, F.R.S., for reading an earlier draft and discussing some of the technical points with me.

² *Die Metallindustrie Anatoliens* (1939), 177. So also R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (1950), 438. Both quote Andrew Lang, *R. Arch.* VII (1906), 286, as their authority.

³ M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (1933), 139-42. H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (1950), 111-21 (hereafter *Monuments*); since this appeared, I have been able to shorten my notes considerably.

⁴ σίδηρος, as is clear in the description of tempering in 391-4, is strictly mild steel, a low carbon content being picked up from the charcoal; but the translation 'iron' is traditional, and it seems better to keep it than to vary the English word for the same metal or to use 'steel' for all the ferrous objects of Homer and the Early Iron Age. So 'bronze' is a con-

venient translation of χαλκός, though utensils were in fact copper, and copper ingots were probably preferred, since the tin content is reduced when bronze ingots are remelted. For weapons and tools the commonest alloy found is tin, usually about 3.15 per cent, but lead, arsenic, and antimony are sometimes present, apparently as alloys and not merely as impurities (Przeworski, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-110, and Hampe and Jantzen, *Jdl* LII (1937), *Bericht*, pp. 34-5). Arsenic, which is now used to give greater tensile strength to wrought metal, would also improve the hardness and toughness of hammered castings. Lead-bronze lacks hardness, but has good colour and greater malleability. Lead is mentioned in A 237 and Ω 80 as soft and heavy. In δ 73, but not in σ 460 and σ 296, ἡλεκτρον is probably the alloy of gold and silver. All numbers refer to occurrences of words, not to objects, e.g. the same spear described four times as bronze counts as 4 and not as 1. The equals sign is used when the relevant parts of the lines are identical.

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the reign of Nabonidus.⁵ It appears frequently as a valuable material in Hittite and Egyptian documents of the Late Bronze Age and features in the plunder won by Tiglath-pileser I about 1100 B.C. and in the tribute paid to Tukulti-Ninurta II shortly after 900 B.C.; but it is not mentioned in the rich plunder of Sargon II towards the end of the eighth century, because 'iron indeed was nothing accounted of in his days.'⁶ In the Homeric epics gold is the normal metal for expressing the exact value of a price, ransom, gift, or bribe, such as the two talents which Aigisthos paid to

TABLE A
The Metals as a Form of Wealth

	Bronze.	Iron.	Gold.	Silver.
(a) General	<i>Il.</i> 13: <i>Od.</i> 12 B 226, Z 48 = K 379 = Λ 133 = ξ 324 = φ 10, H 473, I 137 = 279, 365, K 315 = Σ 289, X 50, 340, Ψ 549, ϐ 338, ε 38 = ν 136 = π 231 = ψ 341, ν 19, 368, ο 425, φ 62, x 58	<i>Il.</i> 6; <i>Od.</i> 2 Z 48 = K 379 = Λ 133 = ξ 324 = φ 10, H 473, I 366 = Ψ 261	<i>Il.</i> 18; <i>Od.</i> 20 B 229, Z 48 = K 379 = Λ 133 = ξ 324 = φ 10, H 180 = Λ 46 = γ 304, I 126 = 268, 137 = 279, 365, K 315 = Σ 289, Λ 124, X 50, 340, 351, Ψ 549, α 165, ϐ 338, γ 301, ε 38 = ν 136 = π 231 = ψ 341, θ 440, κ 35, 45, λ 327, ν 11, 218, 368, ο 207, 448, x 58	<i>Od.</i> 2 κ 35, 45
(b) Specific		<i>Il.</i> 1 Ψ 850	<i>Il.</i> 9; <i>Od.</i> 5 I 122 = 264, Σ 507, T 247 = ω 232, Ψ 269, 614, 751, 796, δ 129, 526, θ 393, ι 202 = ω 274	

Gold	<i>Iliad</i> 27, <i>Odyssey</i> 25, Total 52
Bronze	<i>Iliad</i> 13, <i>Odyssey</i> 12, Total 25
Iron	<i>Iliad</i> 7, <i>Odyssey</i> 2, Total 9
Silver	<i>Iliad</i> 0, <i>Odyssey</i> 2, Total 2
Tin	<i>Iliad</i> 0, <i>Odyssey</i> 0, Total 0

his watchman; only once is any other metal so used, in ψ 850-1, where the calculation of iron in terms of axes and half-axes seems likely to represent two different stages. Bronze axes as weights are common; iron is usually in the form of spits, but they are characteristic of Dorian countries.^{6a} Gold and less frequently bronze are also the normal measure of wealth generally; Mycenae is 'rich in gold' and Sidon 'rich in bronze,' and great wealth is twice summarised in the phrase πολύχρυσος πολύχαλκος.⁷ Silver is hardly used in this connexion; it appears only in the two lines of the *Odyssey* in which the bag of Aiolos is supposed to contain 'gold and silver.' The iron which in H 473 is one of the things which the Achaeans barter for wine need not be thought of as a particularly valuable commodity, especially as gold does not appear in the list; but both⁸ the places in the *Odyssey* where iron is a form of wealth and five of the seven places in the *Iliad* consist of two repeated lines, χαλκός τε χρυσός τε πολύκητος τε σίδηρος and ἡδὲ γυναῖκας ἐυζώνους πολίων τε σίδηρον. In these lines iron has a recognised place side by side with gold and other valuables in the assessment of wealth.

There is no trace of the decorative use (Table B, p. 3) of iron, common in the east at the time when the metal was esteemed along with gold and attested for the Mycenaean area by small finds from sites from Syria to Boeotia.⁹ The tin bosses on the shield of Agamemnon and the tin fittings on the chariot of Diomedes have no archaeological parallels. Tin conical studs or buttons and a boss were found on a site near Volterra said to be contemporary with the Early Helladic period,¹⁰ but this is chronologically and geographically remote from a shield which, with its crowded design and numerous bosses, most resembles the Cretan shields of the Early Iron Age.¹¹ The θώρηξ which Achilles took from Asteropaios, χάλκεον, ᾧ περί χεῦμα φαεινοῦ κασσιτέριοι ἀμφιδέδνηται, sounds like tinplate, though on a base of bronze and not, like the modern tin can, on a thin sheet of mild steel. So the gold and tin οἱμοί of the θώρηξ of Agamemnon can only be a facing of the soft metals on a stronger base. Since the melting point of tin is extremely low, there would be no technical improbability in the coating of bronze with tin to give a silvery surface, and the tinned bronze plates on an iron helmet from Sutton Hoo¹² show that such a surface might be preferred to the natural colour of bronze; but there is no evidence for the practice in the Aegean. It is possible that the bosses and chariot fittings were also tinned, and that these passages reflect an experiment made at a time when precious metals were scarce. Bronze gleams beside gold, silver, electron,

⁵ See Przeworski, *op. cit.* p. 149 for table of relative prices, based on the evidence of the Cuneiform texts given by Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* I, pp. 363 ff.

⁶ G. A. Wainwright, *The Coming of Iron*, *Antiquity* X, p. 21. See also Przeworski, *op. cit.* pp. 140-1 and references in the notes.

^{6a} Regling, *RE* VII 973-6.

⁷ Specified weights were presumably in bar form, but certainly in ο 448, cf. 469, and probably in most of the other places where gold or bronze are joined to clothing, cattle, and slave-girls, the wealth in metal would be in manufactured form, as much of it was in the fifth century, *Thuc.* II. 13. 4-5 and VI. 46. 3.

⁸ φ 61-2 sounds like, and perhaps originally was, a general description of wealth, but in φ 81 it is limited to mean the iron axes.

⁹ *Monuments*, 111-15.

¹⁰ *Palace of Minos* II, pp. 169-70. Dr. Desch drew my attention also to a bangle of pure tin which he identified among the finds from Thermi, Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi*, pp. 165, 171-3, 215. It also is Early Bronze Age.

¹¹ *Monuments*, 189-91.

¹² *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial*, p. 25. I am told that such surface tinning would occur accidentally when tin was worked with new bronze or iron implements.

and ivory in the decorations of the Palace of Menelaos. Since there is no evidence for wall decoration of metal in Mycenaean palaces, it could hardly be a genuine tradition from the Bronze Age, but it might be a mistake arising from the later discovery of an unpillaged Tholos Tomb adorned with gilded bronze rosettes. There is a greater resemblance to the bronze plates and heavy bronze nails found in the Hieron of Athene Chalkioikos, and though these cannot be shown to have belonged to the Geometric sanctuary, there is in Athens Museum bronze plating which seems to have covered

TABLE B
Metals as Material for Decoration and Fine Craftsmanship

	Bronze.	Gold.	Silver.	Tin.
(a) Utensils	<i>Il.</i> 2 + 1*; <i>Od.</i> 4 χαλκός = cauldron: Σ 349 = κ 360, θ 426, τ 469. Tri- pods: ο 84, κά- νων: Α 630, κά- ραμος: Ε 387*	<i>Il.</i> 13; <i>Od.</i> 23 + 2* δέπας: Δ 3, Ζ 220, Ψ 196, Ω 101, 285 = ο 149, Υ 41, 472, κ 316, σ 121, υ 261. ἀλυσον: Α 774, Υ 50 = 53, θ 431, ο 85, χ 10. κύπελλον: Γ 248, 1670, α 142 = 558, κ 357. κρατήρ: Ψ 219, πρόχοος: α 137 = 553 = η 173 = κ 369 = ο 136 = ρ 92. λήκυθος: 379 = 215. φιάλη: Ψ 243, 253. ἀμφι- φορεύς: Ψ 92, ω 74. λάρναξ: Ω 795. λύχνον: τ 34.* κάμινον: κ 355*	<i>Il.</i> 1 + 1*; <i>Od.</i> 16 κρατήρ: Ψ 741, 5615 = ο 115, 1203, κ 357, ο 104 = 122, ω 275. Μῆνης: α 137 = 553 = η 173 = κ 369 = ο 136 = ρ 92. δασύμητος: 8128. τάλαρος: δ 125, 132. λάρναξ = tool-box: Σ 413*	—
(b) Ornaments	<i>Il.</i> 3; <i>Od.</i> 1 On chariots: Δ 226 = Κ 322 = 393. On houses: 572	<i>Il.</i> 16 + 14*; <i>Od.</i> 11 + 18* On chariots: Κ 438, Ψ 503. On houses: δ 73. Hair: Π 52. Pins: Ε 425, Ξ 180, σ 294, τ 226. Beads: ο 460, σ 296. Zoomorphic: Α 635, τ 230. Studs: Α 246, Α 30, 633. On furniture: ψ 200. Rivets: Μ 297. Gifts to gods: γ 274, π 185. Sceptres: Α 15 = 374, Β 268, λ 91, 569. Crest: Σ 612, Τ 383 = Χ 316. Girdle: ε 232* = κ 545.* Sandals: Ω 341* = α 97* = ε 45.* λ 604.* Front- lets of horses: Ε 358,* 363,* 720,* Θ 382.* Statues: η 91,* 100.* Robots: Σ 375,* 418.* Seats: Θ 436,* 442,* Ξ 239 + χρυσόβροχος: <i>Il.</i> 4*; <i>Od.</i> 11*	<i>Il.</i> 13; <i>Od.</i> 12 + 2* On chariots: Κ 438. On houses: δ 73. Hair: Π 52. ἀργυρόηλος—of sword: Β 45 = Γ 334 = Π 135 = Τ 372 = θ 416, Γ 361 = Ν 610, Η 303, Ξ 405, Ψ 807, θ 406, κ 261, λ 97—of seat: Σ 389, η 162, θ 65, κ 314 = 366, χ 341. On furniture: τ 56, ψ 200. Bridge of lyre: 1187. Tables: κ 355.* Statues: η 91*	<i>Il.</i> 2 On chariots: Ψ 503. Bosses: Λ 34
(c) Inlay on metal	—	<i>Il.</i> 7 Σ 517 bis, 549, 562, 574, 577, 598	<i>Il.</i> 2 Σ 563, 598	<i>Il.</i> 2 Σ 565, 574
(d) Overlay	—	<i>Il.</i> 9; <i>Od.</i> 9 On silver: δ 132, 616 = ο 116, 3232 = ψ 159. On horns: Κ 294 = γ 384, 426, 437. οἶμα: Α 25. Armour: Β 872, 875, Ζ 236, Θ 43 = Ν 25, Κ 439. Baldrick: Α 31, λ 610	<i>Il.</i> 4; <i>Od.</i> 3 Under gold: 3232 = ψ 159. Hilt: Α 219, θ 404. Scab- bard: Α 31. Baldrick: Λ 38, Σ 480	<i>Il.</i> 2 οἶμοι: Α 25. ῥάκη: Ψ 561

Gold	<i>Iliad</i> 45 + 14,*	<i>Odyssey</i> 43 + 20,*	Total 122
Silver	<i>Iliad</i> 20 + 1,*	<i>Odyssey</i> 31 + 2,*	Total 54
Bronze	<i>Iliad</i> 5 + 1,*	<i>Odyssey</i> 5,	Total 11
Tin	<i>Iliad</i> 6,	<i>Odyssey</i> 0,	Total 6
Iron	<i>Iliad</i> 0,	<i>Odyssey</i> - 0,	Total 0

the door of a sacred building of Geometric date. Most probably the Homeric description reflects an oriental fashion which the Greeks of the Geometric period had just begun to imitate.¹³ There are also bronze chariot fittings and vessels, as there were at all periods; probably they were too ordinary to be worth mentioning more frequently. Silver studs often appear, and especially in the *Odyssey* silver cups and bowls; otherwise the metal is not often used in decoration. Gold is used to make a greater variety of objects, but except for the post-Mycenaean dress pins and fibulae they are all appropriate to any date at which the metal was available.

Two processes are more interesting. The first is found only on the shield of Achilles. The combination of many metals to produce the effect of 'painting in metal' is best known through finds from the Shaft Graves, Dendra, and Enkomi. In the Early Iron Age a few widely scattered finds, including a bronze fibula from Thespiiai,¹⁴ have linear patterns inlaid in iron, but the precious metals are not used, and there are no pictorial designs. Both the metals and the technique used in the Bronze Age are known.¹⁵ Gold gave the yellow colour, whiter if alloyed with silver and redder

¹³ A. J. B. Wace, *BSA* XXV, p. 350; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, pp. 145 and 302. Guy Dickens, *The Hieron of Athene Chalkioikos*, *BSA* XIII, pp. 139-40. *Monuments*, 429. *BCH* LXXVII 193, with fig. 2 and Pl. XXXII.

¹⁴ Blinkenberg, *Fibulae graecae et orientales*, fig. 50.

¹⁵ *Palace of Minos* III, pp. 111-33. Karo, *Schachtgräber*,

pp. 313-16. Persson, *Royal Tombs*, pp. 48-51. Technical report by H. J. Plenderleith in *Enkomi-Asalaia* I, 381-9. Humfry Payne has shown how improbable it is that the polychrome style on vases is derived from metal-work, when the known techniques of metal-working are quite different (*Necrocorinthia*, 95, cf. 19 n. 2).

if alloyed with copper. Silver was white, and copper was occasionally used for red. Less obvious is the method of producing black, by mixing powdered sulphur with lead, copper, or silver to form the alloy known as niello; the black background of the Lily dagger from the fifth Shaft Grave is said to be a plate of iron and silver alloy. Depressions showing the patterns in blank outline were cut and hammered out of the cold bronze base. Thin plates of the inlaying metals were cut to the right shapes and hammered cold into the depressions. The niello was either applied in powder form and then fired, or first fired and cut out and then applied as a cold plate. The surface was smoothed by stoning down. In the *Iliad* the description of the shield is definite and emphatic. The poet knew that a picture in yellow, white, and black (blood is mentioned, but is not said to be red) could be shown on a metal surface by a combination of metals, and it does not seem possible that he meant anything except the craftsmanship of the great age of Mycenae. The insistence on the colour effects is inexplicable if he had in mind a design worked in a single metal, which could be lifelike in every other way but not in the differentiation of colours. There is, however, no evidence that he knew how the effects were produced and some indications that he did not. There is no hint of the delicate process itself, and the poet regards the workmanship as, in the most literal sense, miraculous. Tin, so far as is known, was never used as an inlaying material, nor was κύανος, whether it means blue glass paste or lapis lazuli. Moreover, the poet explicitly gives a wrong explanation of how black was produced when he says that the soil turned black behind the plough although it was made of gold. Such small inexactitudes might mean only that the poet had not troubled to enquire into technicalities, but since he obviously took the keenest interest in the actual processes, they suggest that the passage does not reflect the work of contemporary craftsmen, but is an imaginative reconstruction of the process of manufacture based on knowledge of a finished masterpiece. An inlaid Mycenaean bowl or dagger might have been preserved as an heirloom long after the process had been forgotten,¹⁶ but the description of such a treasure, preserved in traditional poetry, would lend itself more readily to adaptation. The Homeric parallel is confined to the use of inlay in colour and perhaps some details of the decoration; the design as a whole, with its concentric bands and balanced series of narrative scenes, is much more like the embossed or incised Cretan shields or 'Phoenician' bowls than anything known from the Bronze Age.¹⁷ The second process is the overlaying of one metal on another. It twice provides a simile, ὡς δ' ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἄνθρωπος ἰδρύς, and a bowl and a basket are silver χρυσῶ δ' ἐπὶ χέλεα κεκράνται. The gold οἶμοι of Agamemnon's θώρηξ and the gold armour of mortal heroes are presumably similar, though the armour of Zeus may be thought of as solid. The process can be carried out in two different ways.¹⁸ A silver or bronze object can be covered, wholly or partly, by gold leaf, which is attached by rivets or pressed into grooves or simply hammered flat with a wooden mallet. Silver vessels with gold linings or with strips of gold riveted to rim and handle have been found at Mycenae, Dendra, and Berbati, while the method of pressing the gold leaf into grooves is used on statuettes of Baal from Ras Shamra.¹⁹ Similar use of detachable gold leaf continued into Classical times.²⁰ On non-metallic surfaces it could be attached by an adhesive such as white of egg. For the process usually meant by gilding, however, an amalgam is produced between the gold leaf and the base by the use of quicksilver.²¹ The Egyptians used this process in the third millennium, but there is no certain example from the Greek world before the seventh century. Traces are found on a silver figurine from Chios dated to the first half of the century and on a silver fibula from Cyprus which cannot be later.²² Neither gilding nor plating, however, involves the pouring of gold in liquid form, and the aptness of the simile depends on the result, not on the process.²³ The verb κεκράνται in the phrase describing the finished products is equally appropriate to either process.²⁴ There is therefore nothing in these passages which affords evidence of date.

Armour and Tools (Table C, p. 5). On the battlefield, bronze is almost unchallenged; this is why

¹⁶ Cf. *BCH* LXXI-II (1947-48), 148 f., especially 243-9 and pl. XXV. The theoretical possibility is also shown by the presence of post-Mycenaean objects in Mycenaean tombs ('Ep. *Ap.* 1937, 377-90) and by accounts of 'Treasures' (e.g. Paus. ii. 16. 6, ix. 36. 5, 38. 2, 37. 5 f.).

¹⁷ J. L. Myres, *JHS* LIII (1933), 29.

¹⁸ Blümner in *Famby-Wissen* RE VII, cols. 1575-7.

¹⁹ Persson, *Royal Tombs*, p. 50, and *New Tombs*, pp. 89-91. Schaeffer, *Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra Ugarit*, Pl. XXXIII and XXXV. I.

²⁰ Homer Thompson, *Harvard Studies*, Suppl. Vol. I, pp. 183 ff.

²¹ Cf. K. C. Bailey, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on Chemical Subjects*, Part I, *Nat. Hist.* XXXIII. 64-5, 100 and 123. Dr. Desch tells me that *argentum vivum* and *hydrargyrum* are the same product, the former natural, the latter distilled from cinnabar.

²² *BSA* XLII, p. 88, fig. 5 and p. 89. Myres, *Handbook of the Cernool Collection*, p. 382, no. 3209.

²³ γέω and its compounds are generally used of liquids or of solids thought of as fluid, e.g. a stream of people or grain, a shower of leaves or feathers. But the idea of 'pouring from above' (M 284) passes easily into the simple idea of 'covering' (Ξ 114, Φ 319, π 47). There is little resemblance

to water in the heaped bodies of geese and sheep (τ 539, E 141), still less in a wooden breastwork (ε 257). So in O 364 and 473 σπύγεα is used both of knocking down sand-castles and of breaking a bow. The use of περιχεύεται does not mean that the poet had in mind the pouring of liquid gold. Blümner suggests that χρυσόχοος, used in γ 425 with χαλκός as an alternative, means either 'gilder' on the analogy of περιχέωται or 'gold-melter', because the goldsmith would generally use gold scrap which had to be melted down; it does not mean that 'gold-pourer' was the way to describe a 'gilder'.

²⁴ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀντίστροφου ἢ κεισθαι, Schol. κραίω in Homer means 'carry out' a promise, threat, etc., once 'hold away', but the use here is appropriate, especially if the word is connected, by true or false etymology, with κράς, cf. Soph. *O.C.* 473. So Bechtel, *Lexilogus*. Even if it were part of κράννω, it could hardly mean more than a combination of two metals. The verb in Homer is always used of mixing drink or bath-water. It would be the exact term for 'alloy' and means 'adulterate' in ἀργυρίῳ . . . πρὸς χαλκόν καὶ μάλυδον κεραιμένην (Dem. XXIV. 214). Quicksilver produces a thin layer of alloy between the base and the outer skin, but the poet could not be supposed to know this.

TABLE C
Armour and Tools

	Bronze.	Iron.	Gold.	Silver.	Tin.
(a) Armour					
(i) Offensive					
Spearheads	<i>Il.</i> 148; <i>Od.</i> 45 + 1 * δόρυ, etc.: [<i>Il.</i> 61; <i>Od.</i> 18]. χαλκός: [<i>Il.</i> 39; <i>Od.</i> 3].	<i>Il.</i> 3; <i>Od.</i> 2	<i>Il.</i> 2 *	<i>Il.</i> 13 *; <i>Od.</i> 3 *	
Arrow-heads	ίός, etc.: N 650, 662, O 465, α 262, φ 423. χαλκός: Θ 86	σίδηρος: Δ 123			
Swords	ξίφος, etc.: Γ 335 = Π 136 = Τ 373, Θ 403, κ 262, τ 241, χ 80. χαλκός: Ρ 126, Φ 455, σ 86, φ 300, Χ 475		Ε 309, * Ο 256 *		
Battleaxe	N 612	H 141, 144			
Mace					
Club	λ 575 *				
Bow				Α 49, * Ω 605 * + ἀργυρότοξος: [<i>Il.</i> 11; <i>Od.</i> 3]	
Unspecified	χαλκός: [<i>Il.</i> 38; <i>Od.</i> 15]	σίδηρος: π 294 = τ 13			
(ii) Panoply	<i>Il.</i> 49; <i>Od.</i> 7 τύχηα, etc.: [<i>Il.</i> 9]. κορύσ- σαιο νόσφι χαλκῷ: H 206, Π 130. κροθυθμίνος χαλ- κῷ: [<i>Il.</i> 9; <i>Od.</i> 1]. χαλκο- κορυστής: [<i>Il.</i> 9]. χαλκός: [<i>Il.</i> 19; <i>Od.</i> 6]. ἱρκαί χαλκίω: O 567				
(iii) Defensive	<i>Il.</i> 72; <i>Od.</i> 8 ἀσπίς: Γ 348 = Ρ 44, Λ 33, Μ 295, Ν 406, 804, Υ 275. σάκος: H 220, 223, 246, 259, 267, Ρ 268, Ξ 11, Υ 271. Βοίαι: Ρ 493		<i>Il.</i> 4 + 2 * Θ 193, Υ 268 = Φ 165, Υ 272. Aegis: Ω 21 *	<i>Il.</i> 1	<i>Il.</i> 2
Shields					
Helmets	Γ 316 = Υ 861 = κ 206, Ζ 469, H 12, Κ 31, Λ 96, 351, Μ 183 = Ρ 294 = Υ 397, Μ 184 = Υ 398, Ν 341, 714 = O 535, σ 378 = χ 102, χ 111 = 145, ω 523		Ε 744 *		
Body-armour	θώραξ: Ν 372 = 398, Υ 561 χιτών: Ν 440. χαλκοχι- τωνες [<i>Il.</i> 30; <i>Od.</i> 2]. χαλκοθωρήκων: Δ 448 = Θ 62. χαλκοσμήμβες: H 41			ζωστήρ: Λ 237	Greaves: Σ 613, Φ 592
General	Μ 463, Ν 191, Ξ 25, Χ 322		<i>Il.</i> 5 + 1 * ἀχίς: Δ 133 = Υ 415. Bowtip: Δ 111. Ring of spear: Ζ 320 = Θ 495. Tassels of aegis: Β 448	<i>Il.</i> 4 Clasps of greaves: Γ 331 = Λ 18 = Π 132 = Τ 370	
(iv) Accessories					
(b) Tools					
Axes and Adzes	<i>Il.</i> 9; <i>Od.</i> 11 πίλοις: ι 235. χαλκός: N 180, Φ 37, Υ 118, ι 162, 244, θ 507, ξ 418, σ 309, ψ 196	<i>Il.</i> 4; <i>Od.</i> 12 Simile: Δ 485, 1393. Axes: τ 587 = φ 97 = 114, 127, φ 3 = 81 = ω 168, φ 61, 328 = ω 177	<i>Il.</i> 9; <i>Od.</i> 1 + 8 *	<i>Od.</i> 1 + 1 *	
Knives	χαλκός: Α 236, Γ 292, 294, Τ 266, κ 532 = λ 45, μ 173	σίδηρος: Σ 34, Υ 30			
Farm tools		Υ 834			
Miscellaneous	Fish-hook: Π 408. Grater: Λ 640. Key: φ 7	Chains: α 204	Chains: Ν 36, * Ο 20, * Scales: Θ 69 * = Χ 209, * Distaff: Π 183, * Υ 70, * δ 122, * 131. Shuttle: ι 62, * Door- hook: η 90, * Goad: Θ 44 * = Ν 26, * Wand: [<i>Od.</i> 5 *]. Rope: Θ 19 *	Door-hook: α 442. Cord: κ 24 *	

Bronze	.	.	.	.	<i>Iliad</i> 278,	<i>Odyssey</i> 71 + 1, * Total 350
Gold	.	.	.	.	<i>Iliad</i> 9 + 14, *	<i>Odyssey</i> 1 + 8, * Total 32
Silver	.	.	.	.	<i>Iliad</i> 5 + 13, *	<i>Odyssey</i> 1 + 4, * Total 23
Iron	.	.	.	.	<i>Iliad</i> 7,	<i>Odyssey</i> 14, Total 21
Tin	.	.	.	.	<i>Iliad</i> 3,	<i>Odyssey</i> 0, Total 3

it is more common in the *Iliad*. Defensive armour is discussed by Miss Lorimer in *Monuments*, 132-254, where references not given here will be found. The Minoan-Mycenaean body-shield had no metal face, and metal corslet and greaves were not worn with it, as their absence from the rich and undisturbed burials at Mycenae and Dendra, and now at Knossos,²⁵ proves. At most, metal rivets may sometimes have been used instead of stitching,²⁶ and plated belts may have produced the sharp contours seen on some figurines.²⁷ Two types of bronze helmet are, however, now known. The Dendra example,^{27a} slightly resembling the more shapely helmets on the Boxer Rhyton, is otherwise unparalleled. The L.M. II find from near Knossos is the normal conical helmet of the period with a thin, bronze facing.²⁸ In the armour which became general some time after the fall of Knossos, the small shield seems not to have been metal-faced. No faces have been found, and no representation needs to be interpreted as metal, and though the negative evidence is here less strong, this is consistent with what we know of countries which may have influenced Greece. A bronze cheekpiece from Ialysos²⁹ is similar to those of the Knossos bronze helmet. The type may be less rare than actual finds suggest; some may have been missed in excavations, since not everyone would recognise and reconstruct such fragile fragments, and some of the helmets represented without indication of material may be of metal.³⁰ It remains true, however, that the thin bronze facing was only one way, and not apparently a common way, of covering the non-metallic helmets of the period. Two foreign types of corslet are found on the fringe of the Mycenaean world, a scale corslet, long and belted with short sleeves and collar, which was current in Asia and Egypt from the fifteenth century and is worn by a royal huntsman on an ivory box from Enkomi in the thirteenth, and a 'lobster' corslet, made of bands covering the trunk from belt to neck, which is worn both by the sea-raiders at Medinet Habu and by the griffin-slayer from Enkomi. The latter was worn over a chiton which appears to have metal plates on the skirt. Mainland armour resembles that of the eastern Aegean so closely that the scale or lobster corslet would be expected there too, but the evidence for it is inadequate. There was a short, stiff garment, but nothing indicates that it was covered with scales.³¹ A bronze collar from the transitional city of refuge at Karphi, however, which probably belonged to a scale corslet, may be evidence for their use in L.M. III rather than in the later period, since the settlement continues Bronze Age traditions with few innovations which can be called Protogeometric.³² No scales have been found, on the mainland or in Crete or Cyprus. A different type of corslet is shown on the Warrior Vase and Stele and on a few sherds.³³ A waist-length upper garment is worn over a short, sleeveless chiton, both sometimes covered with regular white dots which can only represent metal discs. Stripes down front and back, best seen on the Warrior Vase, are explained as lacing down the sides, not very satisfactorily, since similar stripes are shown along the hem of the chiton, and the horns on the helmet are drawn in their true perspective. The sharp curve and the emphatic separation of the striped area from the rest of the garment suggest rather protective plating or padding. A fragment of cloth fourteen layers thick from a Mycenaean burial is thought to be part of a corslet.³⁴ On the mainland leggings are conspicuous and non-metallic. I do not think that the long leggings with knee-guards on the Mycenaean frescoes, coming right up to the crook of the knee behind and tied there, could have been worn if they had been of metal;³⁵ possibly the unusual white colour represents padded linen. Bronze greaves are known from Cyprus at a time when the island was in contact with Myc. IIIB-C but had developed a highly individual culture, especially in the use of metals.³⁶ There is thus evidence from the Late Bronze Age for three types of body armour made wholly or partly of metal, one of them at least worn by Mycenaeans on the Mainland, and for bronze helmets and greaves of the same shape as those made of other materials, but no evidence for bronze shield faces.

²⁵ P. de Jong and M. S. F. Hood, *Late Minoan Warrior-graves*, in *BSA* XLVII, 243-77.

²⁶ *Ib.* 251 and Pl. 52. b. cf. Karo, *Schachtgräber*, Pl. XXIV no. 35, 116 and 241. Some of the rivets from the Shaft Graves may have been used for the same purpose.

²⁷ *Ib.* 260.

^{27a} *Monuments*, 225-7, and Pl. XIII. 2.

²⁸ *BSA* XLVII, 256 and Pl. 50-2.

²⁹ *Monuments*, 211, 226 and Pl. XIII. 1.

³⁰ E.g. on the badly-worn sherd shown *Röm. Mitt.* 59, 185.

³¹ Compare now a similar ivory from Old Paphos, *ILN* May 2, 1953, p. 710, fig. 8.

³² *Monuments*, Pl. XII. 2, and possibly 1. On the sherd from Schliemann's dump, A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae*, Pl. 71. c. I, the chiton may originally have been fringed, as in *Monuments*, Pl. II. 3.

³³ *BSA* XXXVIII, 136-41.

³⁴ To the examples in *Monuments* 200-1, add *AA* 1927, 251.

³⁵ Studniczka, *Ath. Mitt.* XII, 21 f. and fig. 4.

³⁶ Rodenwaldt, *Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*, 39, fig. 20 and plate at end.

³⁷ Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus* 51. These and other bronze greaves will be discussed by Mr. Hector Catling in an article to appear shortly in *Opuscula Atheniensia*, to which he has kindly given me permission to refer. He has convinced me that they

are Mycenaean and have parallels on the Mainland. Since, however, they still seem to be less common than the type on the Warrior Vase, I do not think that the conclusions reached on p. 8 below are affected. As evidence that bronze greaves were characteristic of the 'Achaeans' whom Merneptah defeated, reference is sometimes made (e.g. C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia I* (1952) 342) to de Roudé in *Rev. Arch.* XVI (1867), 44, repeated by H. R. Hall. De Roudé tentatively suggested 'épées, poignards, cuirasses et cnémides, et ustensiles divers' as translation of a mutilated passage (= Mariette, *Karnak*, Pl. 55. Col. 61) describing booty taken from the non-Libyan invaders. Cnémides translates the sign for razors (Budge, *Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, (1920) CXXXVIII) and is interpreted by Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, (1906) III, 251, as 'knives of copper'. The cuirasses are obtained by ignoring a lacuna and taking *tcharna* as a $\delta\pi\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ variant for *tharin* = Hebrew corslet (Budge, s.v. 851, 899, following *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bib. Arch.* X (1888), 472. I owe these references to Professor J. Černý.) In any case the '--- and copper razors' were captured from '---, ---, -men, Meshwesh, ---'. The Akaywash, Akai-washa, Ekwesh, or 'A-qi-w -ša, with the other non-Libyans probably appeared in the lacuna, but the unknown equipment was not characteristic of them in particular. If further discoveries show that bronze greaves were typically Mycenaean, it will increase the probability that their absence from the poems

We have nothing Protogeometric except bronze shield bosses from Athens and Scyros. In Egypt the scale corslet persisted, but without possibility of contact with Greece. Geometric figurines wear broad belts, sometimes ribbed and certainly of metal; there is no evidence for other body covering. A few bronze faces from shields of pre-hoplite type have been found, none securely dated before 700 B.C.³⁷ Bronze helmets are firmly attested for the end of the eighth century.³⁸ Details of equipment are given on votive shields from Tiryns, variously dated to just before or just after the end of the Geometric period.³⁹ They have helmets with stilts, one rigid, and there are none of the mistakes which usually betray familiarity with hoplites. There is therefore a strong probability that they at least reproduce pre-hoplite models, but we cannot have complete confidence in the unique features: leggings not of metal, patterned chitons with broad belts and gorgets, one of them curiously angular, very convex shields, one cross-hatched and possibly of wicker-work, others with plain faces and hatched backs which might represent a metal face on leather. Early in the seventh century hoplite armour appears on Protoattic and Protocorinthian vases. On East Greek pottery figures are rare, but where armed figures are shown the equipment is the same.⁴⁰ Helmets and greaves were always of bronze. Shields sometimes had bronze faces, but more often a bronze blazon was nailed on to a wooden shield.⁴¹ The bronze corslet of front and back plates clasped down the side was necessarily short, and was superseded, in the sixth century in East Greece, and somewhat later on the mainland, by a leather corslet with bronze studs.⁴²

There are serious gaps in this evidence, and the *argumentum ex silentio* is rightly suspect, especially as new excavations reveal exceptional objects. With good will, it is possible to force the Homeric evidence into conformity with almost any period. The following arguments are not based on firm facts, but are an attempt to use style to supplement the defective archaeological evidence. Stock epithets must, at the time of their invention, be natural descriptions of the normal attributes of the class of objects described; it is unreasonable to suppose that they could be derived from individual objects with exceptional characteristics or from objects known only among foreigners. The question to be asked is not, 'Is there any object from this period to which this description could conceivably apply?' but 'Is there any period in which this would have been a natural description for this class of things?' Such descriptions are likely to be contained in metrical phrases with fixed habits, and so may (but need not) be preserved for a long time. When there are not such metrical phrases, but in the course of the narrative objects are assumed without explanation to have certain characteristics, it is probable that they were familiar to the poet of that part of the narrative. Individual objects described as exceptional are in a category by themselves; they may preserve, with varying degrees of accuracy, the memory of obsolete types, or they may be foreign rarities known from trade or hearsay, or they may be poetic inventions. I have tried elsewhere⁴³ to show that the epithets for helmets which are stylistically 'traditional' describe non-metallic helmets of types which go back to the Bronze Age, and that the variety and irregularity of the epithets for metal suggest that they belong to a late stage of the epic language, when bronze helmets came into use again in the eighth century. A good example of the third category is the boar's tusk helmet, a unique and precise reminiscence of a normal Mycenaean type. In the same way, a tough σάκος and a round, bossed ἄσπις are 'in the tradition' and reflect the shield types which seem to have been normal

is a Geometric characteristic. The solitary χαλκοκεφαλῆς of H 41 is not in its context likely to be a genuine reminiscence of the Bronze Age. It is more probable that it appeared at a time when hoplite greaves were taken for granted and that it replaced a word which was metrically objectionable; perhaps ἡλκνήμβης, since -σι (σι βῆ κ' ἀγασσάμενοι X) very rarely retains its natural quantity in hiatus (Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 380).

³⁷ The shields from Palaikastro may be cult objects (Benton, *BSA* XXXIX, 52-64; XL, 52-4, 82). The votives (*BSA* XL, Pl. 27, 17) are more utilitarian. Omphalos shields: *Olympia* IV, Pl. 62 no. 1006-7; from Cumae, *Mon. Ant.* XIII (1903) 246, fig. 24, and fairly commonly from Italian sites; from a sixth-century warrior grave in Macedonia, Filow, *Die arch. Nekropolis von Trebenishte*, no. 122, fig. 100, 2-4. Lambda shields: *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, 25, fig. 99; from Idalion, Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* III, 869, fig. 636. Spike shield: *ib.* fig. 639. The Italian shields are discussed by A. Åkeström, *Der geometrische Stil in Italien*, 68, 102 f., 119 f., and Pl. 28; he dates the earliest to the first quarter of the seventh century, but his chronology involves lowering Thucydides' data for the foundation of Syracuse; for criticism see T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, Appendix 1, especially 466-70.

³⁸ Miss Lorimer (*Monuments*, 233) concludes from the absence of metal, except for one very small tube which may be a crest holder, in Geom. graves that helmets were of perishable material. She accepts, however, bronze Geom. helmets on: figurines from Olympia and Delphi, Pl. XVII. 3: pyxis from Argive Heraion, Pl. XVII. 2: armourer, c. 700 B.C., *AJA*

XLVIII. 1-2, fig. 1-4. This is enough for my argument, but I think that Geom. helmets with rigid stilts (*Monuments*, fig. 12, cf. similar helmets such as Matz, *Gesch. d. gr. Kunst* I Pl. 296-31) or metallic ribbing (Matz, *op. cit.* Pl. 27a, 'Apv. Δδτ. I, 273, fig. 40) and probably those with heavy crests (*Olympia* IV, Pl. 16, no. 242-3, *JdI* 14, 84 fig. 42 and 85, fig. 44) or offset contours (*A.M.* 17, 211-15, fig. 2, 3 and 4 and Pl. X. 2. *A.Z.* 1884, Pl. 9. 1, 1885, p. 131 and 139) are bronze, and that many others may be. That would take bronze helmets well back into the eighth century. The descendants of the types are clear in the seventh, stove pipe, stilted, Corinthian and conical (*BSA* XL, Pl. 31, 17, Pl. 28, 31, Pl. 32, 23, Matz, *op. cit.* Pl. 38, a, and the archaistic ribbed helmet, *ib.* Pl. 69). Montelius, *Die älteren Kulturperioden* II, p. 310 shows Assyrian helmets which might well have been thought to be non-metallic if actual examples in metal had not been found.

³⁹ Lorimer, *Monuments* 170-1, dates before 700 B.C., Hampe, *Die Gleichnisse Homers*, 38, to early seventh century, and J. M. Cook, *BSA* XXXV, 207, to after 680 B.C.

⁴⁰ Pfuhl, *Muz* III, no. 117. Conze, *Melische Thongefässe*, Pl. III, cf. *BSA* XLII, p. 88, fig. 5.

⁴¹ Hampe, *Neue Funde aus Olympia*, *Die Antike* XV, 25, 'Nur die wenigsten waren ausen ganz mit Bronze überzogen. Bei den meisten war—das hat sich jetzt herausgestellt—die hölzerne Wölbung nur mit einem Schildzeichen aus Bronzeblech beschlagen.'

⁴² Pfuhl, *op. cit.* no. 140, 218-19, 229, with comments in text. On r.f. vases it is normal.

⁴³ *CQ* LII, 109 f.

from Myc. III until almost the end of the Geometric period;⁴⁴ but in the narrative all shields are assumed to be made of several layers of leather or hide, with a bronze face. This cannot be derived from the hoplite shield, of which the distinctive feature was not a bronze face on hide but a bronze blazon on wood. It could be the single handgrip shield found in outlying districts in the seventh century, but since there is no trace in the narrative of the hoplite shield, which the Greeks themselves had by that time adopted, it is virtually certain that it represents its predecessor. The shields of Achilles and Agamemnon belong to the third category; both seem to be normal pre-hoplite types, the former poetically embellished with a reminiscence of Bronze Age inlay work, and the latter overburdened with a gorgoneion in an inorganic couplet which must be an unassimilated variant derived from its popularity in the seventh century. The stylistic behaviour of body armour is different. Firstly, fully traditional epithets of the Achaeans are χαλκοχίτωνες and ἐκνήμιδες.⁴⁵ It is most improbable that in the Geometric period poets invented epithets derived from equipment so insignificant that the artists ignored it completely, and, although they were readily applied to the hoplite, they are not natural descriptions of his short, stiff plate corslet and flashing bronze greaves. They are, however, peculiarly happy as epithets of the soldiers of the two centuries ending c. 1150 B.C. All three types of corslet are aptly called chitons, since the scales, discs, or plates cover skirt as well as upper body, and conspicuous leggings are especially characteristic of the Mycenaeans. Secondly, the narrative never presupposes metal greaves, and usually assumes that there is no strong body protection behind the shield; but in a number of places in the *Iliad* a weapon meets a θώρηξ or θώρηκος γύαλον strong enough to resist it and often explicitly or implicitly of metal.⁴⁶ As noun or compound adjective θώρηξ occurs forty-one times. (a) One line destroys the sense of an otherwise coherent piece of pre-hoplite fighting in Γ 358 = H 252 and overloads Menelaos in Δ 136. (b) Single lines or couplets can be removed without injury to sense or syntax in B 543-4, Δ 448-9 † = Θ 62-3, † Z 322, Λ 436, N 265, † 342, † Π 804 (which I suspect because Apollo's action is ludicrous) and T 361.† (c) The θώρηξ cannot be removed without some loss or considerable rewriting in B 529, 830 (where λινωθώρηξ is exceptional, but may be contrasted with leather) Δ 133 = Y 415, Δ 489, † E 282, Λ 234, 373, † (where by stopping to strip Agastrophos Diomedes gives Paris a chance to wound him), N 371, † 397, † (where χάλκεος can be removed by deleting 372 = 398 but a θώρηξ strong enough to stop a spear is in the narrative), 507 † = P 314, † N 587, † 591, † which is needed to tell what happens to Helenos' arrow and protects the similar lines E 99, † 100, 189, † which could easily be detached, Π 173, † unless 168-99 are omitted, P 606, † where at a turning point in the fight a θώρηξ strong enough to break a spear is integral in a vivid description of the use of chariots, Σ 460, which contains a useful reference to the loss of Achilles' arms and protects Σ 610, † and Ψ 819, though the whole duel in armour could be sacrificed without regret. The arming formula Γ 332 = Λ 19 = Π 133 = T 371 does not in itself indicate material. It is convenient here to add the third category of corslets described as in some way exceptional. In Γ 332-3 Paris as an archer wears no corslet, and borrows one which must fit. In Θ 195 † Diomedes' corslet made by Hephaistos comes in a detachable passage 184-97 with a team of four, wine-drinking horses which are addressed in the dual, a unique solid gold shield, and a unique belief in the almost magical efficacy of the enemy's armour; it is best regarded as an addition by a rhapsode or poet who perhaps thought Hector's ὕβρις insufficient to provoke Hera's indignation. In Λ 19-28 † Agamemnon's corslet has several connexions with the 'lobster' type seen on the Enkomi Griffin-slayer; it comes from Cyprus, it is made of bands of metal, and it covers the body above the belt (Λ 234). It seems certain that the poet is drawing on Late Bronze Age epic more freely adapted than the description of the Boar's Tusk helmet in the *Doloneia*.⁴⁶ In O 529 f. † the corslet of Meges is exotic and γυάλισιν ἀρηρότα, apparently a fine specimen of the normal type. In Ψ 560 ff. † the corslet given as consolation prize,⁴⁷ and a necessary part of the narrative of the chariot race, is inadequate without 561-2. The only exceptional greaves are made by Hephaistos (Σ 459, 613, T 369-70, Φ 592). The divine smith must

^{44a} On this page, a dagger † indicates θώρηξ certainly of metal.

⁴⁴ Since there are a few unmistakable references to the body shield, it is probable that both words go back earlier, the Greek word σάκος perhaps being the Helladic Tower-shield, ἡπὶ πύργον, and the non-Greek δάσις the Minoan 8-shield, ἀμφιβρότη and ποδηνική. What survives is a small group of phrases and details which vary the narrative without altering its course. In their duel, Aias outdoes Hector at each stage, but his actions are the same.

⁴⁵ At end of line, Ἀχαιοὶν χαλκοχίτωνων 24, so with Argives and Trojans 2 each, Epeians and Boeotians 1 each, Ἑπαιοὶ χαλκοχίτωνες Λ 694, χαλκοχίτωνος Ἀχαιοῦς K 287. N 439-40 may be a solitary survival of the same tradition; it sounds more like an adaptation of χαλκοχίτωνος to the pattern of N 371-2 = 397-8. κορυμβήμιος χαλκῶ may also belong here, and χαλκοκορυστής, which is put with it for consistency in Table C but seems in the poems to mean 'with bronze helmet'; it is used 8 times out of 9 of Hector, cf. κορυβαίολος and Z 469.

ἐκνήμιδες(-ας) Ἀχαιοί(-ους) Il. 31, Od. 5, ἑταῖροι Od. 5. κομήτιδες appear in arming scenes with θώρηξ, sword, helmet, and one (Γ 330-8, T 369-91) or two (Λ 17-46, Π 131-44) spears, but not in those with shield, helmet and single spear (E 736-47, O 125-7, 479-82). This in fact agrees with their introduction in Myc. III, though it is unexpected in passages so easily compounded of a series of formulae.

⁴⁶ Poulsen, *Der Orient u. frühgr. Kunst*, 170, notes that snakes were not a Mycenaean decorative motif. The coloured bands of the long scale corslet (*Monuments*, fig. 17) are an attractive parallel, but conflation of two Bronze Age types, though possible, is less probable.

⁴⁷ See p. 6 above. It is more probable that the poet mentioned the corslet when it was relevant and left it out when it was not (Θ 179-83) than that a rhapsode introduced it in Ψ because the blow was aimed low in Φ (*Monuments*, 204). The deduction of a corslet from wounds in the belly is doubtful. The advice given in bayonet drill to 'aim below the belt' does not imply a modern corslet.

use metal, but the choice of 'soft tin' is proof that the poet did not conceive of effective bronze greaves; he apologises for the impossibility in Φ 594, θεοῦ δ' ἥρύκακε δῶρα. Tin has no characteristic epithet. Tin bosses are once λευκοί (Λ 35), and tin-plating is once φαινός (Ψ 561). νεότευκτος (Φ 592) is neutral, but ἐανός (Σ 613) is decisive. Since bronze greaves are neither traditional nor contemporary anywhere else in the poems, the solitary χαλκοκνήμιδες must be a later adaptation, perhaps to remove a metrical peculiarity. With this exception, the poems consistently ignore the hoplite's flashing greaves. In contrast the θώρηξ is associated with metal in twenty-two of the forty-one places in which it occurs, and of these only one is objectionable and sixteen are difficult to remove; in fact, it is rather more firmly embedded in our text with metal than without. It tends to appear in the least traditional contexts, and it behaves in a less traditional way than even bronze helmets and shields,⁴⁸ so that it cannot be explained as a verbal reminiscence of the Mycenaean corslet. Miss Lorimer argues that 'the epithets and phrases which describe the corslet as of metal' are interpolations of seventh-century equipment.⁴⁹ The only other 'hoplite interpolations' which she detects are the repeated line Γ 358, etc., N 339-44, and B 542-4, and even if we admit these, the incorporation of a new piece of armour is a more serious matter. Since the epic tradition successfully resisted contamination by so much that was impressive in the new tactics, it would be odd if it had found a small, but on the whole not uncomfortable, place for one shy intruder. There is, however, no alternative if we accept the identification, made by Pausanias (X 26.5) and the scholiasts, of γύαλα with the plates of the hoplite corslet, γυάλοισιν ἀρηρότα being taken to mean 'composed of two plates' on the rather doubtful analogy of Π 212. The identification is not worth much, since it was inevitable when the plate corslet was obsolete and regarded as heroic. All that the Homeric passages require is a leather tunic fitted with bronze plates at belly, nipple, and shoulder, where the shield was likely to expose the body, and such plates, curved for the wearer's comfort, could well be called γύαλα. The interdependence of the parts of the hoplite panoply does not preclude an experimental stage; bronze helmet and blazon appear before greaves and plate corslet, and there were later experiments with 'aprons', and thigh and ankle pieces. The obvious way to meet, for instance, Asiatic archery was to strengthen the leather tunic with plates which would not interfere with mobility. The absence of plates from Geometric graves proves nothing, since they are poor in metal and there is no reason, from Homer or archaeology, to think that the dead were burnt or buried with their complete equipment. Prothesis amphorae at most show a sword, suspended above a corpse which is sometimes dressed in a shroud. Evidence from vase paintings of living figures cannot be expected, since such a corslet would not alter the silhouette. There is therefore never likely to be any evidence except the *Iliad* itself. The hypothetical adaptors bold enough to make this one innovation were too timid to introduce a recognisable hoplite corslet. They were presumably most drastic in reshaping the death of Hector. X 321 f. τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τόσον μὲν ἔχε χρῶα χαλκεα τεύχεα, etc., cf. P 194 ἀμβροτα τεύχεα δύνε, 210 Ἴκτορι δ' ἤρμωσε τεύχε' ἐπὶ χροῖ, 214 τεύχεσι λαμπρόμενος. θώρηξ is not mentioned, but on any rational reading Hector, with only his throat exposed, had bronze on his shoulders which a shield could not protect. It is simpler to admit the occasional presence of a Geometric corslet which had only begun to make its way into the tradition.⁵⁰ Small accessories are made of gold and silver, as they might be at any date when the metals were accessible.⁵¹ The gods are not bound by human laws of probability; Apollo can have silver bow and gold sword and Artemis a gold distaff. Gold is correctly used for inlay on Achilles' shield, but the poet apologises for the metal's supernatural strength, χρυσοῦς γὰρ ἐρύκακε, δῶρα θεοῖο, Y 268 = Φ 165. The only anomalies are the gold shield of Nestor,⁵² the inner layer of gold on Achilles' shield, which is inexplicable except as a misunderstanding of the use of metals when the shield was made, and the gold distaff once given to Helen. This verisimilitude is remarkable in poems where so many human possessions are of divine origin, and justifies the search for historical counterparts to objects which might otherwise be explained as poetic fantasy.

Weapons and tools are less ambiguous. If the supernatural is omitted, there are in Homer: ⁵⁴

⁴⁸ It has 13 different epithets, used only 18 times in all. θώρηκα (11) always comes before the caesura and θώρηξ (6) at the end of the line. Other cases have no preferences. καὶ θηπλόος ἦντο θώρηξ (Δ 133 = Y 415) may be a misunderstood formula.

⁴⁹ BSA XLII, 114.

⁵⁰ A late figurine, de Ridder, *Les Bronzes antiques du Louvre* I, Pl. 14, no. 124, shows a simple use of round, concave plates. Geometric bronze helmets are certain, but none has been found. Starr, *Nazi I*, 476-80 and II Pl. 126 D, J, shows fifteenth-century plates 'which could only be used when sewn on to a stout fabric or leather base'; it is known from the texts that 109-242 were needed for one garment but only 4 were found. Valetton suggested this meaning of γύαλα in *Mnemosyne* 47 (1919), 187 f. If a bronze corslet of any kind was original, it is easier to explain the inorganic lines in which it seems intrusive.

⁵¹ For the gold ring on Hector's spear see *Monuments*, 260; three of the four spears from the L.M. II warrior

graves had bronze rings, BSA XLVII, 267, no. II. 4, 271, no. III. 14, and 275 no. V. 7. *ἐπισφύρια* are unparalleled; the gold ornaments from Schliemann's Shaft Graves, as is shown by finds from the new Grave Circle, were not worn on the legs (*ILN* 6 March 1954, 365, fig. 19). *μῦτρα* and *ζωστήρες* are too obscure to be used as evidence.

⁵² See p. 8 above.

⁵⁴ The classification of χαλκός etc., depends on the context. Often there is reference to a specific weapon or tool. For cutting throats or wax, mutilating an enemy and peeling bark, a knife or dagger seems most suitable; in Γ 271 = Γ 252 Agamemnon cuts off hair with the *μήχανα* which he carries beside his sword. Perhaps Y 412, where horses are to be butchered, should go with them, but it has been grouped as 'unspecified', a class which consists almost entirely of the weapons in such phrases as θεοειγμένους δέσσι χαλκῶ, and therefore in fact mainly refers to spears. Γ 222 is a good example of ambiguity, since χαλκός is equally appropriate to the weapon in battle or to the sickle with which it is compared.

		Bronze.	Iron.
Bronze only.	Spear-heads	121	—
	Swords	12	—
	Battle-axe	1	—
	Fish-hook	1	—
	Grater	1	—
	Key	1	—
Bronze and iron.	Weapon unspecified	53	2
	Axes and adzes	9	12
	Knives or daggers	7	2
	Arrow-heads	6	1
Iron only.	Mace	—	2
	Agricultural tools	—	1
	Chains	—	1

For comparison, only a few examples need be taken. Firstly, in the full Bronze Age luxury weapons as well as small ornaments were sometimes made of iron. Few actual specimens have survived; most of the finds described by Przeworski belong to a later stage.⁵⁵ A Hurrite bronze sword, found at Nuzi in the stratum below that occupied c. 1475 B.C., has a double hilt of iron, the opposite of the Transitional Period practice of making the working parts of iron. An axe-head from Ras Shamra, with iron blade in gold-inlaid bronze socket, is not later than 1350 B.C. In the Tomb of Tutankhamon there was a dagger with iron blade and richly ornamented hilt; the other iron objects from the Tomb are an amulet and head-rest, certainly ritualistic, and sixteen miniature chisels, too thin for practical use and best explained by supposing a magical significance. An iron axe-head from Boghaz Keui is dated to the thirteenth century; so far metal finds on Hittite sites have been few. The texts are more informative. Egypt was outside the area in which iron-working developed. The gifts of Tushratta, King of the Mitanni, to Amenhotep III included 'one hand-ring of iron, overlaid with gold . . . five shekels of gold are used on it,' and 'one dagger, whose blade is of iron, whose haft is trimmed with lapis lazuli, fastened with gold . . . whose hanger is of variegated stuff, of violet-purple, twice overlaid with gold; fourteen shekels of gold are used on it.'⁵⁶ The Mitanni expected a proper return from the abundant gold of Egypt. A fragmentary letter from the reign of Hattušil III makes excuses for failure to deliver iron from Kizwatna, because 'It is a bad time to make iron.'⁵⁷ Mesopotamia, Eastern Anatolia, Syria, and Palestine were the regions where the new metal established itself most rapidly. Yet as late as c. 1100 B.C. Tiglath-Pileser I in describing his exploits mentions bronze tools and an iron weapon: 'I took my chariots and my warriors and over the steep mountains and through their wearisome paths I hewed a way with pickaxes of bronze, and I made passable a road for the passage of my chariot and my troops.' 'Four wild bulls . . . with my mighty bow, with my iron spear, and with my sharp darts, I killed.'⁵⁸ Secondly, there are the sites where bronze and iron objects of ordinary use have been found together. Provided that there is reason to think that the objects are roughly contemporary, the absolute date is not important in this connexion. In Iran, from a level at Tepe Giyan earlier than 1100, a few iron spear-heads, arrow-heads, daggers, armbands, rings, and awls were found with copious bronze weapons and tools.⁵⁹ At Tepe Sialk, in Necropolis A of the twelfth to eleventh centuries, the excavator says that bronze was used for the manufacture of weapons, mentioning daggers, spear-heads, arrow-heads, and sickles; only one dagger and one javelin-head of iron were found. In Necropolis B of the tenth to ninth centuries, both metals are freely used, often in combination; the excavator mentions spear-heads and axe-heads of bronze only, one bronze and one iron sword, many bronze and one iron dagger, arrow-heads, knives, tridents, and horse-trappings of both metals, sickles and chafes of iron only.⁶⁰ In central Anatolia, at Alişar Hüyük IV-V, spear-heads, axe-heads, knives, chisels, and fibulae of both metals were found with daggers and one sword of iron and pins, tweezers, and similar small objects of bronze.⁶¹ At Gerar in Palestine, in the levels before the destruction which Albright dates c. 950 B.C. bronze is normal, and there is nothing of iron except two knives, two spear-heads, a dagger or spear-head, and an object of uncertain use; in the later tenth-century levels bronze is mainly confined to small objects, and iron is normal not only for weapons but for large agricultural implements. At Beth-shemesh the iron finds in the earliest levels are mainly weapons, in level III-IIa of about 1000 B.C. a chisel and sickle were found, and thereafter iron implements, including agricultural tools, are normal.⁶² Coming nearer to the Greek world,⁶³ we find in the Late Cypriote III level at Idalion one sword

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 138-44 and 149-52. Cf. especially Starr, *Nuzi I* pp. 194, 470 and 475 and Pl. 125 KK, *Ugaritica I*, chap. 3, and Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen II*, Pl. LXXXVII B cf. LXXXVII B, LXXXII A and III, Pl. XXVII.

⁵⁶ Mercer, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets I* no. 22, pp. 83 and 85, cf. no. 25.

⁵⁷ Luckenbill, *A. J. Sem. Lang.* XXXVII, p. 206.

⁵⁸ *Id.*, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylon I*, no. 222, cf. no. 236 and 247.

⁵⁹ Contenau and Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Tepe Ghiyan*, p. 44, pl. 8 ff.

⁶⁰ Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk II*, pp. 9 and 45-9.

⁶¹ *OIP* XIX, figs. 360-2; XXIX, figs. 494-502; XXX, fig. 111.

⁶² For sites in Palestine see G. E. Wright, *Iron: the date of its introduction into common use in Palestine*, *AJA* XLIII, pp. 458 ff.

⁶³ L.C. III at Idalion, *SCE* II, 597 ff. C.G. generally *SCE I-III passim*. A few objects not assigned to one particular period are omitted. In the discussion of types in IV, 2, p. 212, the difficulty of fixing the chronological sequence of metal objects is emphasised.

and five knives of iron and two knives, four arrow-heads, three awls, one chisel, and one spear-head of bronze. For the island as a whole, the objects which the Swedish Expedition assign to the Cypro-Geometric period are:

		Bronze.	Iron.
C.G. I.	Spear-heads	2	2
	Fibulae	9	1
	Pins	5	—
	Knives	—	5
C.G. II.	Spear-heads	3	6
	Pins	3	2
	Shepherd's crook	1	—
	Fibulae	13	—
	Knives	—	14
	Axe-head	—	1
C.G. III.	Spear-heads	1	1
	Arrow-heads	2	33
	Pins	3	1
	Fibulae	16	—
	Shovel	1	—
	Knives	—	16
	Dagger	—	1

In Crete stratified deposits containing bronze and iron are lacking. At Karphi bronze tools (18 knives, 4 awls, 1 engraver, 2 sickles, 2 saws, and 1 adze) are more numerous than weapons (1 sword, 3 daggers, 1 spearhead, and 3 arrow-heads). Iron was used, since 1 knife, 1 fibula, and 1 nail were found in tombs with bronze fibulae, pins, rings and only one tool, and 2 fragments in the city. The excavators suggest that the newly-introduced material was too valuable to leave behind; another reason for taking the iron implements may be that they were the ones in use when the site was abandoned, but the absence of discards suggests that they had not long been common.⁶⁴ In Proto-geometric Vrokastro 7 spearheads were found close together in one room, 4 bronze, 1 bronze and iron, and 2 iron. Ch. T. 1 contained a mass of not less than 25 iron swords, knives, and daggers, and an iron axe, adze, and chisel, and Ch. T. 3 contained a bronze saw.⁶⁵ On the Greek mainland one house at Malthi contained 6 knives and 1 chisel of bronze, and 1 dagger and several blades of iron, all locally made; the site is L.H. III, but in so remote a region may be contemporary with Protogeometric elsewhere.⁶⁶ In the 59 Protogeometric burials in the Kerameikos described by Kraiker and Kübler, the objects found were: ⁶⁷

Bronze only—1 ring, 2 ornaments, 1 bowl.

Bronze and iron—spear-heads, 3 bronze, 1 iron: fibulae, 4 bronze, 1 iron: pins, bronze in 6 graves, iron in 21 graves: 3 bronze shield bosses, 1 with an iron loop.

Iron only—4 swords, 3 knives, 2 daggers, 1 arrow-head.

At Perachora from the Geometric temple of Hera Akraia and therefore not later than c. 725 B.C. came one spear-head and one dagger of iron, and one bronze fish-hook, and from the temple of Hera Limenia, not earlier than c. 750 B.C., arrow-heads, fish-hooks, and votive javelins of bronze.⁶⁸ The undatable iron objects in the later temple here and at Olympia have no significance, but it is worth noting the bronze objects found among the Olympia votives: all except 2 of c. 250 arrow-heads, numerous axes, a very small proportion of the spear-heads, no swords, knives, or sickles.⁶⁹

Clearly the poems do not represent the Mycenaean Age or the full Iron Age. They differ from the transitional period in two important ways. Firstly, iron tools did not historically precede iron weapons, frequently though the assertion has been made.⁷⁰ Przeworski notes that in many lands weapons were being made of both bronze and iron at a time when tools were still bronze.⁷¹ So R. G. Forbes says of iron in the period 1200–1000 B.C. in Asia, 'Now not only weapons but more and more agricultural implements were manufactured,'⁷² and G. E. Wright 'that at Tell el Far'ah and Gerar iron was introduced for weapons, including knives, and for jewellery in the late twelfth and eleventh centuries, while in the tenth it was also used for common agricultural implements.'⁷³ Secondly, iron was not used earlier for those implements which in Homer are sometimes of iron than for those which are always of bronze. Blades generally appear first and establish themselves as normal most quickly, probably because the technique of hammering was most suitable for them, but spear-heads are among the earliest iron finds, and become common quite as quickly as axe-heads. Iron is difficult to work and, though at first the chances of failure must have been considerable, the successful iron product was strong and efficient; the time and skill were therefore first devoted to weapons, though the intervals at which the various types emerged were not generally

⁶⁴ BSA XXXVIII, 112–22.

⁶⁵ Hall, *Vrokastro*, 103–6, 138–9, 143.

⁶⁶ *Swedish Messenia Expedition*, 102–4, 367–73; *Monuments*, 112.

⁶⁷ From the grave inventories in *Kerameikos* I and IV.

⁶⁸ Payne, *Perachora*, 69–75 and 167–90.

⁶⁹ H. Weber, *Olympische Forschungen* I, 146–71.

⁷⁰ See E. Mireaux, *Les poèmes homériques* I (1948), 298.

⁷¹ *op. cit.* 147.

⁷² *The Coming of Iron*, in *JEOL* IX, 207–14.

⁷³ *op. cit.* (n. 62 above) 460.

long. The use of bronze for arrow-heads persisted longest. The reason cannot be that the cheaper metal was used for weapons which are normally lost, since they continue after iron had certainly become cheaper than bronze. Probably it was easier to cast such fine, pointed objects, for which weight was a disadvantage, than to forge them. There is nowhere anything which corresponds with the Homeric stage of knowledge, which is familiar with iron for axes and agricultural purposes and gives it a very subordinate place for knives and arrow-heads, but allows no mention of it for swords or for the commonest of all Homeric cutting implements, the ubiquitous spear.

TABLE D
Knowledge of the Source, Nature, and Treatment of the Metals

	Bronze.	Iron.	Gold.	Silver.	Tin.
(a) As raw material	Trade: α 184. Use by craftsmen: Σ 474	Trade: α 184. Use by craftsmen: Ψ 826	Use by craftsmen: Σ 475, γ 435	Source: θ 857. Use by craftsmen: Σ 475	Σ 474
(b) Metaphors	Ares [<i>Il.</i> 5]. Sleep of death: Λ 241. Wounds: Τ 25. Invulnerability: γ 102. Voice: Ε 785, Σ 222. Heart: Β 490. Heaven: Ε 504, Ρ 425, γ 2	Hardness: Δ 510, Υ 372, Χ 357, Ω 205 = 521, Ϝ 293, ι 191, μ 280, τ 211, 494, ψ 172. Strength: Ψ 177. Din of battle: Ρ 424. Heaven: ο 329 = ρ 565	Aphrodite [<i>Il.</i> 6: <i>Od.</i> 5]	ἀργυρόμαζα [<i>Il.</i> 12: <i>Od.</i> 1], ἀργυροδίνης [<i>Il.</i> 63]	
(c) Miraculous:					
(i) Working parts of Chariot	Ε 723,* 725,* Ν 30 *	Ε 723 *	Ε 724,* 727,* 730,* 731,* Ζ 205,* θ 285 *	Ε 726,* 727,* 729 *	
(ii) Houses and parts	Α 426,* Θ 15,* Ξ 173,* Σ 371,* Φ 438,* 505,* η 83,* 86,* 89,* θ 321,* κ 4,* ν 4 *	Θ 15 *	Δ 2,* Ν 22,* η 88 *	η 89,* 90 *	
(iii) Miscellaneous	Hooves: Θ 41 * = Ν 23 *		Wings, clouds, etc.: Θ 42,* 398,* Λ 185,* Ν 24,* 523,* Ξ 344,* 351,* Σ 206 *		

Some passages given in earlier tables are also relevant here.

Bronze	.	.	.	.	<i>Iliad</i> 14 + 11,* <i>Odyssey</i> 2 + 6,*	Total 33
Gold	.	.	.	.	<i>Iliad</i> 7 + 15,* <i>Odyssey</i> 6 + 2,*	Total 30
Silver	.	.	.	.	<i>Iliad</i> 17 + 3,* <i>Odyssey</i> 1 + 2,*	Total 23
Iron	.	.	.	.	<i>Iliad</i> 8 + 2,* <i>Odyssey</i> 9,	Total 19
Tin	.	.	.	.	<i>Iliad</i> 1, <i>Odyssey</i> 0,	Total 1

The clearest description of metal working comes in the blinding of the Cyclops in 1391-3. 'As when a smith plunges into cold water a great axe or adze which hisses aloud, doctoring it; for this is the strength of iron.' This describes, as a process familiar to all, the method of 'hardening by quenching.' The metal is 'heated to red heat (850° C.) and quenched from that temperature,' and the result is that the steel (σίδηρος here is certainly mild steel) becomes 'hard and brittle.'⁷⁴ It is precisely this that gives strength to steel; a further process of tempering is needed to make it 'tough and springy,' but that stage is not relevant to the simile. In two other passages, although other metals are being used, the processes and tools are more appropriate to iron working. In γ 432-5 Nestor sends for a goldsmith to gild the horns of a living ox. This could be done only by affixing gold foil cold, and yet, 'And there came too the smith, having in his hands his smith's tools, the instruments of his trade, anvil and hammer and well-made fire-tongs, with which he worked gold.' Again, when Hephaistos makes the arms of Achilles in Σ 468-77, he correctly sets his bellows to heat the crucibles as though for bronze casting, but then, 'Hephaistos threw into the fire imperishable bronze and tin and precious gold and silver. Then he set his great anvil on his anvil block, and grasped his heavy hammer in one hand and his fire-tongs in the other.' After which presumably he trimmed and tapped a cold sheet of bronze into concave form, etched out his design on the face, and delicately hammered cold pieces of metal into the depressions. In fact, Hephaistos making the shield is much more like Wayland Smith striking out a horseshoe, and this verb is actually used when he makes chains of unspecified material: βῆ ῥ' ἱμεν ἐς χαλκεῶνα . . . ἐν δ' ἔθετ' ἀκροθέτω μέγαν ἀκμονα, κόπτε δὲ δεσμούς (θ 273-4). There are σιδήρεα δέσματ' in a metaphor in α 204. Heat is needed in bronze working, to smelt and alloy the metals and to melt the ingots for pouring into moulds, and hammering is needed, to finish the surface of the casting and shape sheet into the curve of pot or shield. But bronze, like gold and silver, is hammered cold, with light tools

⁷⁴ Alexander and Street, *Metals in the Service of Man*, 131.

adapted to its fragility.⁷⁵ Hard and repeated hammering of red-hot metal is the peculiar characteristic of iron working and the reason for its slow development. It alone needs the combination of heavy hammer and anvil with bellows and fire-tongs to keep up an intense heat. The spectacular glare and blast and din of a blacksmith's forge have impressed the poets of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as they impressed Lichas the Spartiate.⁷⁶ When Achilles assumes that farmers work iron at home, going to the nearest town for the metal (Ψ 826-35), it implies a widely diffused knowledge of the technique. The σόλον αὐτοχόωνον is obscure; iron could not be 'poured' and cast until the invention of the blast furnace in the fourteenth century A.D. To interpret it as meteoric because it is 'self-fused' and free from impurities seems to imply too modern a knowledge of chemistry; it is also unnecessary, since the iron which the farmers would otherwise fetch from town is clearly terrestrial. Pioneer workers, used to metals which had to be cast by pouring them into a mould, might well give this name to the shapeless lump which appeared, apparently spontaneously, when the smelting fire died down. 'Die in einigen Fundstätten . . . entdeckten Schweisseisenstücke beweisen, dass in Anatolien Eisenerze auf diese Weise ausgeschmolzen wurden.'⁷⁷ The lump was taken from a Trojan, but the poet assumes that Polypoites will know how to use it. Wherever metal is worked, the poems show familiarity with the working of iron and of no other metal. Any poet might transfer the process of using one metal to another, as Vergil does with his molten steel and tempered bronze in *Aen.* VIII 445-51; the point is that no poet could make this mistake before iron working was a commonplace in the society around him.

The poems say little about the source of metals. Barter of iron for bronze is the basis of a plausible lie, and therefore likely to be realistic; in the *Odyssey* most of the 'true' stories are impossible, but the fictions are prosaically probable. Traders living somewhere north of Ithaca could easily take local or imported iron to a South Italian port in hope of a better exchange than they would get in any Greek market.⁷⁸ Alybe, east of the Paphlagonians, is the birthplace of silver. In spite of its romantic colour, the fact is correct,⁷⁹ but after the end of the Bronze Age the Greeks could hardly have learnt it until they opened up the Euxine. It sounds more like a legend than a trader's report, and the dispute about the position of Alybe, going back to Hecataeus,⁸⁰ is surprising if the Greeks discovered it in the seventh century. Much more is said about the source of treasures made of metal. Homeric society abounds in gold ornaments and bullion weighed out as gifts, bribes, or prizes. This is uncharacteristic of the transitional period, and the Greeks in particular probably did not see gold in bulk between the fall of Mycenae and the reign of Croesus.⁸¹ But it is neither Mycenaean nor rational that so few men work gold, Nestor when he has horns gilded, Ikmalius and Odysseus in making furniture (τ 57, ψ 200), and a craftsman in a simile. When the origin is given, treasures are obtained from foreigners or gods, or else inherited, and sometimes both. If it were a fantasy, created by poetic imagination out of rumours of eastern splendour, the details would not be so recognisable and the impossible so sharply confined to the supernatural world. The only explanation of the internal contradiction is that an epic tradition which knew the real wealth of the Bronze Age and βασιλῆα πολυχρύσιο Μυκῆνης, was being used by poets for whom gold and silver were rare imports. Gold is more common than silver in the poems, as it was at Mycenae but not in the eighth century. In this the *Odyssey* is slightly less traditional than the *Iliad*. Silver vessels are proportionately to the total numbers three times as numerous compared with gold, and there is furniture studded or inlaid with ivory and silver like that of Hazaël and Ahab,⁸² seven times compared with once in the *Iliad*. Studs on swords, however, are Mycenaean,⁸³ and although the *Odyssey* surprisingly contains more bronze swords than the *Iliad* and about one-third of all the swords mentioned, they are only twice ἀργυρόηλος, while the *Iliad* has 9 with silver and 1 with gold studs. It is one of the few differences in the material background of the poems which is not easily explained by the difference of subject.

In metaphorical uses golden is confined to Aphrodite.⁸⁴ It never seems to be a colour adjective, since only supernatural clouds, wings, and horses' manes are golden. Epithets are few, εὐεργέος (2), ἐριτίμοιο (2), τιμήεντα or τιμῆντα (2), πολυδαίδαλος (1), but both gold and silver appear frequently in stock phrases and passages such as α 136-43. Silver appears metaphorically for gleaming only in compound adjectives, and has no epithets. Bronze in metaphor is martial, except in B 490, and is more completely at home in the traditional language than anything else in the poems. χαλκῶ

⁷⁵ Casson, *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, 227-29. 'In the Foundry Vase no less than six hammers are shown. All alike have long, slender handles and light heads which are not pointed. . . . The long, slender hafts of the hammers show plainly enough that the hammers were used lightly. Hard hitting would soon break so slender a shaft. The hafts on the hammers on the Acropolis fragment are even more slender, and obviously intended for only the very lightest tapping. For the whole process of bronze-working admits only of light work with the hammer or rasp or gouge. Heavy blows would soon crack cast bronze or bring out latent weaknesses or flaws. Steady and continuous tapping would produce good results.'

⁷⁶ Hdt. I. 67-8.

⁷⁷ Przeworski, *op. cit.* 157.

⁷⁸ See *Monuments*, 121, for reasons for identifying Temese with Tempa in Bruttium rather than Tamassos in Cyprus.

⁷⁹ R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, 190: 'In Asia Minor there are no less than 26 important deposits, seven of which are located in Pontus in the district south of Trabzon.' The galena deposit of Karasar is exceptionally rich in silver content (*ib.* 180).

⁸⁰ Strabo 549-552.

⁸¹ Przeworski, *op. cit.* 180: 'Für die chalkosiderische Stufe ist die Armut an Edelmetallsachen höchst bezeichnend.'

⁸² Demargne, *La Crète dédalique*, 199-216.

⁸³ *Monuments*, 273-4.

⁸⁴ See H. L. Lorimer, *Gold and Ivory in Greek Mythology*, in *Greek Poetry and Life*, 14-33.

is the normal way of saying 'with the appropriate bronze object.' To define it as a tool or weapon, it is νηλεί or ὀξεί χαλκῶ (55),⁸⁵ or more exactly ἐγγχεί χαλκείῳ (8), ταναήκει χαλκῶ (4), αἰχμῇ χαλκείῃ (11), χαλκήρει δουρί (7) χαλκήρεσιν ἐγγχείσιν (4) all at the ends of lines, or ξυστῶ χαλκήρει (2). For defensive armour, we have νώροπι or αἰθοπι χαλκῶ (19), and ἦνοπι χαλκῶ (3) of a fish-hook and cauldron seems to be a similar phrase for other objects. χαλκός can be used in this way in any case, and is extended by ἀπειρής (3), ἀπειρέα (4), or ταμείχροα (2), and once of cauldrons and tripods εὐήνορα, in addition to a whole series of ἔντεα καλὰ χάλκεα μαρμαίροντα, including nine different ways of saying χάλκεον ἐγχος. The great majority of these phrases refer to weapons or tools, and must have originated in the Bronze Age; they show great metrical variety, vowel-consonant pairs, a preference for fixed places in the line, and a high proportion of obscure epithets.⁸⁶ σίδηρος (except in 1395), πολύκητος(-ον) σίδηρος(-ον) (5), αἰθωνι(-α) σιδήρω(-ον) (4), πολίων τε σίδηρον (2), and ἰόντα σίδηρον (1) always end lines, and σιδήρεος always comes after, σιδήρειος after or before the caesura; except for the formulae for wealth, there is no other sign of traditional behaviour. It is more common in metaphors than χαλκός, another proof of its familiarity to the poets. From its intractability come a good metaphor for a mind that will not yield to prayers or misfortunes and the epithet πολύκητος. The second peculiarity of iron is its change of colour, from which it is reasonable to derive all the other epithets. Connexions with fighting are the mace of Areithoos,⁸⁷ the arrow of Pandaros, σίδηρος instead of the normal χαλκός of weapons generally (2 in a repeated proverb), and the iron din of battle, which I suggest is literally the clash of iron weapons making a solitary appearance simply because the heaven to which it rises is bronze. Though more explicit, these passages show no greater use of iron weapons than the knowledge of iron shown elsewhere implies. The σιδήρεος οὐρανός (2) is explained by meteoric iron, either because of its supernatural qualities or because meteors were thought to be fragments of it. But οὐρανός is also χάλκεος and πολύχαλκος (3), and it is arbitrary to give them totally different meanings. 'I will make your heaven as iron and your earth as brass' (Leviticus 26. 19) and 'Thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron' (Deuteronomy 28. 23) are only two ways of saying that the earth shall be hard with drought and the firmament which divides the waters above from the waters beneath (Genesis 1. 7) solid without 'windows' to let through the rain (11 Kings 7. 2). Either metal could make a hard and stable lid over the earth. The Gates of Tartarus are iron, but other supernatural thresholds, walls, and houses, including the threshold of Tartarus, are bronze. The axle of Hera's chariot is iron, but other parts are bronze, gold, and silver.⁸⁸ Mundane wood and leather are replaced by the metal which seems suitable. There is no clear trace in Homer of the magical qualities with which iron was from time to time endowed in Egypt and the East;⁸⁹ it is one example among many of the striking absence from the poems of superstition and mysticism. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκετο ἄνδρα σίδηρος should be taken to mean exactly what it says, without bringing in magic or magnetism.

The material is satisfactory because the different use of the metals clearly distinguishes the Protogeometric and later periods from the Mycenaean and transitional.

1. To the Bronze Age only belong bronze weapons and tools, bronze corslets shaped like chitons, leggings conspicuous but not made of bronze (possibly also worn c. 700 B.C. if the evidence of the Tiryns shields is accepted), great wealth, especially in gold, iron as a way of measuring wealth (but its magical and ornamental uses are not in the poems), inlay of metal on metal, and some details such as silver and gold studs on swords and possibly Alybe as a source of silver. ἀργυρόηλος points to Myc. I-II, and the wealth of Mycenae declined before its destruction. Other features suit Myc. III generally.

2. To the Iron Age only belong the familiar knowledge of iron as a useful metal, of the processes and tools for working it, and of overseas trade in the raw material. This knowledge is not confined to a few lines or passages which could be disregarded as interpolations, but permeates all places where metal working or metaphors drawn from metals enter into the poems. There is no justification for suspecting a passage simply because it shows an advanced knowledge of iron-working. This element is not earlier than Protogeometric. The poet's ignorance of the process of inlaying

⁸⁵ In P 376 τέροιστο δὲ νηλεί χαλκῶ is unnecessarily translated 'by the pitiless weight of their armour.' ὀξεί λαί (Π 739) is a nice adaptation.

⁸⁶ Many are conveniently explicable, e.g. . . . θύσσο χαλκόν, . . . ἰδύσσο νώροπα χαλκόν or κορύσσο νώροπι χαλκῶ, . . . ἱσσαντο περὶ χροί νώροπα χαλκόν. νηλεί-ὀξεί and νώροπι-αἰθοπι are strict. Generally the use is freer, e.g. ἀπειρής (of bronze 7: of fighters and their strength, once compared to an axe, 3: of voice 3. The entry in L. and S. (1925) needs correction). It comes in three patterns and one individual line:

1. E 292 τάμει	} χαλκός	} ἀπειρής.
H 247 θαῖζων		
Ξ 25 χροί		
Γ 60 . . . πέλκεος ὥς		
λ 270 μένος	ιστιν	αἰθῶ

2. T 233 ἱσάσμενοι	χροί	} χαλκόν	} ἀπειρέα.
γ 108 ἀλ' ἰθὺς	φίρε		
Ξ 474 . . . χαλκόν δ'	ἐν πυρί			βάλλεν

3. N 45 = P 555 = X 227 . . . δέμος καὶ ἀπειρία φωνήν.
 v 368 . . . χρυσόν καὶ ἀπειρία χαλκόν.

But O 697 . . . ἀκμήτας καὶ ἀπειρίας . . . Rare epithets are ἐρυθροί (1), φαινός (1), θεσπεσίσι (1), ψυχρόν (1), σμερδαλέω (2).

⁸⁷ Not a Bronze Age parade weapon. The weapon, not the material, is the oddity from which he takes his title.

⁸⁸ A bronze cult-wagon from an eighth-seventh-century context at Toprah Kaleb has iron axles. Przeworski, *op. cit.* pl. XII. Knowledge of such bronzes could have reached the Greeks through Al Mina, but any influence on Hera's chariot is improbable.

⁸⁹ Przeworski, *op. cit.* 142, and Wainwright, *The Coming of Iron, Antiquity* X, 5-13.

belongs to the same period. The paucity of native craftsmen, the gold and silver treasures imported, especially by Phoenicians, the occasional appearances of bronze shield faces, helmets (known in Myc. II-III but not typical), and (controversially, since the evidence is stylistic not archaeological) leather chitons reinforced by bronze plates, and the absence of bronze greaves, blazons, and any clear indication of hoplite armour, all suit the second half of the eighth century.

3. The only metal objects which appear to be later than c. 700 B.C. are the Gorgoneion of Agamemnon, the lamp of Athena, and the brooch of Odysseus.⁹⁰ Since it is not the metal that causes the trouble, this is not the place to discuss them. They give no support for the introduction of a hoplite corslet, and are hardly enough to suggest a free development of the epic tradition through the seventh century.

4. Bronze weapons, knowledge of iron-working and iron tools, and great wealth in gold never coexisted historically.

5. The Bronze Age characteristics are chiefly present in stock epithets and phrases which have a marked pattern, and which I call traditional. They are adapted when necessary, but the need seldom arises. Certain passages which are not stylistically distinguishable from descriptions of Iron Age objects describe things known to belong to the Bronze Age. Since the poets certainly took the traditional phrases from an established epic language, it is a fair assumption that they got their knowledge of the Bronze Age from the same source rather than from heirlooms or temple treasures, and this is supported by the perishable nature of the 'lobster' corslet and the boar's tusk helmet, the improbability that inlaid shields were ever made, and the introduction of Iron Age features into the descriptions. The Iron Age elements occur almost wholly in the course of the narrative, often by unconscious implication, and especially in accounts of unheroic acts or practices known not to belong to the Bronze Age,⁹¹ and in similes and metaphors. We do not find misinterpretation of Geometric practices through seventh-century influences, as we do on seventh-century vases.⁹² Traditional behaviour is much less marked, though it is clear that new elements were assimilated to the style.

6. There is a curious connexion between iron, archery, and lack of clarity in the narrative. Pandaros has an iron arrow-head and a composite bow, and it is not clear how the poet supposed that he strung it or the horn-worker made it. In the Funeral Games the terms of the archery contest are absurd and the prize is iron. In the Bow Fight the bow is composite, the method of stringing is concealed under a simile from stringing a lyre, iron axes form the target, but their shape and the nature of the shot are obscure. Unlike the Hittites and their neighbours to south and east, Troy VI and VIIa were not more advanced in iron working than the Mycenaean world. In the Iron Age the Greeks certainly knew only the European self bow until they met the more formidable Asiatic weapon, and they may have collected Anatolian stories in which archery figured and retold them without complete understanding; in that case, they would naturally introduce into them the knowledge of iron-working which, so far as we know, they took with them.⁹³ More evidence is needed.

7. The *Odyssey*, as would be expected of a poem of travel and domestic life, contains more of the Iron Age and less of the Bronze Age than the *Iliad*. There is, however, no substantial difference between the poems in the material from each period. Although this is certainly an argument against supposing a long interval between the composition of the two poems, metal is not a good criterion, because the main changes took place before 700 B.C. There is nothing that makes it impossible that the two poems had the same author, but there are small differences in apparently similar contexts which make it unlikely. Anomalies increase suspicion of some short passages but provide no evidence for problems such as the authorship of the *Doloneia*, or for the larger question of the existence of an historic Homer.

8. New practices created a new traditional language, as the phrases describing cremation show; things known from tradition may be reproduced or elaborated; and traditional phrases may be used for untraditional doings. In πέλεκυσεν δ' ἄρα χαλκῷ (ε 244) the use of χαλκῷ does not prove that there was a stock description of raft-building. To keep the old phrases needed no effort of conscious archaising, and to innovate meant the invention of new groups of metrical units. Moreover, the language itself preserved knowledge of the past, and no doubt poets elaborated by analogy, as the bronze in Homer produced the conception of four ages. Nonetheless, the coincidence of Bronze Age practices with traditional and of Iron Age practices with untraditional behaviour in a matter where differences are clear shows that the criterion of style, applied cautiously to broad categories and groups of categories, may be used to establish a probability, and especially to decide between two possible archaeological parallels; and one of the chief difficulties is the number of things common to the thirteenth and eighth centuries.

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⁹⁰ *Monuments*, 190-1, 509-15.

⁹¹ *Monuments*, 119-20.

⁹² *BSA* XLII, 93, fig. 7, and 100, fig. 9d.

⁹³ At Smyrna the Protogeometric pottery corresponds with a stage when iron was in general use in Attica (*JHS* LXXII, 104). I was allowed access to the Register of finds at the end

of the excavations, and I found that, except for bronze arrow-heads which continued side by side with iron until c. 600 B.C., no bronze tool or weapon had come from the Greek levels. This is of course subject to correction when the material is published.

A RELIGIOUS FUNCTION OF GREEK TRAGEDY: ¹

A Study in the Oedipus Coloneus and the Oresteia

WHEN the Messenger in the *Oedipus Coloneus* looked back, he saw that Oedipus had disappeared and that Theseus was screening his eyes with his hand. Then Theseus made adoration to earth and to the Olympus of the gods, both at once: ὁρῶμεν αὐτὸν γῆν τε προσκυνοῦνθ' ἅμα καὶ τὸν θεῶν Ὀλύμπου ἐν ταύτῳ λόγῳ (1654f.). There was nothing strange about such a salutation. The Sausage-seller in the *Knights* was bidden to 'adore earth and the gods' (ἐπειτα τὴν γῆν πρόσκυσσον καὶ τοὺς θεούς, 156), and did so, presumably with the same familiar ritual gestures which Theseus used. But the phrasing in the *Coloneus* is emphatic (ἅμα . . . ἐν ταύτῳ λόγῳ),² and Jebb has one of his percipient notes: 'The vision which [Theseus] had just seen moved him to adore both the χθόνιοι and the ὑπᾶντοι. This touch is finely conceived so as to leave the mystery unbroken.' The mystery, that is, of the passing of Oedipus. οὐ γὰρ τις αὐτὸν οὔτε πυρφόρος θεοῦ | κεραυνὸς ἐξέπραξεν οὔτε ποντία | θύελλα κινήσεια τῷ τότ' ἐν χρόνῳ, | ἀλλ' ἢ τις ἐκ θεῶν πομπός, ἢ τὸ νεπτέρων | εὖνουν διαστάν γῆς ἀλάμπετον βάθρον.³

The purpose of the following remarks is to suggest a close relationship of thought between the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophocles and the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus; to suggest, further, that both dramas performed, in terms of the same conceptions, a religious function which tragedy was peculiarly fitted to perform.

Of all Greek tragedies none perhaps awaits a satisfying interpretation more than the *Coloneus*. It is not difficult to lay the finger on one of its central problems. At the end of the play the gods take Oedipus to themselves. After all he has suffered at their hands comes an act of grace and goodwill which could be regarded as in some sense a compensation for those sufferings.⁴ But the peaceful, if awe-inspiring, end of Oedipus is preceded by the curse which, in a paroxysm of rage, he lays upon his sons. There is a mystery in the juxtaposition of that frantic curse to the unearthly solemnity of the following scenes—a mystery which is only partially, if at all, explained by the fact that Oedipus speaks his curse on the threshold of 'heroisation'.⁵

However that may be, θυμός—a passionate anger—is certainly a fit characteristic for one who is about to become a 'hero'; and the whole course of the play up to the final imprecation is marked by a crescendo of θυμός in Oedipus.⁶ This passion is grounded, not in considerations of abstract justice, but in human motives and resentments. For it is one of the apparent contradictions which complicate the interpretation of the play that the awful figure of Oedipus, superhuman from the start, is yet drawn with realistic human psychology. It would be agreeable, but irrelevant to my present purpose, to trace in detail how Sophocles has ensured that we shall judge Oedipus, not only as a potential hero, but as a man.⁷

Human judgments on his θυμός are indeed forthcoming, from Theseus and from Antigone.

¹ A lecture delivered before the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies on 27th February, 1951. Footnotes have been added and some changes made in the text.

² ἐν ταύτῳ λόγῳ: "'in the same address (or prayer)'" . . . not, "'on the same account'" (Jebb). This seems doubtful, since προσκύνησις was often, if not always, silent (as in the *Knights*), and a suggestion of words is inappropriate to the picture here.

³ The scholiast's ἀλάμπετον is on the whole preferable to ἀλόπητον, which may have been suggested by the following line, where, however, the γὰρ is adequately justified by εἰδέναι. A word of darkness is admirable here, and the contrast εἰδέναι . . . ἀλάμπετον can be compared with the enigmatic γλυκίστη παῖδες ἀρχαίου Σκότου (106). See p. 17 below.

⁴ The raising of the fallen Oedipus: 394 f., 1565 ff. That the Chorus see in this a kind of justice is implied by δίκαιος in the latter passage, but the notion of compensation is not expressed. This line of interpretation is acutely criticised by I. M. Linforth, *Religion and Drama in 'Oedipus at Colonus'* (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. 14, No. 4) 100 ff., whose general conclusions, however, I am unable to accept.

⁵ I cannot accept Bowra's view (*Sophoclean Tragedy*, 349) that, at the end of the play, 'no unresolved discords remain, no mysteries call for an answer'. He rightly emphasises the importance of the 'heroisation' of Oedipus, but this does not solve the mystery; it merely transfers it to the conception of those chthonian powers, the heroes. Weinstock (*Sophocles* 202) calls attention to the juxtaposition of curse and peaceful end, and regards it as evidence 'dass antikes Gefühl an diesem Vater keinen Anstoss nahm'. But should it be confidently

assumed that Oedipus rather than Antigone represents 'antikes Gefühl' or that this sentiment was unambiguous?

⁶ It is one of the functions of the scenes with Creon to raise this passion to a higher pitch before the entry of Polynices.

⁷ I will merely call attention to two themes. (i) When Ismene first speaks of his sons, before ever he hears her news, Oedipus breaks into a diatribe against them for their neglect. Neglect of his maintenance. The theme is introduced at 330 with τροφός, followed by τροφός (338), τροφέα (341), τροφῆς (346), τροφήν (352), τροφήν (362). Though not every occurrence relates logically to the maintenance of Oedipus, the notion is thus kept insistently before the hearer. (This could, I think, be shown to be a characteristic Sophoclean use of words.) Thus Sophocles brings out, not only the offence of the sons, but the preoccupation of one who has lived for years at or below the level of subsistence. (ii) Then comes the news of the oracle. 'They say', says Ismene, 'that their power (κράτη) is coming to be in your hand (ἐν σοὶ)'. Old emotions stir in the masterful king of the *Tyrannus* (ὅς κράτιστος ἦν ἀνὴρ). Sophocles now bathes the ears of his audience in κράτος and κρατεῖν—a theme first introduced at 373, repeated at 392, 400, 405, 408. But the hope of restoration is dashed: it is a matter of Oedipus coming under the mastery of Thebes and not even finding a grave in Theban soil. So he moves from the bitter grumble of his earlier speech (337 ff.) to the first tentative curse. 'May the gods not quench their fatal strife, and may the decision (τίδος) concerning this their warfare come to be in my hand.' ἐν ἡμῶν . . . γίνεσθαι (422 f.) corresponds to ἐν σοὶ . . . γίνεσθαι (392). If the mastery cannot be his in one way, then let it be in another.

The important passage is in the speech of Antigone at 1181 ff., but it is prepared by certain remarks of Theseus (592 ff.), to whom the attitude of Oedipus at first seems obstinate and unreasonable. ὦ μῶρε, θυμός δ' ἐν κακοῖς οὐ σύμφορον. Oedipus replies: ὅταν μάθης μου, νουθέτει, ταῦν δ' ἔα. He has suffered cruel wrong on wrong, and he does not mean 'the ancient calamity of the race'. 'What then', asks Theseus, 'is your trouble that surpasses human measure?' The suggestion of criticism is not pursued, as it cannot be in the context. But, when she pleads with her father to give Polynices a hearing, Antigone returns to the same point. 'Let him come. Other men also have bad children and a quick temper, but they listen to advice and their natures yield, charmed by the spells of friends' (1192 ff.). Antigone's εἰσι χάρτερος γοναὶ κακαὶ in effect picks up the τί γὰρ τὸ μείζον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων νοσεῖς; of Theseus.⁸ But to Oedipus the behaviour of his sons is something so outrageous as to justify the cruellest retaliation. Antigone continues: 'Look not to the present, but to the past—to all you have suffered through father and mother. If you look upon those things, you will understand, I know, that evil wrath comes to an evil end (κακοῦ θυμοῦ τελευτὴν ὡς κακῇ προσγίγνεται). No slight cause have you to meditate who are bereft of the sight of your eyes'. The self-inflicted blindness of Oedipus is thus seen by Antigone as the great symbol of his θυμός; and Sophocles could not have suggested more clearly that the self-blinding and the cursing of the sons were actions of the same order and significance.⁹ 'Passion', says Creon (954 f.), 'knows no old age till death comes'. This is true of Oedipus. Yet, when death came, the gods took this man of wrath to themselves. Is there no mystery here?

What has been said so far is preliminary, but an essential preliminary, if we are to see Oedipus and his fate in true perspective. It is particularly important (if obvious) to note how the wrath of Oedipus is grounded in his past experience. It is provoked by suffering; and it issues in retaliation. The theme of retaliation is perhaps more prominent in the *Coloneus* than has been observed.

Oedipus proclaims and argues his innocence on three separate occasions.¹⁰ His main plea is that of ignorance: εἰδρις ἐς τόδ' ἦλθον (548). But the first argument he employs on the first occasion is different. Speaking of the killing of Laius, he says: 'Even if I had acted with knowledge, I should not have been found at fault, since I was but requiting a wrong' (271 f.). The Greek expression here used is παθὼν . . . ἀντέδρων.¹¹ There is an implied reference to the narrative in the *Tyrannus* of the meeting between father and son, when Laius aimed the first blow. At the end of the third passage (with Creon and Oedipus wrangling before Theseus), when the argument seems already concluded, Oedipus turns on Creon and says (991 ff.): 'Answer me this one question. If, here and now, someone should come up and seek to kill you . . . would you ask if the killer was your father or retaliate forthwith? I think, as you love your life, you would retaliate'. (The word here is τίθειν.)¹²

Reasonable enough—in law, in recognised Greek morality, and in common sense. And we should be making altogether too much of this ground of Oedipus's defence, were it not that the theme of retaliation is otherwise prominent in the play, and that it has tragic implications of the first importance.

It is particularly prominent in the scenes with Creon.¹³ Justifying himself before Theseus for his assault on Oedipus, Creon says (951 ff.): 'This I would not have attempted, but that he was calling down bitter curses on me and on my race; when, having so suffered, I deemed it right so to retaliate (ἀνθ' ὧν πεπονθὼς ἤξιον τόδ' ἀντιδρᾶν).' He continues with that remark about θυμός which has already been quoted. But Creon misrepresents the facts: the curse came after, not before, the threat of violence.¹⁴ It was Oedipus who (not for the first time) suffered and retaliated—with the words which were his only weapon: ἐργοῖς πεπονθὼς ῥήμασιν σ' ἀμύνομαι (873). Still, Creon's quibble signifies little. For the two old men are striking blow for blow, as each can, in the same spirit of wrath. Oedipus cursed Creon, as he had cursed his sons and as he was to curse them again. But between the scene with Creon and the scene with Polynices comes the speech of Antigone already quoted, in which many threads meet. 'You are his father,' she says (1189 ff.), 'so that, even if he is doing you the most impious of foul wrongs, it is not right that you should retaliate evil upon him (ὥστε μηδὲ δρῶντά σε | τὰ τῶν κακίστων δυσσεβέστατ', ὦ πάτερ, | θέμις σέ γ' εἶναι κείνον ἀντιδρᾶν κακῶς).' Antigone's argument that a father, of all people, should not retaliate upon a son, for whose φύσις he is responsible, has an importance independent of the general theme of retaliation, which, however, it underlines. And Oedipus does retaliate with a final curse. Having done so, he then goes on, at the command of heaven, to assume the status of a hero.

I have said that the theme has tragic implications. Retaliation was, of course, regarded by

⁸ The two passages are further linked by θυμός (592, 1193) and by κακόν (593, 1193).

⁹ Compare Oedipus's own comment on the blinding: κακὰ θάνατον τὸν θυμόν διδραμόντα μοι | μίζω κολαστὴν τῶν πρὶν ἡμαρτημένων (438 f.). In bringing the blinding and the curse into close relationship Sophocles is following Aeschylus (*Sept.* 782 ff.).

¹⁰ 266 ff., 510 ff., 969 ff.

¹¹ A slight, but perhaps significant, modification of the claim VOL. LXXIV.

(266 f.) that his actions (ἔργα) were a matter of suffering rather than doing (πεπονθὼν ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ διδραμόντα).

¹² The student of form in Greek tragedy will observe with interest how the total defence of Oedipus is, as it were, framed by the repetition of this theme.

¹³ To bring it out is another function of those scenes (*cf.* n. 6).

¹⁴ The threat: 860. The curse: 864 ff.

the ordinary Greek as a right, if not a duty.¹⁵ Whether Sophocles, as a man and a citizen, accepted this morality is beside the point. What matters is how he saw retaliation as a tragic process. An offence is committed. Someone suffers, and retaliates. By his act, the first doer suffers; and this suffering, in its turn, evokes retaliation (by the sufferer or by his representative). And so there is set up a chain of action and passion which appears to have no end. Offence and retaliation; crime and counter-crime. It is nothing short of a formula for tragedy. It is certainly the formula to which the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus is constructed. To παθόντα ἀντιδρᾶν in the *Coloneus* corresponds δράσαντι παθεῖν in the *Choephoroi*. The two principles are complementary and between them give perfect expression to the *lex talionis*. Now the divine powers which, in the *Oresteia*, preside over this apparently interminable series of crimes and punishments are the Furies, the Ἐρινύες. There are Furies also in the *Coloneus*.

When Oedipus learns that he has come to a grove of the Eumenides, he recognises that he has found his final resting-place. Thereafter the grove, as the visual background of the piece, must have compelled the attention of the spectators, like the palace-front of the Atridae in the *Agamemnon*. The goddesses are called Eumenides, for that was their cult-title at Colonus, though, as the villager says: 'in other places, other names find favour'. At Colonus, however, and generally throughout the play,¹⁶ their name is Eumenides—that is 'well-disposed', 'goddesses of good will'. When Oedipus hears their name, he prays (44): 'Graciously then may they receive the suppliant (ἀλλ' ἰλέω μὲν τὸν ἱκέτην δεξάοιο.' He thus anticipates the prayer which is later dictated by the Chorus (486 ff.): 'Pray that, as we call them Eumenides, so with hearts of good will (ἐξ εὐμενῶν στέρνων) they may receive and save the suppliant.' These prayers are answered, in the end, by the divine grace which summons Oedipus to take his place among the powers that dwell in the earth.

But the matter is not quite so simple as that. The name Eumenides is paradoxical; it is presented as a paradox in our play.¹⁷ Contrast the quiet beauty of the grove, as described by Antigone, with the terror it inspires in the villagers. Shortly before the entry of Theseus, the Chorus-leader tells Oedipus how to make sacrifice and prayer to the Eumenides. It is instructive to observe where Sophocles has placed this quiet and harmonious passage, which possesses a beauty corresponding to the natural beauty of the grove. It comes between the first curse¹⁸ of Oedipus upon his sons (ἀλλ' οἱ θεοὶ σφιν μήτε τὴν πεπρωμένην ἔριν κατασβέσειαν κτλ.) and the cruel cross-questioning to which the curiosity of the Chorus subjects him (δεινὸν μὲν τὸ πάλα κείμενον ἤδη κακόν, ὧ ξεῖν', ἐπυγείρειν· ὅμως δ' ἔραμαι πυθέσθαι). It comes, that is, between the tragic future and the tragic past. Now both that past and that future were determined by the action of Ἐρινύες. In between future and past come the details of ritual and the prayer—already quoted—to the Eumenides to justify their name. And they did justify it, when they took Oedipus to dwell among them as a chthonian power. In some sense they show themselves, they are Eumenides, but—and could Sophocles have emphasised this more clearly than by the sequence of scenes to which I have just referred?—that did not save Oedipus from a life-time of suffering or Polynices (and for that matter Antigone) from the consequences of a father's curse. The mystery of the destiny of Oedipus thus merges into the mystery of the Eumenides and the paradox of their name.

With this latter mystery Aeschylus dealt in the *Oresteia*—a work which we may suppose Sophocles to have understood better than we can ever hope to do. I am sure that we cannot understand the *Oedipus Coloneus* without reference to the *Oresteia*.

Aeschylus dealt with the mystery of the Furies, for it was he who dramatised the transformation of the Erinyes into Eumenides. The scene in which the Furies are so transformed, under the persuasion of Athena, takes up the last quarter of the *Eumenides*. Regarded merely as the close of a single play, it might be liable to some of the obtuse judgments which have been pronounced upon it. But it is in fact the close of a trilogy. As such, the transformation of the Furies will justify its position, if (and only if) the main theme of the trilogy—transcending the fortunes of the house of Atreus, transcending the great social issues which are raised—is a religious theme, and moreover concerns, above all, the place of the Erinyes in a world-order controlled by a just Zeus.

Few will deny the paramount religious interest in all extant Aeschylean tragedy. The drama, as the religion, of Aeschylus (and the two are quite inseparable the one from the other) is centred

¹⁵ See the passages quoted by Bowra, *op. cit.* 320. But we can assume too easily that Euripides, Socrates, and Plato were isolated voices. Plato, *Protagoras* 324 a, may be instructive: the view that vindictive punishment is bestial and irrational is put into the mouth, not of Socrates, but of Protagoras, who affects to regard it as a commonplace. Nor should we be too ready to contrast Greek morality with our own. The Greeks, paying lip-service to the principle of retaliation, no doubt acted frequently with magnanimity and restraint. We, who pay lip-service to Christian ideals, commonly act, as individuals and as nations, on the principle of retaliation.

¹⁶ Ἐρινύς occurs twice, the speaker in each case being Polynices. At 1299 τὴν σὴν Ἐρινύα means the Fury which pursues Oedipus and his race, for the son knows nothing yet

of a father's curse; by 1434 the Ἐρινύς of Oedipus have acquired a fuller meaning.

¹⁷ That being so, it is not necessary to consider whether the title was originally a euphemism nor indeed, since Sophocles clearly accepts the equation of Eumenides with Erinyes, what was the pre-Aeschylean character of the former (see n. 34 below). For an early statement of the paradox see the prayer of Oedipus at 106 ff.: ἔρ' ὧ γλυκίσται παῖδες ἀρχαίου Σότρου . . . οὐκ ἔλασαν. This to the implacable powers of the nether world.

¹⁸ Not pronounced in the form of a curse, but later regarded by Oedipus (1375 f.) as having the force of one. Cf. Linforth, *op. cit.* (above, n. 4) 111.

in Zeus; and Zeus is conceived as the upholder of a just moral order. Aeschylus has been called the prophet of Zeus. But when we ask what was his distinctive contribution to Greek theology (if the term may be used), the question is not so easy to answer. That he gave Zeus an unchallengeable pre-eminence among the gods? But this Zeus already has in Homer. That he insisted on the justice of Zeus? But Hesiod so insists. That he displayed that justice as working slowly, but certainly, throughout the generations? But this conception we find in Solon.¹⁹ Neither can we find the contribution of Aeschylus in proverbs such as *τίκτει κόρος ὕβριν* or even *πάθος μάθος*: Aeschylus is not Herodotus. Does his greatness, then, reside, not so much in originality of thought as in the intensity with which he felt and the poetic power with which he expressed notions derived from traditional beliefs or earlier thinkers? I suggest, rather, that he faced problems implicit in the theology that he found and worked out their solution with rare and original insight, using for this purpose symbols which he bequeathed to Sophocles.

During the Parodos of the *Agamemnon*, the Chorus make their famous affirmation of faith in Zeus (160 ff.). Ζεὺς, ὅστις πόντ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὐτῷ φίλον κεκλημένω, τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω. οὐκ ἔχω προσεῖκάσαι πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος, πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος χρή βολεῖν ἐτητύμως. 'Nothing save Zeus, if one is to cast away the vain burden of care from the mind in very truth.' With this confident assertion compare the cry of the Chorus during the lyric scene with Clytemnestra (1485 ff.); ἰὼ Ἥ, διὰ Διὸς παναιτίου πανεργέτα. τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἀνευ Διὸς τελεῖται; τί τῶνδ' οὐ θεόκραντόν ἐστιν; Very different is the tone. For the thought of Zeus, which was then proclaimed as the sole ground of confidence, is now the source of terror. Why? Because the accomplishment of the will of Zeus has led to the murder of Agamemnon and is leading, as the Chorus begin dimly to see, to the matricide of Orestes. But if we return to the Parodos and read on, there already we find complication. The Chorus go on to sing that Zeus has led mankind upon the path of understanding by his ordinance that learning shall come *by suffering* (πάθει μάθος). They suggest that this suffering may be a grace or favour (χάρις) conferred by divinities who exercise their awful sovereignty by means of force or violence (βιαιώς).²⁰ χάρις clashes with βιαιώς: the combination almost constitutes a paradox. It is not, however, more inharmonious than the context in which it lies.²¹ The stanzas of the Hymn to Zeus interrupt the narrative of the events which preceded the sailing of the armada against Troy: they lie between the omen of the eagles and the hare and the sacrifice of Iphigenia which that omen portended. This is a bold and significant stroke of construction. Significant, because the sacrifice of Iphigenia can now be seen in the light of the Hymn to Zeus. But significant also because the Hymn to Zeus (and its affirmation of faith) must now be interpreted in the light of the sacrifice of Iphigenia. The context is inharmonious; and the disharmony lies in the contrast between the crime committed against Iphigenia and the despatch of the Atridae to execute justice upon Troy. Thus we are taken a step farther back in the Parodos. Ζεὺς . . . ὑπερόποιον πέμπει παραβάσιν Ἐρινύν, οὕτω δ' Ἀτρείως παῖδας ὁ κρείσσων ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πέμπει ξένιος Ζεὺς (56 ff.). Agamemnon went against Troy as an Erinyes, sent by Zeus—the first of many Erinyes in the trilogy. But if this is the first mention of an Erinyes, it is also (apart from a passing Διόθεν) the first mention of Zeus. So, from the start, Zeus and Erinyes are brought into relationship; and it is a relationship upon which the poet will insist again and again. Perhaps we can now see why Aeschylus phrased the end of the Hymn to Zeus as he did: why he used the vague plural δαίμονες and the epithet στυγρός, as well as the adverb βιαιώς.

The action of the *Oresteia* consists in a series of acts of justice, which have one thing in common: they all emanate from Zeus and are expressions of his will. They have another thing in common: they are all—all but the last, the act of acquittal—carried out by Furies, by Ἐρινύες; and to this agency they owe their peculiar character. To establishing the character of the Trojan war, for instance, Aeschylus devotes resources which would perhaps be disproportionate, if it were merely the background of Agamemnon's fate, but not if it illustrates the functioning of an Erinyes. The war involved the suffering of the Trojans—naturally—but of the guiltless young as well as of the guilty old. It involved the suffering of the Greek avengers, on the battlefield and in their desolate homes, no less than the suffering of the Trojan sinners. First and foremost, it involved the sacrifice of Iphigenia, without which the expedition could not sail; and Iphigenia becomes (among other things) a symbol of all the innocent victims on both sides. Already, then, before the second long speech of Clytemnestra, before the Money-changer chorus, before the speeches of Agamemnon's Herald, we know what this war was like—we know what the justice of Zeus upon Troy involved in indiscriminate suffering and in new wickedness.²² When the Chorus say to Clytemnestra:

¹⁹ It is the value of a study such as F. Solmsen's *Hesiod and Aeschylus* that it enables us to isolate the characteristic thought of Aeschylus. In my review of that work (*Gnomon* xxiii, 414 ff.) I have already developed some of the notions of this article.

²⁰ βιαιώς must certainly be retained, if only because it pulls the structure of the sentence together. If we read βίαιος (Turnebus), the clash of ideas is unaffected, but σῆμα σημαῖον ἡμέων becomes an appendage, a quasi-decorative epithet, not at all in the Aeschylean manner.

²¹ The disharmonies of the Parodos are well brought out by E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon* II, 111 ff., 146 f. On

χάρις and βιαιώς κτλ. he comments: 'Between these two contrasted phrases there is an interplay like that between πάθος and μάθος, between δίκαιος and σωφρονεῖν.' See also K. Reinhardt, *Aeschylus als Regisseur und Theologe*, 20 ff.

²² The principal relevant passages are as follows: (i) 60-7, esp. πολλὰ παλαιόματα . . . θυμῶς. (ii) 320-37, esp. 326-9, which describe the plight of the Trojan women and children. At 328 παῖδες γρόντων must by all means be retained, for reasons given by Fraenkel, *ad loc.* and for another which will appear. (iii) 355-62, where the great net which was cast over Troy catches, not only the great (who are guilty),

χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εἰργασται πόνων (354), when the Herald says: χάρις τιμήσεται Διὸς τάδ' ἐκπράξασα (581 f.), we must surely remember the mystery of: δαιμόνων δὲ που χάρις βιαίως σέλας σεμνὸν ἤμενων.²³

I have illustrated my point in some detail from the earlier phases of the *Agamemnon*, but the fabric of the *Oresteia* is so closely woven that it could be illustrated almost equally well from many other portions of the *Agamemnon* and *Choephori*. The same principles hold good: the justice of Zeus executed by Furies; the act of justice, since it is carried out by Furies, breeding new crimes and so apparently perpetuating the evil which it comes to chastise. Justice upon Troy involved the sin of the conqueror, for which he in his turn must be punished: τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ ἄσκοποι θεοί. κελαινὰ δ' Ἐρινύες χρόνῳ τυχηρὸν ὄντ' ἀνευ δίκας παλιντυχεῖ τριβᾶ βίου τιθεῖσ' ἀμαυρόν (461 ff.). Clytemnestra, avenging the blood of her daughter, swears by Ate and Erinyes, αἰσι τόνδ' ἔσφαξ' ἐγὼ (1433) and proclaims an act of justice (e.g. 1406). She is an incarnate Fury; she is the embodiment of the δριμύς ἀλάστωρ, of the Daimon that had haunted the house of Atreus since the Thyestean banquet. For there is a second train of causation leading to the death of Agamemnon, from his father's sin. This, too, is conceived in terms of Fury-action, for it was as a 'tuneless chorus' of 'kindred Erinyes' that Cassandra's prophetic vision (1186 ff.) saw the children of Thyestes. Alastor and Daimon, Erinyes and Arai: they are all the same power, working through Clytemnestra and Aegisthus to punish Agamemnon for the deeds which he did and did not do and, no less inevitably, working towards the return and matricide of Orestes.

It is impossible here to examine all the complexities of this theme. I content myself with a single fundamental point—the insistent association of Zeus and his justice with the Erinyes. One is tempted to say, with some slight exaggeration, that, in the *Agamemnon*, every reference to Erinyes is associated, textually, with Zeus, every reference to Zeus with Erinyes, express or implied. Instances have already been quoted from the Parodos. In the first stasimon the mention of the κελαινὰ Ἐρινύες (462) is followed by: βάλλεται γὰρ ὄσσοις Διόθεν κεραυνός (469). Clytemnestra calls on Zeus τέλειος to accomplish her prayer (973), and the hearts of the Chorus at once chant 'self-taught, the lyre-less dirge of the Erinyes' (990 ff.). In the long lyric scene between Clytemnestra and the Chorus there are two important references to Zeus. The first (1485 ff.), already quoted, is preceded by the Daimon, qualified as βαρύμηνις.²⁴ The second (μίμνει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν θρόνῳ Διὸς παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα, 1563 f.) is followed by: τίς ἂν γονάων ἀραῖον ἐκβάλοι δόμων.

In the *Choephori* the interweaving of divine responsibilities is more complex. It is complicated, in particular, by the role of Apollo and the dilemma of Orestes, threatened with Furies if he fails to avenge, and with Furies if he does avenge, his father.²⁵ This is no doubt a reason why Orestes is not spoken of as (like Clytemnestra) embodying an Erinyes, and why the Fury-character of his act is indicated often by oblique means. But Zeus still presides over the events, and his relationship to the Erinyes is still a prominent issue. It is brought into prominence, particularly, in the great Kommos. The introductory anapaests, which imply but do not mention the Erinyes, are discussed below. The three stanzas 394–409 present a striking symmetrical arrangement. Electra begins with Zeus and ends with Γᾶ χθονίων τε τιμαί; the Chorus state the law of retaliation and associate it with the Erinyes; Orestes begins with νεπτέρων τυραννίδες and ἀραί, but ends with Zeus. This passage is preceded (382 f.) by the appeal of Orestes to Zeus to send up from below 'a late-punishing doom'. To those lines also we shall return.

From this conjunction of Zeus and the Erinyes certain consequences follow. In the first two plays associations of cruelty and violence gather about the Erinyes, until, when we see their hideous aspect and hear their truculent speech, we feel that this is indeed how Furies should look and speak. But since, at point after point, the poet has insisted that Furies are the ministers of the justice of Zeus, it follows that our conception of that justice and that god must be correspondingly affected. It follows that, when, after the acquittal of Orestes, the Furies still threaten, unappeased, Aeschylus could not leave them so, unless he was prepared to admit that the faith which the Argive elders had expressed in Zeus was one which contained as much despair as hope. Finally, it follows that we should look, in the closing scene of the trilogy, for a solution of the enigmatic relationship between Zeus and the Furies, which will also be a commentary on the mysterious phrasing of the Hymn to Zeus in the *Agamemnon*. That is indeed what we find.

but of wepol (who are not). Aeschylus did not use *μῦθος* four times in seven lines through inadvertence; by contrast it brings into relief *παράν τινά*, which should remind us of 328 (and perhaps of the still grimmer fate of Iphigenia). (iv) 429–55: the sufferings of the Greeks at home. (v) 555–74: the sufferings of the Greeks before Troy. Even in his first speech the Herald cannot help striking a sinister note, e.g. at 506 f., 509 f., 517 (cf. 568 f., 573). (vi) 636–80: the sufferings of the Greeks on the homeward journey. This passage (the importance of which is rightly stressed by Reinhardt, *op. cit.* 80 ff.) balances 188–98, which also comes into the reckoning. The two passages describe the two limbs of the *δίκαιος* (343 f.). The Greeks suffer famine on the outward journey, drowning on the return.

²³ See also *Gnomon loc. cit.* 419, n. 1, on the notion of *χάρις*.

²⁴ 'Μήνις and Ἐρινύες belong closely together', as Fraenkel (*op. cit.* II 93) observes on 154 f.—the passage immediately preceding the Hymn to Zeus. Compare 699 ff.: *τυλοσσίφων Μήνις . . . τραπέζας ἀτίμωσιν ὁστίρῳ χρόνῳ καὶ Ζηνεστοῦ Διὸς πρᾶσσούμια*, followed by the more explicit *πομπῇ Διὸς Ζηνίου νυμφόδαντος Ἐρινός* (748 f.).

²⁵ This means that to the enigmatic relationship of Zeus to the Furies is added the equally enigmatic relationship of Apollo to the Furies (on which see *CR* XLVII, 97 ff. and *JHS* LXVIII, 141, n. 93) and of both to Zeus. Note the sequence: 246 ff. (Zeus); 269 ff. (Apollo); 283 ff. (Furies). Reinhardt also (*op. cit.* 125 ff.), from a rather different point of view, calls attention to the complication of divine responsibilities in this play.

In brief, the Furies are reconciled. Not only so, but they are, in some sense, transformed—they become Eumenides; they take on a role in the good new order which Athena has established in her Athens. The new order: for, in the immediate context of the *Eumenides*, the issue presents itself as between the old and the new. The Furies claim that their administration of justice has been secured to them by ancient dispensations, over which younger deities have now ridden roughshod.²⁶ Their system of justice had led, in the present case, to a revolting impasse; but in any case it was bound to lead to a succession of violent crimes. Athena had substituted for it something new and better, through the intervention of the state upon the blood-feuds of the clan. This innovation the Furies are induced to accept. They are induced by the persuasions of Athena, in complying with which they pay tribute to Zeus as παγκρατῆς (918). These Furies have never claimed to derive their authority from Zeus, but from a power more primitive—from Μοῖρα; so that, when the reconciliation is effected, it can be said that Zeus and Μοῖρα have come to terms (1045 f.).

Yet how is it possible to separate the Erinyes of the *Eumenides* from the Erinyes who function as the agents of Zeus in the earlier plays? The later, the visible, Erinyes are more limited in their interest, as befits the social themes which occupy the later stages of the trilogy,²⁷ but in their fundamental nature they are the same, and the picture of an Erinyes which culminates in a visible horror is being built up from the first reference in the *Agamemnon*. Primarily, first and last, the Erinyes are the embodiments of the law of retaliation. This is given its clearest expression in the lines which introduce the Kommos of the *Choephoroi* (306 ff.): ἀλλ' ὦ μεγάλαι Μοῖραι, Διόθεν τῇδε τελευτᾶν ἢ τὸ δίκαιον μεταβαίνει· 'ἀντὶ μὲν ἐχθρῶς γλώσσης ἐχθρὰ γλῶσσα τελείσθω', τοῦ φειλόμενον πρᾶσσουσα Δίκη μέγ' αὐτεῖ, 'ἀντὶ δὲ πληγῆς φονίας φονίαν πληγὴν τινέτω'. δρᾶσαντι παθεῖν· τριγέρων μῦθος τάδε φωνεῖ.²⁸ The combination of elements is striking: the Μοῖραι, Zeus, Justice, retaliation (which is an ancient principle). The justice that is embodied in the *lex talionis* and administered by the Erinyes²⁹ is already here associated both with Zeus and with the Μοῖραι. Yet, in the *Eumenides*, a conflict develops requiring a resolution which is not only a reconciliation of the Erinyes with the daughter of Zeus but a coming together of Zeus and Moira. What does this mean?

It can only mean that Zeus was in the old order, as he is in the new. The τριγέρων μῦθος does indeed express his justice: μῖμνει δὲ μῖνοντος ἐν θρόνῳ Διὸς παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα (*Agam.* 1563 f.). The doer suffers, and the sufferer retaliates, and a kind of justice is done. But violence breeds violence, and evil perpetuates itself even in the process of its own punishment. If Zeus were in the old order only, then the prospect for mankind would indeed be grim, and the Hymn to Zeus would contain little reassurance. But Zeus is also in the wisdom of Athena (φρονεῖν δὲ κάμοι Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν οὐ κακῶς); and, after she has reconciled the Erinyes by her persuasions, she ascribes the victory to Zeus Agoraios.³⁰ When the Erinyes take their place in the new order, a fresh light is thrown upon the χάρις of divinities who exercise their awful sovereignty by violence, and the stage is set for the solemn, but intense, rejoicing with which the trilogy ends.

I have suggested that Aeschylus in the *Oresteia* and Sophocles in the *Oedipus Coloneus* were performing, in terms of the same conceptions, a religious function which tragedy was peculiarly fitted to perform.

Let us return to Theseus, moved (in Jebb's words) 'to adore both the χθόνιοι and the ὑπᾶντοι'. The *Coloneus* begins with the arrival of Oedipus at the grove of the Eumenides, daughters of Earth and Darkness; it ends (or almost ends) with the passing of Oedipus to become himself a chthonian power. To this destiny he is summoned by the thunder of Zeus. ἐκτυπεν αἰθήρ, ὦ Ζεῦ, exclaim the Chorus (1456); and thunder is indeed the attribute of the Olympian 'cloud-gathering' Zeus. But, in the hearing of the Messenger, κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς χθόνιος (1606). In this and in other ways, Sophocles establishes an indissoluble, if mysterious, relationship between Zeus and the nether powers—a relationship which is symbolised by the joint act of worship performed by Theseus.³¹ For Sophocles, I suggest, as for Aeschylus, the fundamental religious problem with which tragedy had to deal presented itself in this form: what is the relationship between Zeus on the one hand (and along with Zeus the other bright gods of the heavenly Olympus) and, on the other hand, the dark, primitive, infernal powers that dwell in the earth?

²⁶ Cf. 150, 162, 172 (παλαιγενεὶς δὲ μολρᾶς φθίσας), 333 f. (τοῦτο γὰρ λόγος διανταία Μοῖρα· ἐπὶ δὲ λῶσιν ἑμπίδους ἔχον), 391, 778 f. (ὡς θεοὶ κώτεροι παλαιούσιν νόμοις καθιπτάσασθε), 837 f.

²⁷ Limited, that is, to interest in the blood of kinsmen. But in the *Agamemnon* any bloodshed may evoke Erinyes (461 ff.) and another crime besides murder (748 f., cf. 60 ff.). I suggested (*Gnomon loc. cit.* 418) that the point at which the conception of the Erinyes, which has been narrowed for dramatic purposes, broadens out again is the ode *Eum.* 490 ff., where the language of the *Agamemnon* is recalled.

²⁸ The detailed interpretation of Διόθεν . . . μεταβαίνει involves difficulties, which do not, however, affect our present point.

²⁹ When the principle is restated in narrower form at 400 ff., there is specific mention of an Erinyes.

³⁰ *Eum.* 850, 974. Cf. also 826 (λόγῳ πίποισα Ζηνί).

³¹ Zeus comes gradually into prominence—and into relation-

ship with the nether powers—as the play proceeds. Three passages may be mentioned here. (i) 1044 ff. Zeus presides over the punitive operation (πᾶσι πᾶσι Ζεὺς τι κατ' ἡμᾶς, 1079). But this operation is, in effect, an answer to Oedipus's prayer (1010 ff.) that the Eumenides will help him, with the men of Athens as their agents. (ii) 1447 ff. The winged thunder of Zeus, which is bringing Oedipus to the lower world, evokes from the Chorus the same emotional reactions as the Eumenides in the earlier portions of the play: fear and the desire to propitiate (1464 ff., 1480 f.). (iii) 1432 ff. Polynices recognises that he is destined to evil by the Erinyes, but prays that Zeus may grant good to his sisters. But there is no such clear distinction. In fact, Antigone will be involved in his evil fate precisely if she fulfils the condition which he lays down for Zeus granting her good. (The uncertainties of the text do not affect this essential point.)

The distinction between the χθόνιοι and the οὐράνιοι ('Ολύμπιοι, ὑπὸ ττοι) is well known and clearly marked; the line between them has indeed recently been described as 'the one fundamental cleavage in Greek religion'.³² They were distinguished by many details of cult, but equally by the emotional attitude of the worshippers. The cult of the Olympians was cheerful—the sacrifice was a festival, in the benefits of which the worshippers would share. The worship of the χθόνιοι was attended by a fear which nothing illustrates better than the attitude of the villagers of Colonus towards the Eumenides: ἄς τρέμωμεν λέγειν καὶ παραμειβόμεσθ' ἀδέρκτως (128 ff.). Clearly the Greeks worshipped the Olympians in the hope of good, the chthonians in the fear of evil. There is a passage in Isocrates³³—and who could be better evidence for conventional Greek attitudes?—in which he divides the gods into two classes: 'those who are the cause of good things to us and are called Olympians; those who are set in charge of disasters and punishments and bear less agreeable names'. Not that this distinction was absolute, that the Olympians were never conceived as the source of evil, the chthonians (for that matter) never as the source of good.³⁴ The total facts are complex, just as the nature and cult of the Olympians prove on examination to be complex and to retain anomalous connexions with the earth. But, broadly, a distinction holds good, which is also the distinction between light and darkness, between day and night (the respective seasons of Olympian and chthonian sacrifice), between hope and fear, between good and evil.³⁵

Upon the tragedians, certainly, this contrast forced itself with a unique insistence. The terror which attended the worship of the χθόνιοι derived no doubt from association with the dead. The earth was the dwelling-place of the dead; the powers of the earth were the representatives of their interests and influence. Now the Greek tragic myths tend to deal with violent deaths and with the consequences of such deaths. For those who died by violence did not rest in the earth, but their spirits demanded vengeance, their Ἐρινύες secured it;³⁶ and this was a form of justice. But the tragedians (in the first instance, Aeschylus) inherited also a conception of Zeus as the supreme ruler of the universe and as the upholder of moral order. Therefore he must stand in some relationship to the powers of the dead, though his bright home in the sky was the very antithesis of the nether gloom. Indeed, according to one early formulation, the latter was not part of Zeus's realm at all: it belonged to his brother Pluto or Hades, who might also be called the nether Zeus (Ζεὺς χθόνιος). For Aeschylus, however, and equally for Sophocles, there could not be two Zeus's, but only one Zeus; so that the relationship between Ζεὺς οὐράνιος and Ζεὺς χθόνιος is another form which the problem can take, and does in fact take both in the *Oresteia* and in the *Coloneus*.³⁷

There was a further complication. In Homer, alongside Zeus, appears the mysterious power of μοῖρα—the portion, allotment, or dispensation. This concept (gradually emerging into personification) stood for what was rigid and inescapable, in nature and in society, in life and in death. Above all, perhaps, in death, since this power was most strikingly manifested in the term set to each human life. Μοῖρα represented an order, breaches of which were punished by the Erinyes, powers of the dark world.³⁸ Homer, and the popular thought of Greece, did not know, or perhaps care to know, how the powers of Zeus and of Μοῖρα were related to one another, but this was something Aeschylus had to determine. In his world there could not be a divided responsibility for good and evil: Olympians against chthonians, one Zeus against another Zeus, Zeus against Moira. If the world, human and divine, was to be understood, it must be understood as a whole, the dark with the light, the evil with the good. For this task tragic poetry, and perhaps tragic poetry alone, is fitted; and Aeschylus, the creator of tragedy, apprehended from the first this function which it performs.³⁹

So far little more has been done than to state a religious problem inherent in the very structure of the *Oresteia* and the *Oedipus Coloneus*, in terms of which the dramas should be interpreted. But a brief article such as this can only aim at prolegomena to an interpretation. I will end by making a few suggestions and asking a few questions.

³² W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, 220.

³³ V. 117.

³⁴ 'The chthonioi . . . have two primary functions: they ensure the fertility of the land, and they preside over, or have some function or other connected with, the realm of the souls of the dead' (Guthrie, *op. cit.*, 218). Aeschylus makes use of this double function in the closing scene of the *Eumenides*; in fact, in equating Erinyes and Eumenides he seems to be equating two sets of chthonian powers in which the one and the other function predominate respectively. (See also Reinhardt, *op. cit.*, 154 ff.) For the Olympians as a potential source of evil a general reference to Homer is perhaps sufficient.

³⁵ All these antitheses are prominent—are indeed of structural importance—in the *Oresteia*.

³⁶ This function of the Erinyes is clear, whether we accept or reject the view that in essence and origin they were the vengeful dead. (For a recent discussion see E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 7, 21.)

³⁷ For the *Coloneus* see above. At *Agam.* 1385 ff. Clytemnestra, with grim irony, associates the title σαρπη and the 'third libation', proper to Olympian Zeus, with ὁ κατὰ χθονός

Ζεὺς. (Enger's Διός, as Fraenkel says *ad loc.*, is clearly right.) It is in the light of that passage that we can read the implications of *Cho.* 577 f. (φόνου δ' Ἐρινύς οὐχ ὁμοεισπρασιμένη | ἀπαιτῶν αἷμα πικρὰ τρήνη πόνου). *Cho.* 382 ff. has already been mentioned. Orestes prays to Zeus to send up from below ὁμοεισπράσιον ἄντα (the epithet recalls *Agam.* 58). The phrase (κατὰ τὴν ἀμύμνητον) suggests that the nether Zeus is addressed. At 395 f. Zeus is once more Olympian, since κάρῃα δαΐδας implies the thunderbolt, but is associated in a way characteristic of the trilogy with Earth, chthonian powers, Erinyes and Arai. Is it possible that ἀμφιθαλής ('the exact meaning of the epithet cannot be determined', Fraenkel, *op. cit.* III 523) hints at the 'ambivalence' of Zeus, operating with power in both worlds, both οὐράνιος and χθόνιος?

³⁸ Cf. Dodds, *op. cit.* 6 ff. Zeus, μοῖρα, and Erinyes are associated in a famous line of Homer (*Il.* 19, 87)—a line which may well have stimulated the thought of Aeschylus.

³⁹ It is surprising that philosophers and theologians, in their debates on good and evil, have so neglected the evidence of tragedy, though tragedians are experts in the nature of evil and its place in the world order.

The trilogy of the *Oresteia* ends with joy. To attribute this merely to the establishment of an Athenian cult or to the celebration of an Athenian festival is altogether too narrow. The joy derives from the sure hope of good, now at last replacing the fear of evil which has brooded over the trilogy. τὸ εὖ νικάτω, sang the Chorus of the *Agamemnon*, and their prayer was mocked by events. But now good does prevail, and to mark it the syllable εὖ resounds again and again in the closing lines.⁴⁰ Words, themes and symbols which, in the early stages of the trilogy, have gathered sinister significance now reappear in the context of reconciliation and joy.⁴¹ It is as though Aeschylus were affirming a faith that the divine government of the world leads in the end to the triumph of good over evil and to hope for mankind. And this is symbolised above all by the reconciliation and transformation of the Erinyes, which also means that Aeschylus can say: 'Zeus and Moira have come together.' But when we ask into what the Erinyes have been transformed, the question is not simply answered—though it must be asked, if we are not to convict the poet of facile optimism or dramatic sleight-of-hand. What is certain is that the Erinyes have not ceased to be fearful; they still dwell in the earth; they are still ministers of punishment: μέγα γὰρ δύναται πόντι' Ἐρινύς (and these are the words of Athena) . . . τοῖς μὲν αἰδῶς, τοῖς δ' αὖ δακρύων βίον ἀμβλωπὸν παρέχουσαι (950 ff.). The great law παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα—that we must suffer for our actions—has not been abrogated. The divine powers still exercise their awful sovereignty, if need be, by force or violence. But to this principle has been added another—the principle of persuasion, embodied in Athena. Βία and παῖς: the antithesis is as fundamental to the thought of Aeschylus as it was natural to the Greek mind. The significant fact is that here we see the divine persuasion applied to the very representatives of divine violence. To pursue this train of thought in any adequate fashion is beyond the scope of this article, and I must content myself with suggesting that it was this transforming, reconciling power of persuasion and reasonableness that made the difference between primitive Argos and the new Athens of Athena, and that it was because of this difference and the revelation of the divine nature which it implied that Aeschylus was able to end his trilogy with a confident faith in the victory of good.⁴²

When we turn to Sophocles, we find what perhaps we should expect to find. Both Greeks, both Athenians, both tragic poets, both confronting the same world of good and evil, it is not surprising if the tragic thought of both shared much in common. The Furies are 'Eumenides' at Colonus, and they show their goodwill towards Oedipus in the end. The transformation of the Furies is, in some sense, assumed—and their transformation at Athens. More than once in the play, Athens and the Eumenides are significantly linked.⁴³ If the poet saw some special meaning in the fact that the Furies were worshipped in Attica under that title, we must find that meaning in the role of Theseus. Unlike the Chorus, Theseus shows no fear either of Oedipus or of the goddesses.⁴⁴ Ruling in a city where law prevails at home, which respects the rights of others, practises fair dealing (τὸ ἐπιεικές), and keeps its word,⁴⁵ perhaps he has no need to fear them. His pity springs spontaneously from his humanity⁴⁶ and, when he uses force, he does so without passion,⁴⁷ in defence of the weak. Theseus in the *Coloneus* preserves what Athena in the *Oresteia* had ordained. Goddess and king, both represent an ideal for Athens; and the more nearly it was attained, the less had Athens to fear the harsh retributive forces and the more would the Furies justify the title under which they were worshipped at Colonus.

But Theseus, being an ideal, is a little remote. He acts towards Oedipus with humanity, but is not really involved in his tragedy. There is a characteristic difference between the two dramas we are considering. In the *Oresteia* Orestes is a shadowy figure. Relieved of anxiety about his fate, the audience can forget him in the metaphysical debate which follows. But Oedipus is present almost to the last—the blind, the vituperative Oedipus, visible and insistent evidence of the sufferings to which he was bred and which he breeds. 'He came into the world under a curse and he left it cursing.'⁴⁸ His curse was roughly just⁴⁹ and wholly effective: it was too effective. Having

⁴⁰ Something more is said on this theme in an article on *Agam.* 1348 ff. to appear this year in the *CQ* (1954) 23 ff.

⁴¹ Cf. G. Thomson, *Oresteia* I, 69.

⁴² Further remarks on the μῆδος-βία antithesis will be found in *Gnomon*, loc. cit. 420. I should like to refer here, as I do there, to the Epilogue to Cornford's *Plato's Cosmology* (361 ff.), where he calls attention to this striking Aeschylean conception and brings it into relation with an aspect of Plato's thought in the *Timaeus*. Whitehead (*Adventures of Ideas* 213) refers to Plato's conviction 'that the divine element in the world is to be conceived as a persuasive agency and not as a coercive agency' and comments that 'this doctrine should be looked upon as one of the greatest intellectual discoveries in the history of religion'. With the addition of one word ('not merely a coercive agency') this is the doctrine of Aeschylus in the *Oresteia*.

⁴³ (i) 106 ff. The prayer for pity, which at the beginning of the speech was addressed to the Eumenides only (qualified as θεοῖσσι), is now addressed jointly to the Eumenides (now qualified as γυναικῶν) and to Athens. The inclusion of Athens mitigates the paradox (see n. 17), and rightly so, if it was

Athena and Athena that had transformed Erinyes into Eumenides. (ii) 457 ff., where the men of Colonus stand as representatives of the πόλις. (iii) 1010 ff., which implies that the goddesses act in defence of Oedipus through Theseus and his citizens. (See also n. 31.)

⁴⁴ The Chorus, in their superstitious fear, nearly drive their benefactor away. Contrast their caution at 490 ff. with the attitude of Theseus at 561 f. Not until 1650 ff. does Theseus show fear.

⁴⁵ 1125 ff. (cf. 913 f.).

⁴⁶ 566 ff.

⁴⁷ 904 ff. (εἰ μὲν δὲ ὀργῆς ἦκον). Contrast Creon (874) and Oedipus (855).

⁴⁸ D. W. Lucas, *The Greek Tragic Poets*, 144.

⁴⁹ Roughly just, because the sons had indeed behaved badly. But it is no part of the intention of Sophocles that Oedipus should be fair to his sons. Thus, if at 1354 ff. Oedipus attributes to Polynices a degree of responsibility hardly consistent with what we are told elsewhere about the developing political situation at Thebes, no hypothesis is needed to explain this fact. Oedipus is not a dispassionate judge, but an ill-used man brimming over with θυμῶς.

pronounced it, he could not limit, could not even envisage, its full effect. He imagined that he had provided for the welfare of his beloved daughters by entrusting them to Theseus, but the play ends with Theseus promising Antigone safe-conduct to Thebes. So in the end the *Coloneus* leads back into the *Antigone*, and Oedipus destroys the daughter he loved along with the sons he hated.⁵⁰

It is the mystery of the Sophoclean Oedipus that he seems to earn his place among the chthonian powers by administering that kind of blind and passionate justice, based on the principle of retaliation and involving the innocent with the guilty, which we associate with the earlier phases of the *Oresteia* rather than with the closing scene of the *Eumenides*. Does Sophocles here diverge from the thought of Aeschylus? Not necessarily; but certainly he places the emphasis differently—perhaps because he was a different man, perhaps because he had lived through half a century which had belied the promise of Aeschylean Athens. Certainly the Furies might become Eumenides: Theseus shows that Athena had not persuaded in vain. But the story of Oedipus and his children involves the defeat of the attempt to persuade the Furies.⁵¹

For any consideration of the *Oedipus Coloneus* should end, as Sophocles ended the play, with Antigone. Caught, like her father and brothers, in the harsh workings of destiny, she has the function of mitigating the harshness. It is her triumph that she (along with her sister) has evoked a great love from the embittered soul of Oedipus.⁵² It is her failure that, at the grand climax, she cannot prevail with him. Antigone represents the power of persuasion towards mercy, and she fails: fails with the Chorus in the Parodos, fails with her father, fails with Polynices, fails (as we know) in the task which she set herself at the end of the play.⁵³ She fails to prevent terrible events, but by her love and pity mitigates the gross evil of them. Perhaps that is one of the things Sophocles meant to say: pity is too weak, but triumphs even in defeat. 'Zeus himself', says Polynices (1267 f.), 'in all that he does, has Mercy (Ἀδωξ) for the sharer of his throne'. But Oedipus claims (1380 ff.) that his curses prevail, 'if indeed Justice, proclaimed from of old, sits with Zeus according to primeval laws'.⁵⁴ Which of them is right? Can the statements be harmonised? What is the standing of Antigone's pity in Zeus's world, which also contains the Furies, reconciled or unreconciled?

Antigone goes to her death, but not until after Theseus has performed his solemn joint act of adoration to Zeus and the chthonians. Or we can reverse the statement. Theseus is moved by the passing of Oedipus to adore Zeus and the chthonians, but that does not save Antigone from going to her death. Until we can say which version of the statement better represents the thought of Sophocles, we can hardly claim to have satisfactorily interpreted the play. But I suggest that it must, at all events, be interpreted with reference to the *Oresteia* and in terms of the relationship between Zeus and the chthonian powers, particularly those great symbols of tragic process, whether they are to be called Erinyes or Eumenides.

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⁵⁰ 1769 ff. The theme of the *Antigone* has already been suggested at 1405 ff. It may be observed that the destruction of Antigone is also involved in the fulfilment of the curse which Oedipus lays upon Creon (868 ff.).

⁵¹ Nor can Aeschylus, for that matter, have conceived the reconciliation and transformation of the Furies as a event which had happened, once and for all, at a fixed point of mythological time—rather as a process continuing, intermittently and with variable success, throughout human history.

⁵² The degree of the triumph can be judged by contrasting 1617 ff. with 529 ff. (esp. 509 & 512). They, no less than their brothers, were fruits of the incestuous Fury-haunted marriage.

⁵³ 254 ff.: she moves the Chorus to pity only. 1181 ff.: despite her limited success in obtaining audience for Polynices, Oedipus remains unmoved as a rock in the sea (1239 ff.) and the force of her arguments (esp. 1189 ff.) is lost. 1414 ff. 1770 ff.

⁵⁴ With *καλίσπερος, ἀρχαίος* cf. *Cho.* 314 and the claims of the Erinyes in the *Eumenides* (see n. 26).

THE question as to whether Seleucus was included in the Peace of 311 B.C., when the allied coalition came to terms with Antigonos the One-Eyed, has been frequently discussed. Droysen's opinion that he was not¹ seemed to be confirmed in a conclusive manner by Munro's discovery at the end of the century of the Scepis inscription,² in which Antigonos, in an official letter to the city of Scepis in the Troad, sets out the terms of the peace treaty and the names of the participants; for, as in the brief passage of Diodorus dealing with the same event, there is no mention of Seleucus.³ Nevertheless, Beloch⁴ and others were unconvinced, and supported their dissenting view by pointing to the fact that the historical record showed no clear trace of fighting between Antigonos and Seleucus immediately after 311. Subsequently, however, it was established that such fighting did take place at that time by the discovery of fragments of a Babylonian chronicle relating to the Successors.⁵ This new evidence also made it clearer than ever that Seleucus had not been included in the Peace, by showing that the chief motive of Antigonos in making peace then was the wish to be left free to combat Seleucus, who had just re-established himself as an independent power in the eastern satrapies of the empire. The correct interpretation of the evidence would seem to be that given, for example, by Rostovtzeff: that Seleucus was excluded from the Peace, because Antigonos insisted upon this condition; that Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus acquiesced; and that war was at once waged against him by Antigonos.⁶

Not all scholars have been able to reconcile themselves to this straightforward explanation. Some find it more probable to suppose that Seleucus was a party to the Peace, not indeed in the same way as the others, but by means of a secret agreement or tacit understanding. Their solutions range from Niese's hypothesis that Seleucus, by a purely verbal agreement at the time of the Peace, was to be allowed to retain his post of Babylonian satrap until Alexander IV came of age,⁷ to an important article by Momigliano,⁸ which followed up a series of attempts by other Italian scholars.⁹ These latter sought to read into the description of the peace terms in Diodorus the suggestion that Seleucus was to be in some way safeguarded in his tenure of the Babylonian satrapy while recognising the over-lordship of Antigonos as ruler of Asia. Momigliano, after denying the possibility of a separate peace between Antigonos and Seleucus, declared that the condition of Seleucus *vis-à-vis* Antigonos was similar to that of Lysimachus *vis-à-vis* Cassander; Lysimachus, however, being in friendly relationship with Cassander, was able to participate in the treaty, whereas Seleucus, because of the recognition of Antigonos as lord of Asia (ἀφ' ἡγέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας πέρσης), was unable to do so, at any rate directly; at the same time the Peace guaranteed the autonomy of Seleucus, and for the moment he was satisfied with this arrangement.¹⁰ I shall return to this argument later.

Further light can perhaps be thrown upon this problem and related questions by a consideration of the negotiations that led up to the Peace, a matter which has received only slight attention from historians. It is true that the accounts given by Diodorus (1) of the meeting between Antigonos and Ptolemy at Eregma in 314, and (2) of that between Antigonos and Cassander on the Hellespont in 313 are both very brief;¹¹ since, moreover, the outcome on each occasion was inconclusive, it is hardly surprising that they should have been neglected. But when the circumstances in which they took place are investigated and brought into relation with other passages in Diodorus and the Scepis inscription, they seem to have an important bearing on the Peace of 311 itself, and they certainly help to fit that agreement more securely into the historical framework.

Before Tyre fell, and before Antigonos's naval preparations were complete, there took place, as the outcome of an incident in the harrying warfare being carried on by Ptolemy and Seleucus off the coasts of Asia Minor, a private meeting between Antigonos and Ptolemy at Eregma, a barren piece of land near the easternmost arm of the Nile.¹² This meeting is commonly ignored by modern writers, yet it deserves to be mentioned. It is true that no details are given by the only writer who reports it, beyond the bare facts that a meeting took place and that Antigonos would not agree to Ptolemy's demands; but more can be extracted by considering the circumstances in which the meeting was held and the probable views of the participants.

The facts are as follows:¹³ Polycleitus had been sent out by Seleucus from Cyprus in command of a naval squadron. Leaving Greece, where he was no longer required because Alexander, the

¹ Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* II (1877-78), I, 63; 67.
² Munro, *JHS* (1899), 330 ff. = *OGIS* 5 = Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (1934), no. 1.

³ Diod. XIX 105, 1 (omission by Diodorus could have arisen through his abbreviation of the narrative in Hieronymus, as Beloch points out; see following note).

⁴ Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* IV (1926-27), I, 133; cf. *ib.* IV, 2, 618.

⁵ Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts* (1924), 124 ff.; for Smith's much revised historical commentary see *Rev. d'Assyriologie* (1925), 179 ff.

⁶ Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. of the Hellenistic World* (1941),

12 ff.; cf. Jouguet, *L'Impérialisme Macédonien* (1926), 174 f.; Cary, *History of the Greek World 323-146 B.C.* (1932), app. 3, p. 384.

⁷ Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia* I (1893), 304.

⁸ *Studi ital. di filol. class.* VIII (1930), 83 ff.

⁹ See Corradi, *Studi ellenistici* (1929), 16 ff., where the earlier articles of Costanzi and Denicolai are summarised; cf. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* I (1937), 118 n. 3.

¹⁰ Momigliano, *loc. cit.*, p. 86.

¹¹ Diod. XIX 64, 8; *ib.* 75, 6.

¹² Diod. XIX 64, 8.

¹³ Diod. XIX 64, 4 ff.

son of Polyperchon, had gone over to the allied side, he sailed along the coast of Pamphylia as far as Aphrodisias in Cilicia. He disembarked his troops at this place, and first ambushed a land force under Antigonus's general Perilaus, and then completed his victory by capturing intact a fleet that the soldiers had been escorting. This fine achievement was duly honoured by Ptolemy when Polycleitus and his men reached the Egyptian port of Pelusium; for not only was the victory an important one in itself, but it also emphasised the strength of the allies at sea, and was, therefore, a serious discouragement to Antigonus, who was then engaged in building up a fleet to match theirs.

The meeting between the two dynasts arose out of negotiations for the release of Perilaus and some of the other prisoners. It seems that the suggestion for the meeting came from Ptolemy rather than Antigonus, for the latter's delegation concerned itself exclusively with ransoming the prisoners. Since there is no mention of the payment of ransom money, it is conceivable that Ptolemy released the prisoners without ransom. Now it was a general practice to lead up to regular peace negotiations by conciliatory gestures of this sort. We may then assume that Antigonus acceded to Ptolemy's request for an interview at Ecregma on the frontier between their territories.

This meeting between Antigonus and Ptolemy was followed shortly afterwards by a similar meeting on the Hellespont between Antigonus and Cassander. Here again our account is very brief, merely noting the meeting and its inconclusive outcome, the two men being unable to reach any agreement.¹⁴ In this case we may presume that it was Antigonus who took the initiative in calling the conference; but it is reasonable to suppose that Cassander also was interested in the possibility of a peace settlement, and this is supported by the continuation of Diodorus's narrative, which tells how Cassander, 'giving up the idea of a settlement' (ἀπογνοὺς τὰς διαλύσεις),¹⁵ decided to resume his operations in Greece; and the mere presence of a dynast at one of these interviews denotes some degree of readiness to consider terms of peace, so that it can be misleading to suppose that only the man who takes the initiative has any interest in the outcome; a certain amount of reciprocity must be assumed.

These, then, are the two sets of negotiations which preceded the later and more successful exchanges that led to the Peace of 311. The prologue of the Scepis letter, with its reference to the breakdown of the talks on the Hellespont in 313, provides the obvious starting point for a discussion of the relationship between the Ecregma and Hellespont negotiations of 314-13 and those leading up to the Peace of 311. Of course it is by no means impossible that other negotiations, of a similar type to those that led directly to the conclusion of peace in 311, actually took place in the intervening years through envoys sent from one side to another; that a record of them should have been lost is not surprising when we remember their secret character and the reluctance of any individual dynast to let it appear that he was deserting his allies for his own advantage, not, at any rate, before he was assured of an agreement to his own liking. (This, it will be argued, is indeed what did happen in 311 and, later, in 302 B.C.) Whether Hieronymus passed over any such meetings is uncertain, perhaps unlikely; but Diodorus has severely abbreviated Hieronymus in many places, and this explains much omission.¹⁶ At all events, the discussion is perforce limited to the three known sets—Ecregma, 314, Hellespont, 313, and those of 312/11.

Now the outstanding fact given by the Scepis letter is that Cassander and Lysimachus negotiated with Antigonus in 312/11, drew up an agreement, and made a peace with him that did not include either Ptolemy or Seleucus.¹⁷ Only after this separate peace had been settled did Ptolemy begin to negotiate for inclusion in it. This is, of course, Antigonus's own account, and, since other parts of the letter can be shown to be misleading propaganda, doubt has been thrown on this (the crucial) passage.¹⁸ Yet it is surely inconceivable that Antigonus in an official letter would venture upon a downright falsification, which is what this theory postulates, as distinct from a propagandist colouring of true facts. It is far more probable that the existence of a separate peace with Cassander and Lysimachus was the incontrovertible fact upon which Antigonus built the superstructure of propaganda found in the following lines, where he boasts of his forbearance in not taking advantage of the isolated Ptolemy, the reason for which, so he claims, being purely a desire to spare the Greek cities the suffering entailed by a continuation of the war.¹⁹ It is perfectly sound procedure for the historian to reject this as hollow pretence and to expose the strategical considerations that determined his decision, but, equally, it is thoroughly unsound to sweep away the foundation of truth without which the superstructure of propaganda would be senseless and completely ineffective.²⁰ But apart from these considerations of Antigonus's technique and the

¹⁴ Diod. XIX 75. 6.

¹⁵ Diod. XIX 75. 6; the same expression is used in the account of the Peace of 311 in the Scepis letter: *OGIS* 5. 10 (ὅτι τὸν διαλύσαντα) and 30 f. (διαλυθῆντα).

¹⁶ See Bauer, *Die Heidelberger Epitome* (1914), pp. 15 ff., where many examples are given; cf. Schubert, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit* (1914), 272 ff.; Jacoby, *FGH* II BD, 545.

¹⁷ *OGIS* 5. 26-31; consequently the word Πτολεμαῖος in 1. 9 f. must be a slip on the part of the stone-cutter. Either he should have written 'Lysimachus' (so Cavaignac, *Hist. de l'ant.* III (1914), 25), or he inscribed an incorrect form of the

name 'Polemaeus', Antigonus's nephew, who was at this time operating in Greece against Cassander (so Wilcken and Dittenberger). It does not matter which correction is adopted, or how the mistake is explained, so long as we exclude the possibility that Antigonus could have contradicted himself in an official letter.

¹⁸ E.g. by Welles, *op. cit.* 10.

¹⁹ *OGIS* 5. 42 ff. et al.

²⁰ Cf. Koehler, *SB Berlin* (1901), 1059: 'Den in dem Schreiben . . . enthaltenen tatsächlichen Angaben hat man keine Ursache zu misstrauen; anders verhält es sich mit den Motiven welche den tatsächlichen Angaben zur Erläuterung beigelegt sind.'

credibility of what he says in particular parts of the letter, the supposition that Ptolemy was not included in the original draft of the Peace fits in excellently with the whole course of events both before and after the Peace of 311. Not only does it help to explain why Seleucus was excluded from the Peace, but it also gives one of the reasons for the open hostility between Ptolemy and Cassander in 309.²¹ The lack of co-operation, amounting indeed to a hidden (or open) breach, between Ptolemy (and Seleucus) and Cassander (and Lysimachus), which goes back to the earliest years of the coalition and which continued up to 302, is illustrated in the most striking fashion. Incidentally, Koehler thought the non-mention of the Ecregma meeting in the Scepsis letter pointed a little to the non-inclusion of Ptolemy in the first draft; but this seems a very fragile argument.²²

During these years (315/11), as well as later, Antigonus was fighting an imperfectly united opposition, a fact that gave him the diplomatic and military initiative. It will, therefore, be most profitable to observe Antigonus's own attitude and possible proposals at the different negotiations, and to study those of the other dynasts as they fall into place with his, the most significant and influential policy of the time. It is generally recognised that Antigonus took the initiative in making peace in 311, where the desire to have a free hand against Seleucus is the decisive motive; it would only be natural if his thoughts at Ecregma and on the Hellespont had run along similar lines, so that his object on each occasion, whether he called the conference or not, should have been the conclusion of a separate peace with one or more of the dynasts, in order to be left free to deal with an isolated opponent in another direction. Long before 311 the failure of the war to reach a crisis must have made him realise the impossibility of winning a quick victory, even if he had not (as is more probable) seen from the start the great difficulties involved in any attempt to win control of the rest of the empire in one great blow. Indeed, from 315 onwards Antigonus seems to have resigned himself to fighting the war piecemeal. Thus we have the posting of a defensive army on one front, while the main forces take the offensive elsewhere, a strategy illustrated, for example, by the defensive role allotted to Demetrius in S. Syria before Gaza, in contrast with the offensive operations of other generals, such as Docimus and Polemaeus in Asia Minor and Greece, at the same time. This is of course normal strategy, but it may also denote a deficiency in strength, and in any case was only justifiable if the offensive wing was in sight of victory; otherwise the establishment of a defensive army in the south of Syria simply meant the wasteful idleness of a large body of soldiers. Perhaps Antigonus had this consideration in mind when he met Ptolemy at Ecregma.

A reconstruction of what passed at the Ecregma meeting can only be guess-work; but is it unreasonable to suggest that the talks broke down over Ptolemy's insistence that Seleucus's right to the Babylonian satrapy be recognised as the *sine qua non* of a separate peace between Antigonus and himself, and that Antigonus was then, as later, unshakably opposed to this, and so had to reject Ptolemy's condition point-blank?²³ Seleucus was a close friend of Ptolemy, and had influence with him: this is well attested;²⁴ and the outbreak of the war in 315 was, to some extent, the consequence of the expulsion of Seleucus from Babylon by Antigonus, just as one of the principal allied demands, the rejection of which by Antigonus constituted the formal cause of war, had been the restoration of Seleucus to his lost satrapy.²⁵ Had Antigonus given way to Ptolemy's demand for the restoration of Seleucus, a separate peace with Ptolemy would probably have been arranged at Ecregma, since Antigonus was presumably ready at that time to agree to Ptolemy controlling Cyprus, a situation he could not then effectively challenge. For his part, Ptolemy probably understood that there was no longer any serious danger of Antigonus winning a quick victory over the allies, and a truce between Antigonus and himself would leave Cyprus, his most important overseas possession, intact; whilst the future of the island had now become uncertain with the fall of Tyre and the coming into being of Antigonus's fleet. The local victory by Polycleitus gave him an opportunity to get out of the war on tolerable conditions by concluding a separate peace with Antigonus. Yet the talks at Ecregma failed to bring any kind of understanding; why? The circumstances being what they were, we must assume either that Antigonus was completely intractable, or that Ptolemy over-played his hand by demanding the restoration of Seleucus; the latter is the more probable explanation when we take into account later events, but the other cannot be entirely ruled out.

After the breakdown of the Ecregma conversations, Antigonus turned north and tested the possibility of an agreement with that part of the hostile coalition represented by Cassander and Lysimachus. Talks took place 'on the Hellespont', i.e. on the frontier between the territories of Antigonus and Lysimachus. Cassander and Antigonus were the main participants, but Lysimachus may also have been present.²⁶ The object of Antigonus must have been the same as at Ecregma—to keep one group of dynasts out of the war while he concentrated against another group or against a single opponent (as immediately after 311). As for Cassander, he had been sickened by his recent failure in Caria, and was perhaps not unwilling to be freed from the Asiatic entanglements into which the alliance with Ptolemy had drawn him, especially since Ptolemy and Seleucus were not

²¹ Diod. XX 37. 1 f.; cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* IV, 1, 145 f.
²² *loc. cit.* 1061.

²³ Diod. XIX 56. 1; *ib.* 80. 3.

²⁴ *ib.* 56, 57, 1.

²⁵ As Niese suggests (*op. cit.* 288 n. 5). It may be inferred from the close collaboration between Lysimachus and Cassander in countering the subsequent threat of Antigonus to invade Europe. Cf. Diod. XX 106. 3.

conspicuously active even in this, their own sphere.²⁷ Ptolemy was certainly following a selfish policy, designed to win for himself certain narrow local advantages (as on Cyprus), to the neglect of the war as a whole; and this calculating and selfish behaviour is characteristic of his action throughout the period. Cassander may also have reflected that he had been brought into the war in 315 largely through the clever scare-mongering of Seleucus,²⁸ now a mere protégé of Ptolemy, and must have been very discouraged by the way in which a possibly unnecessary breach with Antigonus had brought about a crumbling of his formerly well-established position in Greece. No one will suggest that Ptolemy had sought permission from Cassander before going to Ecregma, and this lesson in unilateral action and self-help cannot have been lost on the latter. At any rate the rift between Cassander and Ptolemy is clear enough in the events after 311, and no doubt it goes back as far as 313 or earlier; there is no need to insist upon it further.

Nevertheless, Antigonus failed to reach agreement with Cassander on the Hellespont in 313. Why was this? The Scepsis letter ascribes the breakdown of the talks to the malevolent intervention of some unspecified persons,²⁹ but there can be little doubt that this vague phrase conceals the true reason for the failure. The more natural explanation is that the terms offered to Cassander by Antigonus were exorbitant, or, conversely, from Antigonus's point of view, that Cassander demanded excessive guarantees for the security of his position in Europe. I believe the former explanation to be the more probable for the following reasons: (1) what Antigonus claimed *before* Gaza must have been stiffer terms than any he could ask for *after* Gaza; (2) that the terms of the Peace of 311, in spite of Antigonus's complaint that he had to make great concessions to bring it about, do not seem to have been notably disadvantageous to him. In fact, the Peace of 311 amounted to a guaranteed maintenance of the *status quo*. It is true that Antigonus secured the inclusion of a clause promising autonomy to the Greek cities everywhere, but this was simply propaganda and did not imply any change in the existing situation, either in Europe or in Asia,³⁰ as both parties tacitly recognised. Antigonus in his letter to Scepsis is, however, naturally intent upon boasting of the advantages he had brought the Greek cities, both by securing the insertion in the peace treaty of the autonomy clause and, more generally, by relieving them of the burden of the war and the contributions he was compelled to levy for its prosecution. Indeed, he goes so far as to claim that this was his sole reason for foregoing a great strategic advantage.³¹

This passage, of course, cannot supply the answer to our problem. Yet it may suggest a clue as to why the terms asked by Cassander and Lysimachus in 311 were described by Antigonus as burdensome, and further, why they were so much more unpleasant than those offered by Antigonus in 313. The main advantage to Cassander in the Peace of 311, it has been suggested, was that by it he was allowed to maintain himself in Macedonia as recognised successor to his father and as guardian of Roxane and Alexander IV.³² This was certainly a considerable achievement for the man who only a few years before had been dependent on the subsidies of Antigonus.³³ Antigonus had vigorously denounced Cassander's usurpation, including his illegal detention of the boy king and his mother, at the Tyre assembly in 315.³⁴ Now, when Antigonus's overbearing and intransigent temper is taken into consideration, it seems by no means impossible that in the negotiations of 313 Antigonus actually demanded that Cassander submit himself to the decisions taken by the Tyre assembly and place himself under his authority, perhaps in somewhat the same way as Polyperchon had done not long before. By agreeing to this Cassander would have reverted to his former position of a mere subordinate of Antigonus.

Though such demands appear almost too excessive to be conceivable in the situation of 313, it is instructive to compare the position in 302. Then Demetrius, having overrun the whole of southern Greece, was marching north through Thessaly to do battle, at the head of the army of the reconstituted Hellenic League, together with strong forces of his own, with Cassander.³⁵ Alarmed, Cassander approached Antigonus for peace terms; he must have been shocked when he learnt that Antigonus's terms were *unconditional surrender*. He then awoke to the full gravity of the situation, got into touch with Ptolemy and Seleucus, and, working closely with Lysimachus, laid plans for vigorous counter-action.³⁶ This incident proves that Antigonus had a tendency to impose harsh terms wherever the situation allowed. It has a further value for us—it shows that the dynasts of the coalition were ready to negotiate individually with Antigonus, and so confirms the suggestion already made that neither Cassander nor Ptolemy scrupled to desert the other as they saw fit.³⁷

Such a regulated submission on the part of Cassander as I have suggested would also have carried with it important concessions in Greece (the evacuation of Munychia and other of Cassander's garrisons, for example). That would have represented a real victory for the cause of Greek autonomy as opposed to the empty achievement of the autonomy clause in the Peace of 311.

²⁷ Their help to Asander in Caria had been too little and too late: Diod. XIX 62. 2, 5.

²⁸ *Ib.* 56. 3.

²⁹ Welles, *op. cit.*, no. 1. 7 f.; see below.

³⁰ Diod. XIX 105. 1. It is impossible to enter here into the many interesting questions concerning the policy of Antigonus and the other Macedonian leaders towards Greek states.

³¹ Welles, *op. cit.*, no. 1. 1 ff.; 12 ff.; 21 ff.; 42 ff.

³² Theoretically, only until the latter attained to his majority, so that Cassander in this respect was worse off than the others (Diod. XIX 105. 1; cf. Bengtson, *op. cit.* 89).

³³ Diod. XVIII 54. 3; *ib.* 68. 1.

³⁴ Diod. XIX 61. 1 ff.

³⁵ Diod. XX 110. 2 ff.

³⁶ Diod. XX 106. 1 ff.

³⁷ For allied disunity before Ipsus cf. Justin XV 2. 15.

In return Cassander might have been permitted to remain as Antigonos's general in Macedonia (Polyperchon was to be excluded from the treaty³⁸), but would of course have had to surrender the guardianship of the young king and his mother to Antigonos as regent. As further bait Antigonos may have offered to respect the position of Lysimachus in Thrace, an important matter for the future security of Cassander's own position.³⁹

Naturally, in the absence of sufficient evidence this reconstruction is quite hypothetical and is merely offered as a suggestion. But, whatever the correct solution, it will have to take account of two considerations: (1) Antigonos's position in 313 (before Gaza) was more favourable than in 311 (after Gaza), irrespective of minor changes in Greece, such as the defection of Alexander, son of Polyperchon, and the inconclusive campaigns of Polemaeus and Telesphorus; (2) for that reason he would, on the earlier occasion (313), be inclined to impose harsher terms, and Cassander, in turn, be more likely to accept them than after Gaza. Moreover, the likelihood that a *démarche* regarding Greek autonomy was made by Antigonos at this time can scarcely be denied. The campaign for Greek autonomy had been the chief article of his policy ever since the Tyre decree of 315; it had rendered him good service during the fighting in Asia Minor, and had undoubtedly won him many friends in the Aegean and in Europe; the Boeotian and Aetolian alliances, in particular, are good evidence of its success.⁴⁰ In 311 he insisted upon the insertion of a clause guaranteeing Greek autonomy, for his own propaganda purposes rather than in hopes of securing a strategic gain thereby; and the whole of his letter to Scsepsis provides ample proof of his keen interest in this aspect of the political situation. Briefly expressed, his argument is that he made peace to his own disadvantage in order to secure Greek interests, and, if the results are disproportionate to his boast, one can sense running through this remarkable letter the suppressed idea of how much more he would have done for the Greek cities if circumstances had allowed.⁴¹ Yet, more favourable circumstances had in fact presented themselves in 313, and he himself declares that he pressed their case on that occasion.⁴² The letter is tendentious and must be used with the greatest care, but the exploitation of the autonomy slogan by Antigonos is too well attested in our literary sources for us to doubt that it was as prominent as ever in the Hellespontine negotiations of 313.⁴³ On the other hand, we are by no means obliged to accept a claim made a few lines later in this same letter, to the effect that there was substantial agreement between Cassander and Antigonos on the Greek question before the talks were broken up by 'certain meddlers';⁴⁴ any more than we need assume that this unspecified interference played any part in Cassander's rejection of the terms proposed.⁴⁵ All in all, we may say that the 'considerable concessions' offered by Antigonos on the Hellespont appeared in quite a different light to Cassander, and that the proposed alleviation of Greek distress in Europe was no less objectionable to him than the other terms put forward by Antigonos, whatever they were.

That Seleucus was not included in the Peace of 311 is the main argument of this paper. Further evidence in support of this belief will be adduced below, but at this point it may be permissible to work backwards from the assumption to see how well it fits the known facts. Assuming the fact, then, it is an irresistible deduction that Antigonos's object in concluding peace at that time was to crush Seleucus, newly restored to Babylon as the result of the defeat of Demetrius at Gaza. The record of Antigonos's hard but unsuccessful campaigns against Seleucus after 311 has been largely lost, and the Babylonian documents which attest them cause considerable difficulty to those who attempt their elucidation.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the fact of Seleucus's isolation and abandonment by his former allies is plain. Most of the blame for this desertion falls on Ptolemy, his closest friend and the man who sponsored his return to Babylon. But, when the case is examined dispassionately it is clear that Ptolemy had hardly any choice. Refusal to adhere to the terms of the Peace would have left him isolated and exposed to a full-scale, concentrated attack upon his Egyptian stronghold by Antigonos. Such a prospect naturally alarmed him, for the failure of Perdiccas in 321 did not prove that Egypt was impregnable; indeed, earlier history proved that it was not. Conversely, the diversion of large portions of Antigonos's armies to the eastern satrapies would ease the tension in the west, and so provide a welcome relief. Admittedly the position of Seleucus seemed desperate, and his overthrow merely a matter of months. Ptolemy perhaps thought that Seleucus would be able to hold his own; at any rate Seleucus had decided to take a great risk after Gaza, and there is no reason to think that his gamble was dependent upon Ptolemy continuing at war with Antigonos and refusing to sign a separate peace with him. For all that he owed to Ptolemy Seleucus would not have been so ungrateful as to embarrass him in that fashion; it

³⁸ Welles, *op. cit.*, no. 1. 39 ff.

³⁹ Perhaps the concessions referred to in Welles, no. 1. 2 f.

⁴⁰ Diod. XIX 75. 6.

⁴¹ Cf. Heuss, *Hermes* (1938), 189 n. 1.

⁴² Welles, no. 1. 1 ff.

⁴³ On Antigonos's anxiety to win the confidence of the Greek cities by a sincere application of his autonomy policy, see Diod. XIX 74. 1; *ib.* 78. 2.

⁴⁴ Welles, no. 1. 7 f.

⁴⁵ This is clearly recognised by Welles (*op. cit.* 9). Tarn

thinks that Ptolemy intervened (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI (1927), 486). No doubt he would have hindered a separate peace if he could have done so, but it is hard to believe that such intervention, if it occurred, determined Cassander's decision. Koehler (*SB Berlin* (1901), 1060) thinks that friends of Cassander are meant; he does not accept that Ptolemy is meant.

⁴⁶ See Olmstead, *Class. Phil.* (1937), 1 ff.; cf. Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* 626 B.C.-A.D. 45 (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation* no. 24 2nd. ed. 1946), 17 f.

is far more likely that a general agreement existed whereby each should act primarily for himself but with regard for the other man's position.⁴⁷ Excluded from the Peace, the position of Seleucus certainly appeared desperate, but it had been his own choice, and his estimate of the possibilities was proved correct in the outcome. Unfortunately, the defectiveness of our records for this period makes it impossible for us to give a final and satisfactory verdict on this question. How Seleucus overcame what to all appearance were insuperable dangers with an army composed in the main of Asiatics remains one of the most exciting lost chapters of history. It is at least possible to make out that the failure of Antigonus to crush Seleucus in the eastern satrapies was the turning point in his fight for the empire.

After the signing of the Peace Antigonus must have been congratulating himself on having outmanoeuvred Ptolemy by his separate agreement with Cassander and Lysimachus, whereby he had forced Ptolemy to sacrifice Seleucus. It is true that Antigonus's diplomatic skill was matched by the cunning of Ptolemy in using the autonomy slogan against its author, when he fomented (or sought to foment) disaffection among the Greek cities in Antigonus's own territory,⁴⁸ but those movements can have had but little effect on the course of operations further east. The decision of Antigonus to admit Ptolemy to the Peace does not indicate any great strategical sacrifice on his part; he had chosen to take the offensive in the east and not in the south, a deliberate choice and strategically correct. The Peace by isolating Seleucus gave Antigonus a great strategic gain, or so it must have seemed at the time.⁴⁹ Naturally there is nothing about this in the letter to Scepis; there is only the vague reference to the sacrifice involved in admitting Ptolemy to the Peace.⁵⁰ But, after all, it is not to be expected that Antigonus should take the Greek cities into his full confidence. Nevertheless, the conclusion cannot be avoided that this and other passages in the letter are striking examples of dissembling, even of hypocrisy, on his part. This diplomatic shrewdness is one side of the man's character, the other being his arrogance and ruthlessness, disfigurements that spoilt the skill of his diplomacy by making him insist on excessively harsh terms from Cassander in 313 and 302, and perhaps also from Ptolemy in 314 (at Ecregma).

Summary and Conclusion.

Since Antigonus had already agreed on terms of peace with Cassander and Lysimachus in the agreement drawn up in 311, before Ptolemy made a belated adhesion to them also, it seems certain that Cassander and Lysimachus had sacrificed Seleucus before Ptolemy had time to make representations on his behalf. If the explanation given above is correct—that the Ecregma negotiations had broken down on Ptolemy's insistence that Seleucus be covered in any settlement between himself and Antigonus—the isolation of Ptolemy and a speedy coming to terms with Cassander and Lysimachus were natural objects of Antigonus's policy. In this way Ptolemy was presented with a *fait accompli* in the form of a peace agreement the terms of which were already fixed, and he was given no room for manoeuvre; the draft had to be accepted as it stood or not at all. Ptolemy was compelled to admit his military inferiority to Antigonus and give up hope of securing the inclusion of Seleucus. Seen in this light, the exclusion of Seleucus from the Peace was the direct result of the allies' failure to negotiate as a united body, the reasons for which have been already considered.⁵¹

There is, then, no need to assume that the phrase ἀφῆσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης implied the possibility of Seleucus maintaining the right to occupy a subordinate position under Antigonus, the acknowledged strategos of Asia, still less that the clause had been deliberately so worded under the influence of Ptolemy.⁵² The correct explanation is that which is also the most natural: Seleucus was formally excluded from the peace treaty, in so far as the omission of his name from the text amounts to that. Antigonus's immediate attack on him was, therefore, in no sense a violation of the peace treaty. This is confirmed by the fact that when Ptolemy wished to bring aid to his hard-pressed friend by a diversionary attack on the southern coast of Asia Minor, the best excuse that he could think of for breaking the peace was the somewhat unconvincing charge that Antigonus had disregarded in his territories the fifth clause of the treaty,⁵³ which guaranteed autonomy to Greek cities, a charge that completely overlooked the tender susceptibilities of Cassander on that subject, for Cassander throughout this period was the most persistent oppressor of Greek liberty. And so this incident too provides us with a good indirect proof that Ptolemy had not been consulted

⁴⁷ It was probably a relief to both of them to be separated. A man of Seleucus's calibre could not continue as a subordinate indefinitely, and Ptolemy had a short way of dealing with dangerous men (cf. his treatment of Polemaeus in 309 (Diod. XX 27. 3)).

⁴⁸ Diod. XX 19. 3 f.

⁴⁹ Cf. Koehler, *loc. cit.* 1065.

⁵⁰ Welles, no. 1. 32 ff.

⁵¹ Corradi's statement (*Studi ellenistici* (1929), 18) that the allies conducted the war in full accord is at variance with the facts of the separate negotiations on the Hellespont and at Ecregma; when he says that there is no authority for supposing

that they concluded peace separately he flatly ignores what is said in Antigonus's letter to Scepis (reproduced correctly, e.g. by Tarn, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI, 488).

⁵² As Momigliano does (see above p. 25); cf. Bengtson, *op. cit.* I, 117 f.; Heuss, *Hermes* (1938), 153 n. 2. The whole idea of a secret or silent agreement to protect the interests of Seleucus seems unacceptable for the simple reason that the uncertainty created would have more or less invalidated the treaty from the start. The test case shows that Ptolemy on renewing the war could not plead the violation of any such agreement by Antigonus (see below).

⁵³ Diod. XX 19. 3 f.

by Cassander in the negotiations that led up to the Peace. Cassander had neglected his feelings and interests in 311; what more natural than that he should neglect those of Cassander in re-opening the war with an agitation on behalf of Greek autonomy? ⁵⁴

The general result, as I see it, is as follows. Antigonus by the Peace of 311 was able to secure as great a strategical gain as was possible by diplomacy alone. All that remained to do was to crown diplomatic victory by a forcible elimination of the isolated Seleucus, and so undo the unfortunate consequences of the defeat at Gaza in 312. This, the essential consummation of the Peace of 311 (to Antigonus its *raison d'être*), proved beyond his powers. The ultimate failure of Antigonus's fight for the empire was not the result of political or diplomatic weakness (in those fields he was far ahead of his opponents); in the strictest sense it was a military failure, and the most momentous and also the least expected failure of all was that against the weakest of his enemies in the years following 311. ⁵⁵

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⁵⁴ Ptolemy had made an autonomy proclamation in 315 in imitation of Antigonus (Diod. XIX 62.1). There is no reason to think that Cassander was consulted then. For Ptolemy, with scarcely any Greek cities in his own territory, it was a cheap tactic.

⁵⁵ Cf. the penetrating remarks of Rostovtzeff in the same sense, *Soc. Ec. Hist. of the Hellenistic World* (1941), 13 f. Tarn's view of all these events seems to be similar to that expressed in the present paper, though he is forced to deal only briefly with each development (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI (1927), 486-95).

Droysen, working without the Scepsis letter or the Babylonian evidence, recognised part of the truth. He believed that the allies had been compelled to make peace on surprisingly unfavourable terms because of their lack of co-operation; he even believed in a separate peace preceding the combined peace, but supposed that it was with Ptolemy (the wrong way round). Above all Droysen has the merit of recognising clearly that Seleucus was not included in the Peace and that Antigonus made peace in order to attack Seleucus (*op. cit.* II 1. 61 ff.).

KLEOMENES, MARATHON, THE HELOTS, AND ARKADIA

PLATO says that the Spartans arrived one day late for Marathon because they were at the time engaged in a war against Messene, and he hints that they had other difficulties too.¹ As there is no mention of this revolt of the Messenians in Herodotos or Thucydides, or in any later historian, it is generally supposed that Plato (whose historical references are notoriously inaccurate) was simply mistaken about it. Nevertheless, two curious facts seem to support him: Zankle was seized about this time by Anaxilas of Rhegion and renamed Messene because, says Pausanias, Messenians fleeing from the Spartans after an unsuccessful revolt formed the bulk of his forces;² secondly, Strabo says that the second Messenian War was the one in which Tyrtaios was engaged, and that there were two later wars between Messene and Sparta—the last of these, the fourth, was presumably the one which followed the earthquake of 465; the third may then be Plato's war in 490.³ These two supporting indications have not convinced most historians, for Thucydides gives a different explanation of the renaming of Zankle,⁴ and Strabo does not clearly and definitely refer to a revolt in 490. It has also seemed surprising that no authors earlier than Strabo and Pausanias should have preserved the tradition of the war. The question has often been discussed, most recently and fully by Jacoby, who decides that the revolt is a fiction.⁵

I wish to suggest that the case for a Messenian revolt in 490 has been considerably strengthened by two minor facts, both based on contemporary evidence, which have recently been established with some degree of probability by papers in this Journal: the date of the seizure and renaming of Zankle by Anaxilas (and the Messenians) has been shown by Mr. E. S. G. Robinson to be 489-8,⁶ and it has been shown by Miss L. H. Jeffery that the Spartan dedication at Olympia for victory over the Messenians 'in their second revolt' (*IG* V.1, 1562) is probably earlier than 465 (the date hitherto usually assumed for it), that it indeed should belong very early in the century.⁷ We thus have contemporary epigraphical evidence (not entirely certain) that there was a helot revolt early in the fifth century, and numismatic evidence (highly probable) that 489 is the date when Zankle was renamed Messene. The two arguments are quite independent of each other and of the passage in Plato; they are accordingly strong additional reasons for believing that there was a helot revolt in 490.

This revolt, if it occurred, was probably, as Dickins long ago maintained,⁸ provoked or assisted by the exiled Spartan king Kleomenes, for he was in Arkadia at the time, vigorously engaged in stirring up trouble for the Spartan Government.⁹ He probably succeeded, as I shall try to show, in forming an anti-Spartan League among the cities of Arkadia. It has been considered surprising that Kleomenes' activities in Arkadia, which are usually treated as abortive, should have so alarmed the Spartans that they recalled him to resume his reign. If, however, Kleomenes had both stirred

¹ *Lates* iii 692d, and, especially, 698e: βοηθεῖν οὐδὲν φησὶν πλην γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων· οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνίαν ὄντος τότε πολέμου καὶ εἰ δὴ τι διεκώλυεν ἄλλο αὐτούς—οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν λεγόμενον—ὅστεροι δ' οὐδ' ἀφίκοντο τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης γυνόμενης μὴ ἡμέρας. Does the vague reference to other Spartan difficulties perhaps refer to the formation of the Arkadian League (see below), or, more generally, to their difficulties with Kleomenes?

² Pausanias iv 23: After the capture of Ira in their second war with Sparta (which Pausanias dates to the 28th Olympiad—668 B.C.) the Messenians who had not been captured by the Spartans decide to found a colony, and accept the invitation of Anaxilas of Rhegion (who was tyrant there from 494 to 476) to help him conquer Zankle; this they do ('in the 29th Olympiad') and change the name of Zankle to Messene. The chronological confusion was pointed out by Bentley in the *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*, etc. (1697, enlarged edition 1699). See also Diodorus xv, 66: τῆς δ' ἐν Σαυλῶν Μεσσηνίᾳ τὴν ἀπ' ἡλίων ὀνομασθεῖσαν κατήρτησαν.

³ Strabo viii 4, 10: ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Τυρταίου ὁ δεύτερος ὑπῆρξε πόλεμος· τρίτον δὲ καὶ τέταρτον συνστήναι φασιν, ἐν ᾧ κατελήθησαν οἱ Μεσσηνιοί.

⁴ Thuc. vi 4, 6: τοὺς δὲ Σαυλούς 'Αναξίλας 'Ρηγίωνος τύραννος οὐ πόλλω ὕστερον ἐβράδυν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς συμμεικτων ἀνθρώπων οἰκίσας Μεσσηνίαν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πατρίδος ἀντινομάσας. The reason is different, but not incompatible.

⁵ *Frag. Gr. Hist.* IIIa (1943), pp. 109-81. With some diffidence I make the following general remarks about Jacoby's discussion. There seems to be no guarantee that 'A' is the only intermediate source used by Pausanias, or that Rhianos and 'the vulgate' plus some Myron were 'A's' only sources. Moreover, if Pausanias' sources are as thoroughly mixed in his narrative as Jacoby holds, it is obviously difficult to feel certain about their identification and to know exactly what comes from which. Jacoby's argument seems to depend on the assumption that our information about the sources available to Pausanias, and used by him, is approximately complete.

The attempt at *Quellenforschung* must, of course, be made, and Jacoby's analysis is very attractive; it is still a question how much real confidence one can have in the results in detail. But when every allowance is made for the uncertainties, Jacoby's conclusion that Rhianos dated the revolt of the Messenians led by Aristomenes to the early fifth century seems highly probable. It seems to me much less clear that this early fifth-century revolt must be pronounced a fiction *in toto*. Whether the Messenian revolts were two or three in number is surely a literary rather than an historical question—there must, in three centuries of oppression, have been more revolts than that, although perhaps only two or three of them could properly be called 'wars'. Both Plato and Rhianos put a Messenian revolt early in the fifth century, and it is surely more likely that they had some tradition of an insurrection at that time to go on than that they had none. This *a priori* consideration is supported by various definite indications, especially now by the date of the change of name at Zankle, and by the probable date of the Olympia dedication: see notes 6 and 7 below.

⁶ 'Rhegion, Zankle-Messana and the Samians', by E. S. G. Robinson, *JHS* LXVI (1946), pp. 13-21. Robinson shows good reason to believe that the Samians who seized the town in 494/3 struck only five numbered and probably annual issues of coin before being ousted by Anaxilas, an event which will thus have occurred in 489, or possibly in 488.

⁷ 'Comments on some archaic Greek inscriptions', by L. H. Jeffery, *JHS* LXIX (1949), pp. 25-38, see pp. 26-30. Miss Jeffery shows that the letter forms of the inscription can hardly be dated as late as 465; thus the dedication should not be related to the revolt which followed the earthquake. The letter forms certainly seem too early for a date near the middle of the century, but unfortunately there is little comparative material available.

⁸ 'The Growth of Spartan Policy', by Guy Dickins, *JHS* XXXII (1912), pp. 1-42, see pp. 31-2. ⁹ *Her.* vi 74.

up a helot revolt and succeeded in organising an anti-Spartan Arkadian League, the Spartan authorities may well have felt that the first step in dealing with the situation was to entice him back to Sparta and do away with him. Many scholars have believed that Kleomenes was murdered;¹⁰ the motives for such a murder were stronger than has been realised.

There is perhaps no need to discuss again in detail the credibility of the helot revolt of 490—the coins and the inscription should help to convince the sceptics—but it is worth while to present the numismatic evidence for the contemporary foundation of an Arkadian League, since it has never, I think, been given its proper weight. What little is known about the history of Arkadia in the late sixth and early fifth centuries is soon recapitulated. About the middle of the sixth century Sparta had been successful in a long war against Tegea, which was followed, apparently, by the reduction of Orchomenos and the rest of the Arkadian towns or cantons. These places retained an at least nominal independence, and two of them, Heraia and Mantinea, issued coins in their own names before the end of the century. Probably in 490 Kleomenes (who had fled from Sparta some time in 491, about a year before the battle of Marathon, and had retired at first to Thessaly) came to Arkadia and united, or at least tried to unite, the Arkadians against Sparta—*νεώτερα ἐπρήσσε πρήγματα, συνιστάς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ*—binding their chief men to him by terrible oaths (Her. vi 74-5). Strangely enough, this incident, though mentioned by R. Weil in the first of his two important articles,¹¹ has never been connected with the beginning of the Arkadian issues, of which it is so obvious an explanation—Herodotos says that Kleomenes united the Arkadians, and the coins show that the league he formed was effective and lasting.

The coinage of the Arkadians, inscribed ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ (in full or abbreviated), was struck in small denominations only—triobols, mostly, with occasional obols and hemiobols—but specimens are of frequent occurrence, attractive and varied in type, and well known to collectors and students. Imhoof-Blumer attributed them to the mint of Heraia, the early coins of which he was the first to identify, and as they fit very neatly into the long gap between the earlier and later issues of this small Arkadian canton, all later scholars have followed him in this. Weil has considered the coinage at some length. He was originally inclined to hold that the coins were only temple, sanctuary, or festival issues¹² (the idea is vague, and it is hard to find a word for it), but he later came to emphasise the economic and political implications of the 'panarkadian' coinage;¹³ he explained our lack of information about the 'altarkadische Gemeinwesen' by Sparta's 'Vorherrschaft' in the Peloponnesos and her unwillingness to recognise a league among states which she preferred to deal with individually. He nevertheless stopped short of considering the league as a fully political entity, and emphasised the fact that the Arkadian cantons sent individual contingents to Thermopylai (Her. vii 202), and appear widely separated in the inscription on the Plataia tripod. Later scholars have stressed the religious as opposed to the political aspect of the coinage; Babelon is the most explicit of them: 'Les Héraéens,—les monnaies nous l'attestent,—devenus présidents des jeux Arcadiques, firent frapper des monnaies dont la légende appelle le complément suivant: Ἀρκαδικῶν ἀγώνων σῆμα (οὐ κόμμα, οὐ χαρακτήρ) οὐ Ἀρκαδικῶν ἀγώνων εἶμι σῆμα . . . La légende ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ ne doit pas s'expliquer autrement; il serait contraire à l'histoire de supposer, par exemple, l'existence d'une ligue politique arcadienne qui eut fait frapper ces monnaies auxquelles on reconnaîtrait ainsi un caractère fédéral. Une pareille confédération n'a pu exister au v^e siècle.'¹⁴ Gardner in 1918 said that the hemidrachms of Heraia 'were probably struck in connexion with the festival of Zeus Lycaeus at Lycosura, and passed among the Arkadians as a sort of religious coinage'; they were succeeded by the coins inscribed ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΝ, which 'seem to show that Heraea was regarded as the leading city of Arcadia'.¹⁵ And Seltman in 1933 called the Arkadian issues 'priestly rather than civic, . . . religious and agonistic in character'.¹⁶ Head, too, treats the coins as evidence of a religious but not of a political federation, although he says of the early coinage of Phokis that 'like the archaic money of Arcadia it is distinctly federal in character'.¹⁷ The numismatists have hesitated to attribute coins to a league which the historians did not recognise, and the historians have naturally followed the numismatists in supposing that the coins were somehow struck for the festival of Zeus Lykaeos or for the Arkadian games,¹⁸ yet both illogically slur the

¹⁰ Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* II, 1, 2nd ed., p. 36) says: 'Wahrscheinlich haben ihn die Ephoren aus dem Wege geräumt, im Einverständnis mit seinem Stiefbrudern, Leonidas und Kleombrotos.' Similarly, Mitchell and Caspari (George Grote, *A History of Greece*, ed. M. & C., London n.d.-1907, p. 176) say 'it may be suspected that Herodotus' account of Kleomenes' death covers a piece of foul play on the part of the ephors', and Monro expresses the same suspicion in *CAH* IV, pp. 261-2.

¹¹ 'Arkadische Münzen' in *ZfN* IX (1882), pp. 18-41, and 'Nachmals das altarkadische Gemeinwesen' in *ZfN* XXIX (1912), pp. 139-46.

¹² *ZfN* IX, p. 20: 'Da ein politisches Centrum in Arkadien vor der Erbauung von Megalopolis nicht existiert hat, muss der Prägort der arkadischen Landesmünzen während der älteren Zeit gesucht werden bei einem der gemeinsamen Stammesheiligtümer des Landes.' That coins were struck

for, and somehow put into circulation at, religious festivals is a frequent assumption of numismatists; money, however, is surely more often brought to fairs and festivals than carried away from them—it is the visitors who do the purchasing.

¹³ *ZfN* XXIX, pp. 144-5.

¹⁴ E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques* . . . II. 1 (1907), p. 860.

¹⁵ Percy Gardner, *A History of Ancient Coinage* (Oxford, 1918), p. 381.

¹⁶ Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins* (London, 1933), p. 97.

¹⁷ B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* 2 (Oxford, 1911), pp. 444 and 338.

¹⁸ Historians have regularly treated Kleomenes' activities in Arkadia as abortive: How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1912), p. 93 ad vi 75, 1; K. J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* II 1 (2nd ed. Strassburg, 1914), p. 36; J. A. R.

distinction, and slip into thinking of the Arkadian issues as somehow 'political' as well as 'religious'.

Weil dated the coins early—roughly from 520 to 420—and was followed in this by Hiller (s.v. *Arkadia* in RE), by Six (NC 1895), and by Head in the first edition of *Historia Numorum* (1883); Seltman holds that the series begins 'about 500': Gardner says 'about the time of the Persian Wars'; the dates usually accepted now are c. 490 to c. 417—so Imhoof-Blumer, Babelon, Head in his second edition, etc. But the various dates suggested for the beginning of the series all rest on 'style', and are admittedly only approximate.

The decision of both numismatists and historians to regard the coinage as primarily 'religious' is partly due to the analogy of the 'festival' coins of Elis (which are of larger denominations—one small issue is inscribed OΛYMPIKON), but chiefly to the supposed fact that the Arkadian League was first founded by Lykomedes in 370. Moreover, the complete lack of any reference to Heraia, either in literature or in inscriptions, between the time of her sixth-century treaty with Elis¹⁹ and the beginning of the fourth century has naturally made scholars hesitate to assign her a leading position in Arkadia—Weil, in particular, recommends the cultivation in this matter of the *ars nesciendi*. Yet we know very little of any kind about Arkadia in the sixth and fifth centuries, 'festival coinages' are not well authenticated in the classical period except, perhaps, in the special case of Olympia, and the natural interpretation of the coins is that they were issued by an Arkadian League; this interpretation is supported by their small denominations and by the numbers in which they are found—small numerous coins are far more likely to have been issued to pay troops than to serve as 'souvenirs' for a sparsely attended festival.²⁰ When to these general considerations one adds the fact that we happen to know that Kleomenes did form some kind of Arkadian League at the very time to which the earliest Arkadian coins are in any case to be attributed, and that there are later traces of such a league, it seems foolish to resist, on an *argumentum ex silentio*, the natural implication of the coinage.

It is surely no accident that we now begin to meet references to joint actions of the Arkadians. They formed part of the Spartan army at Thermopylai, and the Ἀρκάδες πάντες were at the Isthmus under Kleombrotos later in the same year.²¹ It is true, as Weil points out, that the contingents of Tegea, Orchomenos, and Mantinea fought separately at Plataia and were not listed together on the tripod (indeed the Mantineans were not listed at all): perhaps, as he suggests, the Spartans preferred to separate them. But some ten or fifteen years later Sparta had to fight a great battle at Dipaia πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν Μαντινέων (Her. ix 35).²² The fact that the Mantineans were not involved is only what we should expect, both from the long-standing enmity between Tegea and Mantinea, and from the coins themselves; for Mantinea is the one Arkadian polis which issues coins at the same time as the league—Heraia, Pheneos, Stymphalos, and Tegea strike no coins between c. 490 when the league issues begin and late in the century when they come to an end, but all of these towns have their own coinages in the late fifth century.²³ It is hard to resist the conclusion that this obscure war was fought against Sparta by an Arkadian League (to which Mantinea did not belong) which paid its troops in its own coin.

Thus Kleomenes almost certainly organised an anti-Spartan Arkadian League, and it is

Monro in *CAH* IV (Cambridge, 1930), p. 261, etc. Grote merely says that Kleomenes 'employed the powerful influence of his regal character and heroic lineage to arm the Arcadian people against his country', making no reference to a league. Grote's editors, Mitchell and Caspari (l.c. note 1) say 'a nucleus for an Arcadian League existed in the common religious cult of Zeus Lykaeus in connexion with which a federal coinage was issued at this period', but they seem not quite to believe in the league, and do not refer to it again; Caspari includes a brief notice of the Arkadian coins in his 'Survey of Greek Federal Issues' in *JHS* XXXVII (1917), pp. 168–83, but he appears to accept Weil's early date for them, and he does not mention Kleomenes.

¹⁹ M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I² (Oxford, 1946), no. 5.

²⁰ The Arkadian games for which they were supposedly issued, though of great antiquity (Aristotle *ap. schol.* Aristides, p. 105, ed. W. Frommel, 1826, says that they were earlier than the Olympic), were not otherwise of great importance—the scanty *testimonia* (chiefly two or three references in Pindar, and the scholia *ad loc.*) are collected in W. Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens* I (Leipzig, 1891), p. 5.

²¹ Her. viii. 71.

²² That Tegea, at least, had been hostile to Sparta for some years is clear from the fact that the Elean seer Hegesistratos took refuge there from the Spartans some time before Plataia (Her. ix 38), and that the exiled Spartan king Leotychidas spent perhaps ten years there, from 479/8 or 478/7 until his death in 469 (?)—Her. vi 72. The best discussion of Arkadian history at this period is by A. Andrewes in 'Sparta and Arkadia in the Early Fifth Century', *The Phoenix* VI (1952), pp. 1–5. Andrewes distinguishes three stages in Tegeo-Spartan relations

—the 480's when Tegea was hostile to Sparta, the 470's when Tegea was friendly but Mantinea was 'a source of trouble' (Sparta doubtless disapproved of her new, probably democratic, *synoikismos*), and the middle of the 460's when Tegea was again hostile but Mantinea was friendly. We may perhaps equate Tegea with the Arkadian League, of which it was the strongest member. Then the 'friendliness' of the 470's (or is friendliness too strong a word?) was due, at the time of Plataia to Spartan respect for the strength of the new league, and at the end of the decade to the League's fear of the new Mantinea—Sparta found it necessary to treat the League with respect at the time of Plataia, while the League needed Spartan neutrality (and Sparta the League's) as Mantinea and Elis grew stronger through *synoikism* at the end of the decade. Perhaps the 470's should be regarded rather as a period of wary co-operation; in the 460's Mantinea exploited the essential hostility between the League and Sparta.

²³ Similarly, when the Euboian League was founded and the Euboian federal coinage began—in 411/10—the independent cities which composed the League struck no coins for a period of some forty years or more; when they did begin to strike in their own names again, about 369 (?), Eretria did not do so—perhaps an indication that the league no longer had any real existence but was being maintained as a fiction by the city which had been its capital. I have discussed these matters in some detail in a forthcoming study of 'The Euboian League and its Coinage'. The exact date when the Arkadian League issues came to an end, and the exact dates at which the individual Arkadian towns begin to strike again, are not, of course, known. Head in *Hist. Num.*² assumed that there was an overlap; Weil considered that there was none.

obviously probable that he also had a finger in the helot revolt (if any); either he supported the revolt by forming the League or the League by stirring up the revolt; in either case the threat to their security is a more likely reason than religious scruples for the Spartans' unwillingness to leave the Peloponnesos at a moment's notice when Athens sent her urgent request for help. But somehow the threat was met, and part at least of the Spartan army marched.²⁴ The revolt must have been suppressed, the Arkadians intimidated, and Kleomenes recalled before Pheidippides arrived, for the ephors were able to promise that help would be sent as soon as the moon was full—in a week or ten days. Why, then, did they delay at all? We do not know, but there are various possible reasons. If, for instance, considerable numbers of Spartans were still scattered about Messenia engaged in the duties of the *κρυπτεία*, it may have been clear to the ephors that it would take at least a week to collect an army, and they may not have cared to explain the real reason to the outside world. The Spartans undoubtedly had to deal with unrest among the helots more often than they wished the outside world to realise,²⁵ and our uncertainty about this particular revolt is perhaps one result of their official secrecy.

The revolt was dealt with by force; Kleomenes was handled differently. He was recalled and reinstated on the throne—whereupon he immediately went mad and committed suicide.²⁶ Herodotos' whole account of Kleomenes is notoriously hostile and unsatisfactory—many historians have suspected with reason that the story of his death conceals a murder which the ephors had both arranged and hushed up. This seems even more probable if we are right that Kleomenes' treasonable activities during his exile were not abortive, but shook the Spartan state.

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²⁴ It is unfortunately impossible to tell exactly how long an interval separates the Spartan refusal to march at once (as delivered in Sparta to Pheidippides) and the actual setting out of their 2000 hoplites. One difficulty is that there is no reason to suppose that any state's calendar, in the early fifth century, was in step with the moon—see on this question W. K. Pritchett's sensible remarks in 'Julian Dates and Greek Calendars' in *CP* XLII (1947), pp. 235-43, especially p. 238. Indeed, the probability is strong that all calendars were wrong to some extent, and some very wrong indeed. Thus Herodotos' one actual date—Pheidippides' arrival at Sparta on the ninth of the Spartan month—does not help. Plutarch's thrice-recorded date for Marathon (and for the celebration of the victory), Boedromion 6, is often doubted (see Jacoby's note 121 in *JHS* LXIV (1944), p. 62) but may well be right; if so, we have evidence that the Athenian calendar was out of step with the moon in 490/89, for Herodotos certainly implies that the battle was fought about the time of the full moon—the Spartans arrived at Athens three days after the full moon, marched to Marathon, and found the dead still unburied. As Herodotos also suggests that Pheidippides left Athens after the Persian landing at Marathon, that the battle occurred about a week after the landing, and that the Spartans arrived two or three days later, he appears to imply that the Spartans marched out about a week or at most ten days after Pheidippides' arrival. His dates are not, however, explicit, and his relative chronology contains inherent difficulties (e.g. did Pheidippides really not leave for Sparta until Athens had received news of the Persian landing in Attica?—this difficulty

is emphasised by Sotiriades in *Περσικ. 'Ακ. 'Αθ.* VIII, 1933), so that no firm conclusions are possible.

²⁵ There is evidence of unrest among the helots on some occasion prior to 465 in Thuc. I 128, 1, where the Athenians tell the Spartans to 'drive out the curse of Tainaron'—οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναστῆσαντες ποτὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπὸ Ταινάρου τῶν Εὐρώτων λίβας ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖς βούλονται τὸν μέγαν σεισμόν γενέσθαι ἐν Σπάρτῃ. It is possible that this incident was connected with the revolt of 490.

²⁶ It is true that most historians are unwilling to accept Herodotos' definite implication that Kleomenes' death ante-dated Marathon (see Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* II, 1², p. 36; Monro in *CAH* IV, pp. 261-2; A. Andrewes, 'Athens and Aegina, 510-480 B.C.', *BSA* XXXVII, 1936-37, p. 4, etc.); for they feel that there is too little time between his coercion of Aigina (spring-summer 491) and the battle of Marathon, a period of rather more than a year, for his recorded movements and for a war between Athens and Aigina (Her. vi 87-93). Andrewes may well be right about the Aeginetan wars; but as far as Kleomenes himself is concerned, if his bribery of the Pythia was discovered in the summer of 491 and his flight from Sparta followed almost at once, his visit to Thessaly, his Arkadian activities, and his recall may surely belong to the autumn of 491 and the winter, spring, and summer of 490 without undue compression. Indeed, this rather close timetable shows that the helot revolt must have been suppressed very quickly, and helps to explain why it did not leave clearer traces in the tradition.

THE DURATION OF THE SAMIAN TYRANNY

HERODOTUS in the course of his description of Kambyes' conquest of Egypt gives both the earliest and the only detailed account we possess of Polykrates, the tyrant of Samos.¹ Thucydides makes a brief reference to him, also dating him to the reign of Kambyes (ἐπὶ Καμβύσου), 530–522 B.C.² Other references, as will appear, are late, scattered, and incidental. In attempting to determine the length of the Samian tyranny, Herodotus will, therefore, be our most important source of evidence. Although his interest is concentrated on the career of Polykrates, he provides enough information about Samian activities in the immediately preceding period to suggest that Polykrates is, in most cases, continuing a policy already initiated a generation before him. The difficulty of compressing into the brief period of Kambyes all that is referred to the tyranny of Polykrates is notorious, as is also the difficulty of reconciling with the usually accepted dates of Polykrates the chronological references to other people connected with the Samian tyranny. There is a similar problem about the dating of two of the great Samian works which Herodotus describes, the water tunnel of Eupalinos, and the Heraion of Rhoikos.³ The usual assumption that the Samian tyranny began with Polykrates' seizure of power in the middle or late thirties is not, I think, adequate to explain the evidence. There are various indications that the Samian tyranny, or a régime at Samos which closely resembled the subsequent tyranny, had begun in the generation before Polykrates, and that Polykrates himself, because of his spirited resistance to Persia, has been credited with what was in reality the achievement of a continuous policy which had been begun earlier, perhaps by his father.

The date of Polykrates' death can be determined with reasonable certainty. Herodotus prefaces his account of Oroites' plot with the remark that 'these things occurred about the time of Kambyes' last illness',⁴ thus fixing Polykrates' death to ca. 522 B.C. The beginning of his power is dated by Eusebius ca. Ol. 62, 532 B.C.,⁵ and many historians accept this date since Herodotus⁶ and Thucydides,⁷ in putting him in the reign of Kambyes which began in 530 B.C., may be supposed to put the beginning of Polykrates' reign little, if at all, earlier than that.⁸ Others, troubled by the difficulty of leaving a gap after the Phokaian thalassocracy, which must have ended with the capture of Phokaia by the Persians not long after the fall of Sardis, and also of accounting for all that is ascribed to Samos in this period,⁹ push back the beginning of Polykrates' power to ca. 540 B.C.¹⁰ It is not placed earlier than this because Polyainos says that Polykrates and his brothers seized the tyranny with reinforcements from Lygdamis, tyrant of Naxos.¹¹ Lygdamis himself had assisted Peisistratos of Athens in his final seizure of power at the Battle of Pallene, 546 B.C.,¹² and in return

¹ Hdt. 3. 39–60; 120–5.

² Thuc. 1. 13. 6. For the dates of Kambyes see R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 45* (Chicago, 1942), 12.

³ Hdt. 3. 60.

⁴ Hdt. 3. 120. 1.

⁵ Eusebius, *Chronici Canones*, Armenian version ed. by J. Karst in *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, Eusebius Werke*, Band V (Leipzig, 1911); Jerome's version ed. by J. K. Fotheringham, *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones Latine vertit . . . S. Eusebius Hieronymus* (Oxford, 1923). The dates given for the accession of Polykrates and his two brothers (as for many other events) differ by several years in the various MSS. of the Armenian and Latin versions; e.g. both a.a. Abr. 1481 (535 A.C.) and a.a. Abr. 1484 (532 A.C.) are found in the Armenian MSS. (Karst, *op. cit.* 189, n. 7). The reason for these discrepancies can easily be seen in the Bodleian MS. of Jerome, where the notice, *apud Samum tyrannidem exercent tres fratres Polykrates Sylus et Pantagnotus*, takes three lines, the first of which is above the line on which LXII Olym. is written. Some editors date the event in the last year of Ol. 61 (533 A.C.), others in the first year of Ol. 62 (532 A.C.). For the Bodleian MS. see *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebius Reproduced in Collotype*, with an introduction by J. K. Fotheringham (Oxford, 1905), Fol. 81.

⁶ Hdt. 3. 39. 1.

⁷ Thuc. 1. 13. 6.

⁸ E.g. by G. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* II² (Gotha, 1895), 508–9, n. 3; G. Glotz and H. Cohen, *Hist. gr.* I (Paris, 1948), 281; W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus I* (Oxford, 1912), 267; F. Jacoby, *FGH II BD* (Berlin, 1930), 727, in commentary on Apollodoros F 29.

⁹ E.g. K. J. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* I. 1 (Strassburg, 1912), 375; L. Burchner, *RE I A 2* (Stuttgart, 1920), col. 2214, who gives 540 A.C. as the date for the three brothers and 537 A.C. with a question mark for Polykrates' sole power; P. N. Ure, *OGD* (Oxford, 1949), 711–12; E. L. Minar Jr., *Early Pythagorean Politics* (Baltimore, 1942), 2; T. Lenschau, *RE XXI 2* (1952),

cols. 1727–8, argues for 538 A.C. and makes the tyranny of Polykrates coincide with a sixteen-year thalassocracy, 538–522 A.C. See below, note 31, for a discussion of the thalassocracy.

¹⁰ After Kyros captured Sardis he left Ionia for the conquest of Babylon, putting Tabalos and Paktyes in charge of Lydia and Ionia. The revolt of Paktyes followed immediately (Hdt. 1. 154). Mazares was sent to subdue Paktyes; later he took Priene and the plain of the Meander, after which he died (Hdt. 1. 161). Harpagos was then sent to succeed him and directed a first attack on Phokaia. The Persian capture of Phokaia occurred, therefore, within one or two years of the fall of Sardis. J. L. Myres, *Herodotus Father of History* (Oxford, 1953), 163, places the fall of Phokaia after Kyros' capture of Babylon (539 A.C.), but Herodotus (1. 177) seems to imply that Harpagos' campaigns coincided with Kyros' earlier campaigns in upper Asia and that the attack on Babylon was later. The precise date of the fall of Sardis is not known; Herodotus certainly places it later than the battle of Pallene (547/6), and his authority seems to me as reliable as any. The difference between the various dates proposed (547 to 541/40) does not affect this argument; even at the latest it is well before the time of Polykrates. For the various dates and discussion of them see: A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), 40; Sidney Smith, *Isaiah Chapters XL–LV, Literary Criticism and History*, Schweich Lectures 1940 (London, 1944), 33–6; G. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* II², 460 and 502; H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS LXXI* (1951), 219, note 38.

¹¹ Polyainos, *Strategikon* I. 23. 2.

¹² Hdt. 1. 61. 4; 64. 1–2. It is unnecessary here to argue the date of the battle of Pallene; Hdt. 5. 65. 3, ἀφ' ὧν μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ἑνὶ ἔτῳ καὶ τοῖς τριήκοντα seems to be the crucial passage. It indicates a thirty-six-year period of continuous tyranny prior to the expulsion of Hippias in the archonship of Harpaktides, 511/10 A.C., and thus dates the battle of Pallene in 547/6 A.C. See F. Jacoby, *Atthis* (Oxford, 1949), 188–96, and H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS LXXI* (1951), 219.

Peisistratos had subdued Naxos and handed it over to Lygdamis, depositing with him hostages of prominent Athenian families. Enough time must be allowed after Peisistratos finally established himself in 546 B.C. for him to set up Lygdamis, and then for Lygdamis to send aid to Polykrates. This is the reason why those who desert the Eusebian date of 532 B.C., supported as it seems to be by Herodotus and Thucydides, cannot put Polykrates much before 540 B.C. But, even if Polykrates is put as far back as this evidence will allow, it is not early enough to help materially towards a solution of the very difficulties which led to questioning the usual dates. We may, therefore, accept the chronographers' dates for Polykrates—*ca.* 532 B.C. for the beginning of his power and *ca.* 522 B.C. for his death—that is, as both Herodotus and Thucydides indicate, a period roughly contemporary with Kambyes of Persia (530–522 B.C.). The difficulties demand more drastic remedy.

A careful reading of Herodotus suggests that the same policy had been pursued in Samos since the time of Alyattes of Lydia and the early years of Amasis of Egypt, that is since the 560's at least.¹³ The most reasonable inference to be drawn from this continuity of policy is that the tyranny, too, had begun as early as the 560's. *Ca.* 525/4 B.C., when the disaffected Samian oligarchs of whom Polykrates had hoped to rid himself by sending them as his contingent for Kambyes' attack on Egypt asked for help to depose Polykrates,¹⁴ Herodotus tells us that Sparta was willing to assist them for two reasons: first, out of gratitude (εὐεργεσίας ἐκτινόντες), because the Samians had helped Sparta against the revolting Messenians; secondly, for the sake of revenge, because the Samians had stolen the bowl the Spartans were sending to Kroisos, and the linen corselet which Amasis of Egypt was sending to them.¹⁵ Corinth, similarly, joined in the attack on Polykrates because the Samians had intercepted the three hundred Corcyrean boys whom Periander had sent to Alyattes, 'a generation earlier and about the time of the seizure of the wine bowl'.¹⁶ The natural interpretation of this incident is that the Samian oligarchs were able to claim Spartan gratitude for their help in the Messenian wars because Samos was under an oligarchy when the help was sent in the latter half of the seventh century; just as clearly were they able to appeal to the Spartan and Corinthian desire for revenge because the régime which had committed the thefts was the régime they were now wishing to overthrow, a tyranny which had been practising piracy since the days of Alyattes. It should be remembered that Herodotus, in describing Polykrates' career, says that he had a fleet of a hundred pentekonteres with which he plundered all shipping, friend or foe, and that this piracy was the occasion of bitter complaints.¹⁷ It is clear that his policy was no innovation.

The significance of this incident has been overlooked. The Spartan and Corinthian willingness to help the Samian oligarchs is explicable only if the thefts were the work of Polykrates himself, or of a predecessor in a similar position, closely connected with him whose sins could justly be visited upon his head. The first alternative is difficult: Polykrates himself could hardly have committed either theft; the bowl was a gift on the occasion of the alliance made between Sparta and Kroisos shortly before the latter's fall, and Herodotus says that the theft of the corselet occurred the year before. The Corcyrean boys were a present from Periander to Alyattes, and must therefore have been sent at latest before the death of Alyattes *ca.* 560–555 B.C. This leaves the second alternative, that the thefts were committed under the same régime but by a predecessor of Polykrates. The obvious person would be the father of Polykrates, whose name Herodotus says was Aiakes, and to whom Suidas refers as ruling over Samos.¹⁸ It is true that Herodotus tells no anecdotes and gives no further information about Aiakes, but the *argumentum e silentio* is particularly dangerous in the case of Herodotus, and should never be used to discredit other information he has collected. Herodotus' sources were oral tradition, which tends to gather about individuals, and often leaves gaps, even in the case of important persons and events. Moreover, his narrative is here concerned with Polykrates and his relations with Amasis and Kambyes, and a digression would be inappropriate. A similar and equally striking omission of all anecdotes or information about earlier or later members of a tyrant dynasty is to be found in the account of the Sikyonian tyranny, where two detailed stories about Kleisthenes are told, and his genealogy is the only mention of earlier members of the family; yet we know that the tyranny lasted a hundred years and that Kleisthenes had several predecessors and at least one successor.¹⁹

It is therefore fortunate that we possess a monument of Aiakes which provides valuable informa-

¹³ For the reign of Alyattes see Hdt. I. 25 and 86. Kroisos' fall came in the fourteenth year of his reign; Alyattes, therefore, died *ca.* 560 or a few years later. Herodotus says he reigned for fifty-seven years; his dates for the seventh-century portion of the Lydian king-list and for the accession of Alyattes present certain difficulties, but the end of Alyattes' reign depends upon the date of the fall of Kroisos, for which see above, note 10. For Amasis, 568–525 B.C., see E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *Les Peuples de l'Orient méditerranéen*, II *L'Égypte* (Paris, 1938), 590–1.

¹⁴ Hdt. 3. 44–5.

¹⁵ Hdt. 3. 47; cf. I. 70 for the earlier story of the bowl.
¹⁶ Hdt. 3. 48, 1. ὁπρῖσμα γὰρ . . . γενεῇ πρότερον τοῦ σπαρτιοῦματος τοῦτου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρατῆρος τῇ ἀπαιγῇ γεγυῶς.

¹⁷ Hdt. 3. 39.

¹⁸ Hdt. 2. 182; 3. 39. See below p. 42 for a discussion of the Suidas' passage.

¹⁹ Hdt. 5. 67–8; 6. 126–30. See Aristotle, *Politics*, 1315b, for the hundred-years duration of the tyranny; for the earlier and later members of the dynasty see Nic. Dam. Fr. 61; *Oxyrh. Pap.* XI 1365; *P. Ryland* 18 (Jacoby, *FGH* II A (Berlin, 1926), 358–60, 504–5).

An even more surprising omission in Herodotus, in view of the full information he has of Athenian history from the time of Peisistratos to the Persian war, is any account of the reforms of Solon, whom he mentions only in the story of his visit to Kroisos (Hdt. I. 29–33). And examples could be multiplied.

tion corroborating Herodotus' account of Samian piracy. A headless seated statue, in style about the middle or last third of the sixth century, was discovered in 1905 in the excavation of the Samian Heraion. The statue itself, Buschor suggests, was of Hera.²⁰ On the left side of the chair or throne on which the figure is seated is an inscription reading:

Αἰάκης ἀνέθηκεν | ὁ Βρύσωνος: ὅς τῃι Ἥρῃ:
τὴν σύλην: ἐπῆρσεν: κατὰ τὴν ἐπίστασιν.

'Dedicated by Aiakes, the son of Bryson, who secured the booty for Hera while he was ἐπιστάτης.' The inscription was thought by Curtius, who first published it, to be contemporary with the statue; but comparison of its letter forms with other sixth-century Samian inscriptions and the fact that it is written stichedon have led to the opinion that the inscription was cut later, soon after 500 B.C.²¹ Dittenberger suggests that the younger Aiakes, son of Syloson, who was restored as tyrant of Samos by the Persians after the collapse of the Ionian revolt in 494 B.C.,²² had the inscription cut on his grandfather's monument. The younger Aiakes, reimposed by Persia on a reluctant Samos, may well have cut the inscription about his grandfather in order to stress the legitimacy of his own position and the fact that the power had been in the hands of his family for three generations.

The inscription makes three contributions to our knowledge of Aiakes. First, the use of the rare word σύλη found in the singular only in this inscription, and its reappearance in the unusual name of Polykrates' brother Syloson,²³ make it almost certain that this Aiakes is the father of Polykrates; secondly, it corroborates the fact that he pursued the same semi-piratical commercial policy as his son; and finally, the phrase κατὰ τὴν ἐπίστασιν indicates the position Aiakes held while he exercised what later generations called a tyranny. In very few cases do we know the actual office which a tyrant held, although it seems probable that either a specially created office or a regular magistracy was usually used as the legal basis for a power in reality more far-reaching.²⁴ That Aiakes called himself ἐπιστάτης is, therefore, of great interest.

Plutarch tells of the overthrow of the Samian aristocracy of γεωμόροι, ca. 600 B.C. by a faction under the leadership of the generals who had successfully defended Perinthos against a Megarian attack.²⁵ He does not say, however, what type of government was then set up. There may well have been a period of stasis during which Aiakes found the opportunity to seize a predominating position which may have been inoffensively, even democratically, described as that of an ἐπιστάτης. Polykrates, we know, had brothers to get rid of before he could establish his position. The very fact that Aiakes' three sons share the Samian tyranny for a time is evidence in favour of an inherited rather than of a newly acquired power. Herodotus in two places uses the word ἐπαναστάς of Polykrates when he first tried to obtain control of Samos, adding in the second passage the detail that he had only fifteen hoplites to assist him.²⁶ Polyainos gives a more detailed account of the festival of Hera during which the three brothers disarmed the citizens and seized the citadel of Astypalaia; Lygdamis of Naxos later brought the reinforcements with which their power was finally secured.²⁷ How long the three brothers shared the rule Herodotus does not say; that it was a brief period is suggested by his narrative. After stating that Polykrates in the beginning shared the kingdom with his brothers, Herodotus in the same sentence recounts how, having killed Pantagnotos and banished Syloson, he held the whole island. It is not surprising that there should have been trouble both at the death of Aiakes and later between the three brothers, although it would be strange to have a *coup d'état* planned and carried through by three conspirators who were at odds with each other from the beginning. The use of the word ἐπαναστάς need indicate no more than that Aiakes' power lapsed briefly on his death, and that Polykrates had to employ the stratagem which Polyainos describes to regain control for himself and his brothers. One need not press the word, as Bowra does, into meaning only a first seizure of power, and rule out thereby the possibility of Aiakes having been tyrant before his sons.²⁸

Herodotus mentions two other features of Polykrates' policy which seem on examination to go back to the preceding generation, and which strengthen the probability that the tyranny began

²⁰ L. Curtius, 'Samiaca I', *Ath. Mitt.* 31 (1906), 151-85, Pl. XIV; E. Buschor, *Alt-samische Stammbilder* (Berlin, 1934), 41, with figs. 141-3. Buschor dates the statue about the middle of the sixth century. Miss Richter, *Archaic Greek Art Against its Historical Background* (New York, 1949), 168, places it on stylistic grounds a little later, in the last third of the sixth century.

²¹ For a full bibliography see M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions I*² (Oxford, 1946), 10 and 258, No. 7. Dittenberger in *SIG I*² (Leipzig, 1915), 9-10, No. 10; and 18-19, No. 20, agrees with Pomtow about the early fifth-century dating of the inscription because of the stichedon style and the letter forms, especially the straight-barred alphas. This is followed by Schöde, *Abh. Berl.* 1929, 3, 22 and Bilabel, *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1934, 133 (V. Ehrenberg, *JHS* LVII (1937), 149, n. 7). Ehrenberg observes that Bilabel was the first to suggest that the word ἐπίστασις denotes a political office rather than the position of a temple-guardian.

²² Hdt. 6, 25.

²³ This brother of Polykrates is, so far as I can discover, the only person known to have borne the name; Pape and Benseler, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen* II, 1456-7, s.v. (Συλοσών).

²⁴ Cf. Pittakos of Lesbos who was ἀποσπότης, although Alkaios can call him τύραννος (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1285, 29-30); Peisistratos of Athens had probably been polemarch in the wars with Megara, and was therefore a member of the Areiopagos. His care to have members of his family and party hold the archonship and become Areiopagites suggests that he worked through the Areiopagos (Thuc. 6, 54, 6).

²⁵ Plutarch, *Greek Questions* 57 (*Moralia* 303E-304C).

²⁶ Hdt. 3, 39, 1, ὅς ἔλαχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς and 3, 120, 3, περικαλλέστατον ὄπλιτον ἐπαναστάς ἔλαχε καὶ νῦν αὐτῆς τυραννίῃ.

²⁷ Polybios I, 23, 2.

²⁸ C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, 1936), 260.

then. The friendship between Polykrates and Amasis of Egypt is famous; yet, when describing Naukratis which Amasis made the Greek trading post for Egypt, Herodotus says that Samos was one of the three Greek cities which had separate sanctuaries there, the other nine cities which traded with Egypt shared in a common sanctuary, the Hellenion.²⁹ This would seem to indicate that the Samian friendship with Egypt dates back to the period before the conquest of the Greek cities of the Asia Minor coast by Persia, when they were all trading freely with Naukratis and built both the Hellenion and the separate sanctuaries, probably in the 560's.

Like Samian friendship with Egypt, the beginnings of Samian sea-power should be dated to the generation before Polykrates; in all probability Polykrates inherited from a predecessor the fleet of a hundred pentekonters which Herodotus says he had at the beginning of his tyranny and later replaced by triremes.³⁰ The Thalassocracy List in Eusebius' *Chronicon* places Samos' sea-power after that of Phokaia. As was pointed out earlier, Phokaia must have ceased to command the sea when she was captured by the Persians soon after the fall of Sardis. The Samian thalassocracy must, therefore, have begun when that of Phokaia ended in the second half of the 540's, well before the time of Polykrates. In this the independent testimony of Herodotus and of the Thalassocracy List concur. In my opinion the Thalassocracy List cannot be used either to fix a more precise date for the beginning of the Samian thalassocracy nor to determine its exact duration. Since the List has been much discussed and attempts have been made to deduce from it both date and duration, it is necessary at this point to digress and examine it.³¹

The 'List of Thalassocracies', ascribed to Diodorus, appears in the *Chronographia*, one of the two books of Eusebius' *Chronicon*. It purports to give in order the seventeen powers that ruled the sea from the Trojan to the Persian War, with the years of the duration of each power. Only the Armenian version of the List is preserved, and this is defective. The name is omitted in the tenth place (Cares), and the years of duration are missing in places VIII-XI (*Aegyptii*, *Milesii*, *Cares*, *Lesbii*) and again in XIII (*Samii*). Myres thinks that there was an early lacuna in the List at its middle point which involved damage to the name column as well. Working back from the end, where the years are preserved, the List can be reconstructed as follows: XVII Aeginetans (10 years), 490-480; XVI Eretrians (15 years), 505-490; XV Naxians (10 years), 515-505; XIV Lacedaemonians (2 years), 517-515. The Samian thalassocracy (XIII) ends, then, according to the List in 517, which is about the time when the Persians captured Samos from Maiandrios, Polykrates' successor, and set up Syloson. No years of duration for Samos are provided by the List, nor is it possible to calculate the duration by working down from the earlier part, because of the lacuna in the middle portion; the Phokaiaians (XII) preceded the Samians with forty-four years, but for the Lesbians (XI), Carians (X), and Milesians (IX) no years of duration are preserved. The only information about the Samian thalassocracy in the List itself is, therefore, that the forty-four-year Phokaian sea-power (the dates of which are lost) was followed by the Samian and the Samian by the Spartan in 517.

The other book of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, the *Chronici Canones* or *Canons*, a chronological table extending from the birth of Abraham to the twentieth year of Constantine, is preserved in the Armenian version, a few entries in a Syriac version, a Latin version by Jerome, and quotations in Syncellus and other writers. The thalassocracies are entered here and there in the *Canons*, and attempts have been made to reconstruct the whole List with precise dates by combining with the List these thalassocracy-entries in the *Canons*. But, as Myres pointed out, the List is not treated as an organic whole and incorporated into the *Canons* with the same durations, nor even consecutively. On the contrary, there are both many omissions and many discrepancies between the List and the *Canon*-entries: e.g. in Jerome's version no thalassocracies are quoted after the Lesbian until the end of the List where the Aeginetans are given twenty years instead of the ten of the List; in the same portion of the Armenian version the Aegyptians (VIII), Milesians (IX), and Naxians (XV) are omitted entirely, and no duration is assigned to the Samians (XIII). These differences are so great as to suggest that the List and the *Canon* dates for the thalassocracies are derived from different chronological sources. The List should, therefore, be treated by itself and the evidence of the *Canons* added to it only where the two agree.

Neglect in observing this caution has produced a surprising result in the case of Samos where the entry of the Samian thalassocracy in the Armenian version of the *Canons* has been combined with the List in an attempt to secure precise dates. The thalassocracy appears in the Armenian *Canons* with the ordinal numeral XVI instead of the XIII of the List, under the year of Abraham 1486, 530 B.C.

²⁹ For friendship with Amasis see Hdt. 2. 182; 3. 39-42; Naukratis, 2. 178. C. Roebuck, 'Grain Trade between Greece and Egypt', *CP* 45 (1950), 236-47, discusses relations between the eastern Greek cities and Egypt in the sixth century.

³⁰ Hdt. 3. 39, 3; cf. 44. 2. J. A. Davison, 'The First Greek Triremes', *CQ* 41 (1947), 18-24, argues convincingly that the forty triremes which Polykrates sent to Egypt ca. 525/4 B.C. were part of the first navy of triremes, and that Polykrates played an important part in the change from pentekonters to triremes.

³¹ For discussion of the List see: J. L. Myres, *JHS* XXVI (1906), 84-130, XXVII (1907), 123-30; *Herodotus Father of History*, 163, 193, 195, 198-9; J. K. Fotheringham, *JHS* XXVII (1907), 75-89; W. Aly, *Rh Mus* 66 (1911), 585-606; R. Helm, *Hermes* 61 (1926), 241-62; F. Bork, *Klio* 28 (1935), 16-20; W. Kubitschek, *RE* XX (1919), cols. 2354-5 s.v. Kastor; T. Lenschau, *RE* XXI₂ (1952), cols. 1727-34, s.v. Polykrates.

Jerome's version throws no light on the corruption of the numeral; it names no thalassocrats from the Lesbians (XI) to the Aeginetans (XVII). Myres suggested that the numeral XVI had been transferred by mistake from the column of durations to the ordinal column and represented 'an attempt to calculate the duration numeral of the Samians by simple subtraction'. A sixteen-year thalassocracy ending in 517 would begin in 533, i.e. about the date of Polykrates' accession which is noted in the MSS. of the Armenian version under a.a. Abr. 1481 (535) or 1484 (532). This has been regarded as a corroboration of Myres' suggestion, and the 'sixteen-year thalassocracy of Samos' has become a commonplace. And this in spite of Myres' own insistence on the independence of the List from the *Canons*, and on the fact that from the Spartan thalassocracy upward we are thrown back so far as dates are concerned on external evidence.

It is clear, however, that the Phokaian sea-power was brought to an end by the Persian capture of the city at a date not exactly determinable, but soon after 546; the Samian thalassocracy followed upon it. The exact number of years for the duration of the latter is not given in the List nor can it be derived from the *Canons*, but it must be considerably more than sixteen since the period must extend from soon after 546 to the capture of Samos from Maiandrios ca. 517. Aly, realising that the historical evidence pointed to this conclusion, suggested that the entry in the *Canons* was inserted in connexion with Polykrates at the middle point of the thalassocracy, and that an equal period before and after should be assumed. This complicated reckoning is itself unlikely, and is necessary only because of the assumption of the 'sixteen-year thalassocracy'. More serious objection can be urged against Helm's suggestion that the Phokaian thalassocracy lasted until the battle of Alalia and the expulsion of the Phokaiaans from Corsica ca. 535. Bork, on the other hand, assumed a corruption in the numeral XVI for the duration of the Samian thalassocracy and corrected it to twenty-seven years (544-517). This yields highly probable dates for the thalassocracy, but is mainly derived not from the List but from the narrative of Herodotus. Lenschau, in the latest discussion of the problem, reduces the period again by terminating the Phokaian thalassocracy with the battle of Alalia ca. 538, four years after the fall of Phokaia, and lengthening the Spartan thalassocracy to seven years, 522-515. He thus preserves the sixteen-year thalassocracy of Samos, 538-522, which he thinks coincides with the tyranny of Polykrates. A recognition that the List provides no date for the beginning of the thalassocracy other than its position after the fall of Phokaia, and no exact duration (certainly not sixteen years) would have rendered unnecessary these elaborate calculations and devious shifts to reconcile the supposed evidence of the List with the narrative of Herodotus.

Thucydides is probably referring to this period which later tradition included under the Phokaian and Samian thalassocracies in Book I, where he says: 'The Ionians possessed great naval strength in the reign of Kyros, the first king of the Persians, and of his son Kambyses, and while they were at war with Kyros for some time commanded their own sea.'³² Later writers also speak of war between the Samians and Kyros.³³ It is not unlikely that both Thucydides and these later writers refer to resistance offered to Persia by Phokaia and Samos directly after the fall of Lydia. When Phokaia was taken and Persia occupied the Asia Minor coast, Herodotus says: '... and when the Ionians of the islands saw their brethren upon the mainland subjugated they also, dreading the like, gave themselves up to Kyros'.³⁴ This suggests that Samos made at least a token submission to Persia at this time, and that Persia which had no navy of account until the Phoenician and Egyptian navies came into its service on the conquest of Egypt did not protest against the Samian naval activity. The same situation still prevailed when Polykrates offered his services to Kambyses for the expedition against Egypt, begging him not to omit to ask aid from Samos.³⁵ Overt hostile action against Persia, and aggressive extension of Samian authority in the Aegean should be dated, as Parke has argued, only to the last years of Polykrates' life.³⁶ What might be described as a policy of non-aggression characterised Samian-Persian relations during most of the period; it was initiated by Aiakes and continued by Polykrates until he altered it, to his own undoing, after the trouble with Sparta.

Herodotus says that he has dwelt longer on the affairs of Samos because three of the greatest works in Greece were to be seen there: the tunnel, the engineer of which was the Megarian Eupalinos, the harbour mole, and the Heraion, the architect of which was Rhoikos.³⁷ If the fleet, as seems likely, antedates Polykrates' accession, it is probable that the harbour and its mole are also earlier. The tunnel and the Heraion must have taken many years to complete, and the greater part of their construction should be attributed to the earlier generation of the tyranny. The tunnel is one of the most interesting engineering works of the sixth century. Its purpose was to bring water into the city of Samos from a spring on the north side of Mt. Ampelos. An underground conduit led from the spring by a tortuous course following the contour of the mountain for about

³² Thuc. 1. 13. 6, ... τῆς τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θαλάσσης Κύρω πολεμοῦντες ἐκράτησάν τινα χρόνον. This passage has puzzled commentators unnecessarily; e.g. A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* I (Oxford, 1945), 123.

³³ Malalas, *Chronographia* 50. 6. 201 (ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1831, p. 158); Cedrenus, *Synops.* 243. Malalas is obviously wrong

in attributing Kyros' death to this war, but the war itself is not improbable.

³⁴ Hdt. 1. 169.

³⁵ H. W. Parke, 'Polykrates and Delos', *CQ* 40 (1946), 105-8.

³⁷ Hdt. 3. 60.

³⁶ Hdt. 3. 44.

half a mile, and then entered the tunnel to be carried through the mountain for a distance of about 3300 ft. The water emerged inside the walls of the city, and was thereafter carried by another conduit, 1000 ft. of which can be traced, to a fountain house in the city the location of which is unknown. The purpose of the tunnel was to safeguard the water-supply of the city in time of siege, and perhaps also to provide a means of escape from the city in case of need. That it served both purposes we know from Herodotus. Samos was able to withstand a forty-day siege when the Spartans tried to overthrow Polykrates in 525/4 B.C., and later Maiandrios escaped by the tunnel when Dareios came to seize Samos and make Syloson tyrant.³⁸ In a recent study by an engineer, F. R. Bichowsky,³⁹ the period of construction for the tunnel is estimated as at least fifteen years. Bichowsky assumes, without discussing the question, that Aiakes was tyrant but was confused with his famous son Polykrates, and places the beginning of the construction within Aiakes' reign. The estimate of fifteen years for the construction of the whole system is based on the time necessary for the cutting of the tunnel—ten years at the rate of 6 in. a day at each face in a bore 8 ft. high and 8 ft. wide—and five years for the rest of the work. Since the rock is 'a hard, somewhat bedded limestone', the estimate is, so far as I can ascertain, conservative. The technical knowledge needed for the surveying was considerable, and Bichowsky suggests that Thales and his pupil Anaximandros may have been hired as consultants. If the tunnel was complete by the siege of 525/4, it must surely have been begun before 532, probably many years before. The project, then, was initiated and completed, in whole or in part, before Polykrates, and thus provides further evidence of the continuity of regime and policy in Samos.

The Heraion was likewise a work conceived on the grand scale so characteristic of tyrants. The earlier structure was a temple of the Ionic order, enormous in size (*ca.* 300 ft by 150 ft.) and with a large number of columns (134 in all), rivalling oriental structures, perhaps especially those of Egypt, with which Samos had close connexions. It was famous for the column bases, the channelling of which shows great precision and a variety of patterns unequalled in any other Greek temple. Buschor dates the temple, of which Rhoikos was the architect, to the middle or shortly before the middle of the sixth century. The date is determined by the stratification of levels. Dinsmoor follows Buschor in his analysis of the two successive temples, but dates the earlier temple to 575 rather than 560–555.⁴⁰ His reason is given on p. 124, note 2, 'But a slightly earlier date (there being no contrary evidence) seems desirable in view of the probability that Samos was the inspiration for the double façade colonnades at Syracuse and Selinus (see p. 75).' On p. 75 Dinsmoor says that the temple of Apollo at Syracuse, the earliest of the Western temples to use double façade colonnades, dates 'perhaps from about 565 B.C.'. He assumes a ten-year 'cultural lag' between it and the Heraion at Samos. These dates are admittedly tentative and relative; even assuming that the Heraion was the inspiration of the double-façade colonnades of the West, its construction need not be dated earlier than the first part of the decade 570–560.

This temple was destroyed by fire soon after its completion, and a new and still larger temple was laid out a trifle farther west but partly overlying its predecessor. The bases of the old columns were used for the new foundations, and part of the superstructure was completed (*e.g.* the cella, pronaos, and portion of the east peristyle corresponding to the pronaos, three rows each of four columns); then the work was interrupted. It was finally completed in Hellenistic and Roman times, as was the Olympieion of the Peisistratids at Athens. Buschor dates to the time of Polykrates the destruction by fire and the beginning of the rebuilding. Rhoikos was perhaps again the architect, for the new temple and the old one were very similar in style. The Spartan attack of 525/4 B.C. may have been the occasion of the destruction; this would allow time for Polykrates to begin the rebuilding before his own death in 522 B.C., but not time for the work to proceed far. It is reasonable to attribute the cessation of the work to the political troubles following the death of Polykrates. Thus the Heraion in its two stages belongs to the same régime as the tunnel. Rhoikos, and Theodoros, whom some of our authorities associate with Rhoikos as joint architect of the Heraion, were the most famous Samian artists of the period.⁴¹ They were said to have invented the hollow-casting of bronze statues,⁴² and to have made many well-known works of art; *e.g.* Theodoros made the bowl dedicated by Kroisos at Delphi, and the emerald ring of Polykrates.⁴³ Although both artists are often associated with Polykrates, the evidence of their connexion with the earlier Heraion, with

³⁸ Hdt. 3. 54 for the Spartan siege; the Samians probably used the tunnel to make the sally from the ridge of the hill here mentioned. See Hdt. 3. 146 for Maiandrios.

³⁹ F. R. Bichowsky, 'Eupalinos—First Civil Engineer', *Compressed Air Magazine* 48–49 (1943–44), 7086–90. For a map of the course of the tunnel see E. Fabricius, 'Die Wasserleitung des Eupalinos', *Ath. Mitt.* 9 (1884), 163–92.

⁴⁰ E. Buschor, 'Heraion von Samos', *Ath. Mitt.* 55 (1930), 1–90, and plate XXVII. W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (London, 1950), 124–5 and 134–6. For the column bases see H. Johannes, 'Die Säulenbasen von Hera-tempel des Rhoikos', *Ath. Mitt.* 62 (1937), 13–37; the photographs show the way in which these early bases were cut and

fitted into the foundations of the succeeding temple.

⁴¹ Pliny, *N.H.* 34. 83; 36. 90. Cf. Diog. Laert. 8. 1–3: Mnesarchos, the gem-engraver, father of Pythagoras, was probably an older contemporary of Rhoikos and Theodoros. Charles Seltman, on the evidence of this passage, would include Pythagoras himself among the artists of the period, *Nam. Chron.* Sixth Series, Vol. 9 (1949), 5–9.

⁴² Paus. 9. 41. 1; 10. 38. 5; 8. 148; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 35. 152 where it is confused with clay modelling and the two artists dated to the period before the expulsion of the Bacchiads from Corinth. See also A. W. Byvanck, 'La Statue en Bronze de Samos', *Mnemosyne*, 3rd series, 12 (1945) 318–19.

⁴³ Hdt. 1. 51; 3. 41.

Kroisos, and with the Artemision at Ephesos⁴⁴ suggests that they properly belong to the generation of Aiakes, and were still working at the time of Polykrates.

The dates given for three other persons connected with Samos, the poet Ibykos, and the philosophers Anaximandros and Pythagoras, present chronological difficulties due, it may be suggested, to a confusion between Polykrates and his father, and to the belief that the Samian tyranny was confined to the years 532-522 B.C. Suidas' note on Ibykos says that he came to Samos *ὅτε αὐτῆς ἦρχεν ὁ Πολυκράτης ὁ τοῦ τυράννου πατήρ*. χρόνος δὲ ἦν οὗτος ἐπὶ Κροίσου 'Ολυμπιάς νδ' 'when Polykrates, the father of the tyrant, ruled it; this was in the time of Kroisos in the 54th Olympiad' (564-561 B.C.). Eusebius' date for Ibykos is Ol. 61 (536-533 B.C.). Bowra rejects Suidas' entry on three grounds: that Eusebius gives another date, though he admits that the two dates are not incompatible; that the father of Polykrates is called by the same name, whereas his name was really Aiakes; and finally, that the father is made to rule Samos.⁴⁵ Of these three objections, only the second has any value. Schmid, commenting on the passage, emends Πολυκράτης to Πολυκράτους, and so removes the difficulty; the passage then reads: 'when the father of the tyrant Polykrates ruled in Samos'.⁴⁶ But, even without this emendation, there is no need to reject the entry; Wilamowitz is on sounder ground in accepting the tradition that Ibykos went to Samos in the days of Polykrates' father, whose name is the one mistake and should be Aiakes.⁴⁷ His interpretation of the forty-eight-line poem found at Oxyrhynchus,⁴⁸ the last two lines of which are a compliment to a young Polykrates, as a personal tribute to the still youthful son of the tyrant is more convincing than Bowra's attempt to connect the poem with the son of Polykrates mentioned by Himerios, who says that Anakreon was brought to be his tutor.⁴⁹

The difficulty over Anaximandros concerns one passage only; Diogenes Laertios, quoting from the *Chronicle* of Apollodoros, says that in the second year of Ol. 58 (547/6 B.C.) Anaximandros was sixty-four and that he died not long afterward; then he adds that he flourished almost at the same time as Polykrates, the tyrant of Samos, *ἀκμασάντά πη μάλιστα κατὰ Πολυκράτην τὸν Σάμου τύραννον*. Diels and, following him, Jacoby transfer this last phrase to the life of Pythagoras on the ground of chronological impossibility.⁵⁰ I suggest that this is as unnecessary as it is violent, that here there is a similar confusion between the names of Aiakes and Polykrates, and that the tradition is sound which places the *ἀκμή* of Anaximandros in the period of the Samian tyranny.

Finally, there is the passage in Strabo on Pythagoras' sojourns in Egypt and Babylon and his departure for Italy, which should mean that some thirty-five years separate the beginning of tyranny at Samos and Pythagoras' flight from it on his return to Samos after travelling abroad. Strabo says, *ἐπὶ τούτου* (i.e. under Polykrates) Pythagoras seeing the tyranny springing up (or growing, *φυσμένην*) left the city and went off to Egypt and Babylon to satisfy his love of learning; that when he returned, and saw the tyranny still enduring (*συμμένουσάν*) he set sail for Italy and spent the rest of his life there'.⁵¹ Since Pythagoras is elsewhere recorded to have spent twenty-two years in Egypt and twelve years in Babylon,⁵² Strabo's notice has been regarded as chronologically untenable; as von Fritz observes, '... this would presuppose that Pythagoras already saw tyranny approaching in 571'.⁵³ But that, far from being a *reductio ad absurdum*, fits the thesis of this paper very well. The only difficulty is that the figures for the years which Pythagoras spent abroad are suspiciously high and have little authority. It is worth while, I think, to suggest that he may have spent less long abroad, and have reached Italy a good deal earlier than the date suggested by his flight 'from Polykrates', for this phrase probably means no more than from 'the tyranny in Samos'—if Pythagoras hated tyranny, he will not have waited for Polykrates' accession to leave the island a second time. He may well have seen the tyranny growing in the early years of Aiakes, spent some years in travel, returned to Samos to find that he disliked it even more, and departed finally for the West, reaching Kroton in time to be responsible for the extraordinary 'incuse' coinages in the cities of South Italy which some scholars believe were issued to exemplify his philosophy of opposites.⁵⁴

⁴⁴ Diog. Laert. 2. 103; Pliny, *N.H.* 36. 95. The Artemision is probably slightly later than the earlier Heraion; Kroisos paid for the erection of some of the columns. See Dinsmoor, *op. cit.* 127.

⁴⁵ C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, 1936), 251-60.

⁴⁶ Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* I (Munich, 1929), 490, n. 2.

⁴⁷ Pindaros (Berlin, 1929), 512; fr. 20 with the mention of Κρόισος ὁ Μηδίων στρατηγός indicates Ibykos' acquaintance with Asia Minor.

⁴⁸ *Oxyrh. Pap.* 1790, Vol. 15, 73 ff. Tab. III; C. M. Bowra, *New Chapters in Greek Literature*, Third Series (Oxford, 1933), 30-6. The last two lines read;

καὶ σὺ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἀρίττων ἔχεις
ὡς κατ' ἀσίδων καὶ ἑμὸν ἄλδος.

⁴⁹ Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 260-4.

⁵⁰ Diog. Laert. 2. 1. 2; H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* I (Berlin, 1922), 14, n. 14; F. Jacoby, *FGH* II BD (Berlin, 1930), 727.

⁵¹ Strabo 14. 1. 16 (C636).

⁵² Iamblichos, *de vita Pythagorica*, 19.

⁵³ K. von Fritz, *Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy* (New York, 1940), 54; cf. p. 49 for a chronology of Pythagoras' life reconstructed from various data.

⁵⁴ The theory that these coins were Pythagoras' invention was first put forward by the Duc de Luynes (*Nouvelles Annales de l'inst. arch. de Rome*, 1836, 388 ff.). It has been accepted by some scholars, including Babelon (*Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* I (Paris, 1901), 1373-4), Sir George Hill (*Historical Greek Coins*, London, 1906, 21-5) and Seltman (*Greek Coins*, London, 1933, 76-9), but has more often been rejected—e.g. by Head (*Historia Numorum*² (Oxford, 1911), 99), by Noe (*The Coinage of Metapontum, Part I*, Num. Notes and Monog. (New York, 1927), 15), and by Sutherland ('The Incuse Coinages of South Italy', *A.N.S. Museum Notes* III (1948), 18)—these last three scholars give three different explanations of the coinages, none of them entirely satisfactory. The case for the Pythagoras theory has recently been restated vigorously by Seltman in 'The Problem of the First Italiote Coins', *Num. Chron.* 6th Series, Vol. 9 (1949), 1-21. The question can hardly be discussed here in detail, but it is worth while to

That theory seems to be the most reasonable explanation yet proposed for these curious coinages, and if it is correct it shows that the tyranny in Samos was established before, and flourishing at the middle of the century. The uncertainties here are numerous, and little weight could be put on such an argument by itself; but it does not stand alone.

It remains only to sum up the argument. The testimony of Herodotus makes it clear that Samian policy is consistent from the early 560's to the death of Polykrates: the seizure of the bowl and corselet, and the interception of the Corcyrean boys are evidence of the same sort of piracy as Polykrates continued; the Samian navy was built up before Polykrates, and the Samian thalassocracy followed the Phokaian shortly after the fall of Sardis. It seems reasonable to connect this with Aiakes and to see the establishment of the tyranny during his lifetime. Polykrates inherited the power after an interval of uncertainty at his father's death and made the tyranny famous. Corroboration is provided by the building programme, especially by the dates of the tunnel and the earlier Heraion. Finally, the incidental references to the Samian tyranny, *i.e.* the date of Ibykos' arrival in Samos, the *floruit* of Anaximandros, and the probable date for Pythagoras' final departure for Kroton, strengthen the suggestion that there was a tradition of a tyranny in Samos in the generation before Polykrates.⁵⁵

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point out that the opponents of the theory have been influenced chiefly by the chronological difficulty, the fact that the accepted date of the first issues—about 550 B.C. or not much later—cannot be reconciled with Pythagoras' arrival in Italy about 530. All those who discuss the coinages emphasise the fact that this peculiar and difficult 'fabric' appears suddenly in South Italy, and only there, and that the best coins are the earliest. Paul Naster, seeking antecedents for the unusual technique, points out the similarity of these dies to the core and mantle of 'cire perdue' bronze casting, a Samian invention

of the same period ('La technique des monnaies incusées de la Grande-Grèce', *Rev. Belge de Num.*, 1947, 1-17). I have discussed this point in some detail with W. P. Wallace of University College, Toronto.

⁵⁵ I should like to express my gratitude for the generous assistance given by the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. The materials for this paper were assembled during the year I spent in these two institutions.

THE FAMILY OF ARGYRIUS

THERE are in the literary sources few examples of curial life extending over three generations with such a continuity of detail as is provided by Libanius in his references to the family of Argyrius. Yet in the more accessible works of reference, the student of the social life of the later Roman Empire will discover merely a shortened version by Ensslin (*PW. Suppl.* VII, 680) of Seeck's note on Obodianus (*Briefe*, 222). In addition, the index of the Teubner edition of Libanius presents much confusion between grandfather and grandson.

Towards the end of his life, Libanius addressed to the Emperor Theodosius an open letter upon the parlous state of the curiae at the time, contrasting their present hard lot with the state of things which had prevailed earlier in the century. In dealing with the recruitment of fresh blood into the curia, he cites as an example of previous practice the conduct of his own grandfather (Or. xlix. 18). He, some years before his death in 324, had been instrumental in securing for a young foreigner named Argyrius an introduction into the curia of Antioch. This he had succeeded in doing, despite Argyrius' alien birth, his youth, and lack of property, even against the opposition of the then governor and the then sophist of the city, Zenobius. Oddly enough, there was a family relationship between Zenobius and Argyrius, which Libanius mentions at a later time (Ep. 101).

After this introduction to the curia, Argyrius went on to perform the liturgies, and shewed due gratitude for his social advancement. He became a firm friend of Libanius' father, and upon his untimely death, did all he could to relieve and assist the family (Or. liii. 4), a service which in later life Libanius recalls with respect and affection (Ep. 381).¹

In 332, when Libanius was eighteen, Argyrius was able to undertake the most respectable and expensive of the curial obligations in Antioch, the presidency of the Antiochene Olympia (Or. liii. 4). It is clear that during these dozen or so years his fame and fortune had vastly improved. This was probably the result of his eloquence, since Zenobius had taken such pains to deny him room in Antioch. At any rate, many years after his death, Libanius can cite him as an example of a famous rhetor of curial rank (Or. xxxv. 10). As president of the Olympia, he was responsible for an innovation which Libanius deplors. At his own expense, he doubled the seating accommodation in the Plethrum, the centre for the Olympic contests. This mistaken spirit of service was, in Libanius' eyes, the beginning of the breakdown of the religious purity of the festival. More spectators meant more disorder, and as succeeding presidents, including Libanius' own uncle Phasganius, followed this example, the Olympia became more of a bank-holiday entertainment than a religious ceremony (Or. x. 9-11).

In 349, an Argyrius appears as praeses of a province (Cod. Th. iv. 13. 2). Ensslin suggests that he is likely to be the elder Argyrius of Libanius. Although such a suggestion can be neither proved nor disproved with finality, there are two arguments which render it less plausible.

(i) The *argumentum ex silentio*. Usually, in his commendations of the sons of ex-magistrates, Libanius makes a point of mentioning their fathers' rank. Nowhere does he suggest that Argyrius had held such an office. It does not appear in the various commendations of Obodianus (Epp. 112-14, 381), or of the younger Argyrius (Epp. 970-1). Nor, as might be expected, is Argyrius cited as a past example of a sophistic or rhetorical career culminating in the attainment of public office, in any of Libanius' later complaints concerning the decline in the value of a career in rhetoric. On the contrary, he is mentioned specifically as an example of eloquence in the curia (Or. xxxv. 10).

(ii) In 359-60, Argyrius is described as a very old man (Ep. 113, 1, πρὸς γῆρας ἦκων ὅπου οἶσθα καὶ παρέχων φόβον ὅποιον εἰκὸς θαλλοφόρου), and he has retired from curial life because of his age (*ibid.* ἡ ἀτέλεια τοῦ πόνου παρὰ τοῦ χρόνου). If any coherent account can be made of the fragmentary Ep. 138, it is that he seems to behave with a forgetfulness which may indicate his years. In such a case he must have been praeses—a comparatively low stage in the official hierarchy—at the age of sixty or thereabouts. This is a late age to attain that rank, and if our Argyrius is the praeses mentioned, his object would probably have been merely to get out of the curia by attaining the office. Yet Libanius expressly states that his retirement from the curia was due to his age. Office is not mentioned.

Argyrius had retired from the curia, it seems, by the time Or. xxxi, 'Pro Rhetoribus', was composed. In this oration, Libanius addresses not Argyrius but his son Obodianus, and also Eubulus, in such a way as to give good reason to assume that Argyrius is still alive and, what is never stated in so many words, that Obodianus and Eubulus may have been brothers. (Seeck, *Briefe*, 222: Or. xxxi 47. Εὐβουλε, σὲ πρῶτον ὁ καιρὸς καλεῖ. Ἀργυρίου καὶ παῖ καὶ πατέρ, μίμησαι τὸν πρεσβύτερον).²

¹ Paek (*T.A.P.A.* LXXXII, 1951, p. 179, note 9) expresses the opinion that in 332 Argyrius may have undertaken the presentation of the Olympia in Libanius' place.

² Since the composition of this article, the identification of

Eubulus as given above has been challenged by Wolf (*Vom Schulwesen der Spätantike*, pp. 93-6) in two particulars which are fundamental.

(a) He gives a fresh view upon the disputed identification

The named son of Argyrius, Obodianus, was by the time of the 'Pro Rhetoribus' himself the father of an Argyrius, then a schoolboy. As quite a young man, Obodianus had taken part in an embassy on behalf of his city, and had won the admiration of such a connoisseur of rhetoric as the Bithynian Aristtaenetos for his eloquent address. This embassy seems to have occurred at some time about 350. In 358 he had already shewn such devoted public spirit that, in his son's name, he was performing the liturgy of the baths, and in the next year was due to present the chariot races, although the son was below the statutory age for such obligations. For these shows he had received Imperial assistance in the shape of a couple of teams of Bithynian horses (Ep. 381. 2). This expensive career in the liturgies continued in 359/60, for then the younger Argyrius, though still immersed in the study of rhetoric under Libanius, was to act as choregus in 360 and to present the beast-shows at the Olympia, again at his father's expense.

A generation later, the younger Argyrius is to follow, as decurion, in his father's footsteps. After the performance of the other notable liturgies, in 390 he is found preparing the presentation of shows and games himself. Two of Libanius' letters of commendation are to high officials at court (Epp. 970-1), requesting them to ensure that he receives adequate assistance from the praefectus praetorio, as his father had done thirty years before.

Yet in the year's interval which had elapsed between the writing of Ep. 381 and Epp. 112-14, while he was fully engaged upon this career of civic service, Obodianus had been in considerable danger. Like numerous other Antiochenes, he had been implicated in the proceedings of the treason trial held at Scythopolis in 359 (cf. Amm. Marc. xix. 12), and he had escaped unharmed only because of the constancy which his friend Dorotheus had shown under examination (Ep. 112). Acquitted, he travelled to court in the winter of 359/60, again as the envoy of Antioch, bearing with him the loyal greetings of his city, a request that Constantius should consent to revisit it and the hope, evidently, of securing official assistance towards his latest and most expensive duty. The embassy seems to have been attended with much success. In the 'Antiochicus' of 360, it is not unlikely that Libanius has such a one as Obodianus in mind when he speaks of the devoted services rendered to the city of Antioch by its decurions, and of their fluency and ability as rhetors (Or. xi. 133 ff.).

In 362, Obodianus is once more found acting as envoy for Antioch—now to Julian in Constantinople, presumably to offer a loyal address to him upon his accession to the throne. As far as Obodianus was concerned, however, the embassy was never completed. Near Ancyra, he broke an arm in a fall, and while the rest of the party went on, he stayed there for some time to convalesce, relieving the tedium with elevated discourses of a sophistic turn (Ep. 698). Shortly afterwards, upon Obodianus' return to Antioch, Libanius sent letters of grateful acknowledgement to two decurions of Ancyra who had provided Obodianus with care and entertainment there on this occasion (Epp. 730, 733).

of the Phoenician, sophist and antagonist of Libanius. Seeck (*Briefe*, 39 ff.) had identified him with Acacius of Caesarea; Foerster (Vol. X, pp. 760-1) identified him with Eubulus (the view taken above). Wolf's suggestion is that the sophist is Acacius and that Eubulus is his patron in the curia, the two being the centre of the clique which opposes that of the sophist Libanius and his uncle, the decurion Phasganus. On this view, it is Acacius who leaves Antioch in the summer vacations for Phoenicia (i.e. Palestine), and is the consistent opponent of Libanius in rhetoric, while Eubulus is his political opponent. The argument is supported by a comparison of the narrative of Or. i. 90-120 with the details given in Epp. 274, 289, 454, 555, 754—a plausible interpretation. However, Libanius' method of introducing the sophist by description first, then going on to name Eubulus (Or. i. 90; Ep. 555), seems to me decisive. It is also consistent with his practice elsewhere in Or. i; e.g. 31 (Nicocles), 44-5 (Alexander), 66-8 (Philagrius), 164 (Lupicinus), 211 (Pelagius and Marcellinus). Moreover, the circumstances point equally well to Eubulus. We know that he was a successful rhetor. In 359 he is found giving a public performance (Ep. 119), and membership of the curia is by no means incompatible with the profession of rhetoric. In Ep. 173 the relations between Libanius and his opponent and his surviving son must be referred to Eubulus not Acacius. This information reconciles the *ἡγούμενος* 800 of Ep. 561 (cf. Ep. 439) with the *ὁ δὲ* 805 of Ep. 537 (cf. Epp. 504, 529, 550) and the *πολερ* of Or. i. 116.

Admittedly, there had been rivalry between Libanius and Acacius (cf. Epp. 274, 722; Eunapius, *vita* Acacii). That, he says, was long past by the time Acacius left Antioch in 360, and does not seem to have lasted long after Libanius' arrival. The oration *ὑπὲρ Εὐβούλου*, which Eunapius says dealt with Acacius occurs in 354/5 (Ep. 405). From about 358/9 Libanius can be seen working in Antioch amicably with him (Ep. 259, 289, 1306-7).

(b) Wolf rejects the deduction made by Seeck (*Briefe*, 222) from the text of Or. xxxi. 47, that Eubulus is the elder brother of Obodianus. *τὸν προσηγόρευον*, he says, refers not to Eubulus just mentioned but to the elder Argyrius. Obodianus is thus

bidden to follow his father's example, a commonplace in the Letters. This interpretation gains much from the fact that nowhere is it explicitly stated that there is such a family connexion between Argyrius and Eubulus. This by itself is not, however, an insuperable objection. Libanius' silences about family relationships are as casual, as is his information; e.g. that between Argyrius and Zenobius is casually referred to in a commendation of a relative of Zenobius (Ep. 101); and nowhere in his letters to Modestus does Libanius refer to a family connexion between them, though he does claim such relationship with Eumolpius (Ep. 75. 6), who is almost certainly the brother of Modestus.

Other points which could lend some support to Seeck's view are:

(i) Argyrius and Eubulus are mentioned together as famous rhetors of the curia; in this context Libanius has just dealt with examples of rhetorical prowess provided by his own family (Or. xxxv. 10).

(ii) Argyrius came from outside, probably from the south, since he has connexions in Elusa. He was renowned as a rhetor. Eubulus is a contemporary of Libanius, and, if son of Argyrius, would himself be born outside Antioch. Thus 'Phoenician, son and grandson of sophists' (Or. i. 90) is not unsuited to Eubulus. Libanius can stress the alien origin in disapproval of the prodigal son while approving it in the case of his benefactor Argyrius.

(iii) In 355 the sophist's father is still alive in circumstances similar to those of Argyrius in Ep. 113 three years later (Ep. 405. 9, *ὁ δὲ ἀντίπαυρος ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχει, ὅτι δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθάνει*, δ 8' ἐν 38).

(iv) The division of family loyalties has its parallel in the case of Argyrius and Zenobius. In both cases the reason is connected with professional interests. The sophistic immunity from curial obligations would probably hold some attractions for Eubulus. Other family feuds can be seen in Or. xxxviii (Silvanus and Gaudentius) and Or. lxi (Olympius and Micalus).

Wolf's suggestion, though attractive, I do not find completely convincing.

In early 363 there occurs the last mention of this side of the family until the younger Argyrius makes his reappearance in 390. Argyrius the elder, a loyal pagan, was much shocked at the turbulence and disobedience with which Julian was met by large numbers of the Antiochenes and he was unable to hide his dejection upon the consequent disgrace which the city incurred (Or. xvi. 41).

If Seeck is right in his deduction that Eubulus is the elder brother of Obodianus, the fortunes of the family can be traced in some detail for a longer period (*cf.* Foerster, *Libanius*, Vol. X. pp. 760-1). In fact, his intrigues against Libanius form the background of Libanius' career from his return to Antioch in 354 until 371. He seems to have maintained a much closer connexion with his native province than did the rest of the family. He had an estate in Phoenicia to which he had retired in the summer vacation of 353 (Or. i. 90), and again later. Libanius calls him a Phoenician, and it is not impossible that he was born before his father's removal to Antioch. A decurion of Antioch (Ep. 529. 3), speaking only Greek (Or. i. 165), he practised in Antioch as a rhetor and sophist, drawing some salary (Or. i. 110). During Libanius' first visit to Antioch in 353, he shewed himself to be a professional rival, and upon his permanent settlement there in 354, his opposition began in real earnest. Libanius professes to speak with contempt of his laziness and loose-living, which earned for him the nick-name of 'Coccyliion' (Ep. 504. 4: Or. i. 109); but even he is compelled later to confess that his ability and reputation were high.

The cause of this rivalry was something more than ordinary professional jealousy. It seems to have been concerned with the succession to the chair of rhetoric then held by Zenobius. It would be natural for Eubulus, a rhetor in his own right, a man of mark in Antioch and possibly a family connexion of Zenobius, to aspire to the post which would have the added advantage of providing him with immunity from curial obligations. The connexion between them was sufficiently close for them both to be visited with the displeasure of Gallus or of his supporters (Or. i. 96-7). Gallus had Zenobius arrested, while the mob which he had incited against Theophilus went on to attack the mansion of Eubulus, when balked of the persons of Eubulus and his son (*cf.* Amm. Marc. xiv. 7. 6, *Eubuli cuiusdam inter suos clari domum ambitiosam ignibus subditis inflammavit*; Lib. Or. i. 103.) Such being the close bond between them in the public mind, it is not unlikely that Eubulus had some such ambition for himself. Unfortunately, Zenobius had already half-promised the post upon his retirement to Libanius. This may explain his later reluctance to implement that promise, and the fact that the discomfitures of Zenobius and Eubulus are closely connected in Libanius' narrative (Or. i. 103-4).

The first move came in 354 from Eubulus. By means of a third party he attempted to get Libanius involved in a case of magic directed against the Imperial house. His responsibility for the charge leaked out, however, and the fact that Gallus did not adopt his usual summary method of handling such a case but referred it to the courts seems to indicate Eubulus' unpopularity with the Caesar. The case collapsed and the plot misfired, but it was not entirely without result, for despite Gallus' refusal to entertain the charge, it had attracted to Libanius a most undesirable type of publicity, and had raised enough prejudice against him to make his position in Antioch very precarious for some little time afterwards.

After the departure of Gallus, the antagonism between the two rhetors involved the intervention of successive governors. Eubulus attempted to curry favour with one after another, with a view to feathering his own nest, but with untoward results (Or. lii. 31). He found that he had usually been anticipated by Libanius. Interference from the administration was no new thing in Libanius' career, but now he was to experience it on an ever-increasing scale. The first point to be settled was the appointment of a successor to Zenobius, who had died in 355. Here Libanius could count upon the influence of the new prefect, his friend Strategius, against all his rival's claims, and he also gained much support from his successes in the sophistic competitions, besides parading his devotion to his old master by a couple of speeches in memory of Zenobius (Ep. 405). In 356 he claims to have the support of all citizens except Eubulus and the clique whose attachment he had bought (Epp. 529. 3; 537. 3). At all events, before 358, he could deliver his panegyric on Strategius in the Bouleuterion of Antioch, where he had already been practising for some time and which was to be his headquarters in future. A year or two later, he is known to be the 'sophist of the city', the position he held for the rest of his life (Jo. Chrys. P.G. 50. 560 Migne).

Meantime, Eubulus' fortune and status had been much impaired by his rival's influence and success. His ample wealth purchased him some support, for he was generous and lavish with his entertainment, and the support which Libanius received from the prefect was, it seems, to some extent counter-balanced by that which Eubulus received from Nebridius, Comes Orientis at the time and Libanius' private enemy (Ep. 506. 3). A reconciliation between the two rhetors was effected by the good offices of Olympius in 355, and in these two years there are occasions when the two are found in agreement (*cf.* 454, 5), but it is never long before disputes flare up again. Both in 355 and 357 Libanius complains of his opponent's lack of scruples in breaking his word (Epp. 439, 555). However, after the departure of Nebridius for Gaul in 357, Eubulus lost such support in official circles, for the new Comes Orientis, Modestus, was an ardent supporter of Libanius himself. The influence and services which he had offered to litigants, always for some suitable recompense, were

his no longer. Instead, Libanius himself could claim the credit for securing him an increased allowance, much to his chagrin (Or. i. 109-10).

In 358, Strategius gave up his prefecture, and his successor, Hermogenes, was not expected to be so favourable to Libanius. It was an ideal moment for Eubulus to try to smirch his rival's reputation, and he was quick to seize his opportunity. By judicious bribery of the copyist he interfered with the publication of Libanius' panegyric of Strategius, which was due to be sent round the cities as the swan-song of his prefecture. Artful changes of words in their contexts and other devices served to rob the oration of its point, and then Eubulus invited the prefect to come and listen to his version of what a panegyric really should be like. The trick was discovered, the copyist confessing what he had been bribed to do, so that the relations between Strategius and Libanius remained as cordial as before, despite Eubulus' efforts (Or. i. 113).

The advent of Hermogenes gave Eubulus fresh grounds for hope, but he was doomed to disappointment. Previous acquaintance with the uncle and friends of Libanius had predisposed Hermogenes in his favour, and when, in the curia, the new prefect greeted Phasganius as an old friend and sought the acquaintance of Libanius, Eubulus and his clique promptly threw up the sponge (Or. i. 116).

A very different complexion was given to the situation by the appointment in 360 of Elpidius as prefect. Libanius, depressed by his private griefs (Or. i. 117-18), and by his chronic ailments, was sadly out of favour, the more so as Elpidius was a Christian who had little sympathy with the tradition of pagan rhetoric. These are the lean years for sophists, as is shewn by Libanius' appeal to the decurions of Antioch, Eubulus among them, to pay their rhetors a decent salary, as they had done in Zenobius' day (Or. xxxi).³ He had his own problems besides, for the upper classes of Antioch, his patrons and protégés both, had been sorely distressed by the treason trials of the previous year, his influence had vanished and, worst of all, his salary had been cut and his position impugned by the 'dunce' Elpidius (Ep. 740). In the meantime it is a fair inference that Eubulus' stock had risen in comparison. In 360, Libanius comments that despite the constant sniping by Eubulus ever since 354, he had suffered no serious harm. Though his own attitude had been most correct, though he had gone into mourning upon the death of one of Eubulus' sons and had made repeated overtures to the other, he had met with nothing but opposition from both him and his father (Ep. 173). In 361, however, he acknowledges that he has come off second best and ruefully asserts that Eubulus gets his own way in everything (Ep. 289. 3).

Julian's accession to the throne and, later, his arrival in Antioch in 362 raised Libanius from his slough of despond (Or. i. 119), and saw him restored to his old position and salary by the new prefect Salutius (Ep. 740). Simultaneously, Eubulus lost his lately acquired pre-eminence. His wife was recently dead; besides his only surviving son, his family consisted of daughters of marriageable age. To save his face he had given it out that he was retiring to supervise their welfare, and so had left Antioch before Julian's arrival (Or. i. 120). Libanius, however, found his triumph to be of short duration, for with the death of Julian, he was thrown upon the defensive and again lost his influence (Ep. 1154), being the object of murder plots under Jovian and of bitter hostility in the first years of Valens. Once more Eubulus profited by this opportunity. Emerging from his retirement, he again used his ample wealth to procure official support. Thus by lavish gifts and hospitality, he won over Festus, Consularis Syriae between 367 and 370, a man of notoriously expensive tastes. Festus, at the instigation of Eubulus—who was now confessedly seeking not the disgrace but the death of his rival—made two separate attempts to involve Libanius in cases of treason, even going so far as to approach Valens on the matter (Or. i. 156). Fidelius, also, one of the finance officers, tried to employ the same methods for the same reason. By good luck and some influence, Libanius succeeded in avoiding all the snares of magic and treason laid for him, and survived his rival (Or. i. 163). After 371, Eubulus appears no more in the narrative of Libanius except in retrospect.

The history of this family provides confirmatory evidence for several points which concern the social history of the time. First, there is ample evidence for the wealth which might still be acquired from the combination of the careers of rhetor and pleader. Libanius' complaints of the inadequacy of public reward to the exponents of the sophistic profession (e.g. Or. xxxi) lose much of their point when the success of the elder Argyrius is observed. He, entering the curia a comparatively poor man, could in about a dozen years undertake the most expensive curial office, and in addition provide more than was normal in the way of public works. He could leave enough for his son, Obodianus, to undertake a full list of liturgies between 357 and 360, and to act as envoy for his city. Eubulus, too, if indeed he is a member of the family, was well known for his wealth, as Ammianus confirms.

³ The date of Or. xxxi, *Pro Rhetoribus*. Wolf (pp. 94-6) re-examines the dating. Foerster (Vol. iii, 119) had originally dated it to 355, but later changed his mind, dating the speech to 390, and identifying the sophist in Caesarea with Priscio (Vol. xi, 632). Wolf, in accordance with the suggestion of Walden (*Universities*, p. 267), places it in the years 360/1. The speech is certainly before 364, when Arsenius is dead. In Or. xxxi. 47 he is still a student, as he was in 356/7 (Ep. 540). By the time of his death he had already entered upon the career

of advocate (Ep. 1260. 4). The oration, then, is a year or two before 364. The sophist in Caesarea at this time was Acacius, and he had left Antioch before 361 (Or. xxxi. 42; Epp. 274, 289). The oration thus lies between 361 and 363. I would suggest that it is to be dated to the very end of 361 or the beginning of 362. Elpidius, who had cut Libanius' own pay, may still have been in the saddle, thus accounting for the comparative mildness with which Libanius deals with the recent coolness of the administration towards rhetoric.

His expenditure to secure support for himself was lavish and is often the cause of Libanius' sneers; his high-living and licence were notorious; he could even entertain the gourmet Festus, in a manner suited to his taste. It seems that it was still as possible for a sophist and rhetor to make his private fortune in the fourth century as it had been in the second.

Equally noteworthy is the continued record of expenditure made upon social service. This family fortune has to stand the impact once in each generation of the accumulated expenses of the liturgies—the baths, the games, and shows of the choregia, the presidency of the Antiochene Olympia—and embassies to court besides. Libanius' letters afford evidence for the severity of these financial duties, of growing curial discontent, and of reluctance to perform them without a firm guarantee of Imperial assistance. In 332 Argyrius voluntarily adds to his obligations as president of the Olympia. In 359/60, although the administrative worries of the office of choregus are said to be the chief burden for his son (Ep. 113. 2.), yet we find him in receipt of assistance from the central government. In 390 the shows which his grandson is due to present form a liturgy which Libanius describes as πόνυ βαρεῖα, and he makes no bones about a direct request for financial aid (Ep. 970. 2). Impoverishment of decurions by the performance of the liturgies was not uncommon (e.g. Seeck, *Briefe*, 193; Julianus xvii), but such a record of expense by one family over so extensive a period is comparatively rare. In this case there can be seen a growing dissatisfaction with the burdens the decurions had to bear, and, as the century proceeds, an increasing tendency to solicit subventions from the exchequer for their performance. Here the family fortune was ample enough; others were not so lucky, and decurions were becoming increasingly chary of undertaking the job unaided. Such unrest among the curial classes was an added inducement for them to seek to escape from the doubtful honour of their rank, and an added reason for the rapid drop in the number of decurions, for which Libanius furnishes evidence during the later fourth century, and of which his own career is a good example.

Thirdly, there is from this narrative a peculiar insight into the conduct of sophists and rhetors in the management of their professional feuds. Hooliganism and physical assault on the part of a sophist's supporters, though efficacious enough, were among the least dangerous of the weapons in the sophistic armoury (cf. Or. i. 85). Zenobius has no qualms in bringing pressure from the administration to bear in his attempt to secure the removal of a potential rival, for all the bond of family relationship between them. Eubulus will go even further; despite all overtures and mediation, he will try to get Libanius permanently removed by bringing allegations of magic, disloyalty to the regime, or treasonable utterance, no matter whether they be true or false. Their rivalry affects their relations both with their fellow citizens and with the governors, who loom large in this account. Each rhetor tries to use them as pawns in his own game, yet the governor's interference in the affairs of the sophists—in their appointment, pay, influence, or supersession—is all-pervasive. It is small wonder that panegyric forms such an important part of the rhetorical technique, for it is the best kind of insurance policy. For this reason, the note of criticism so obvious in Libanius' later orations (e.g. Or. xxx; Or. xlviii) is all the more startling.

Libanius makes a commonplace of the decline of Greek rhetoric and the rise of the studies of Latin, law, or even shorthand in its place, but the assiduity with which both he and Eubulus cultivated the acquaintance of the prefect, the Comes Orientis, or the provincial consular shows that such complaints are exaggerated. All these officials were, and consistently remained, directly interested in the Greek rhetorical education.

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A. F. NORMAN

'A BOOK TO KEEP'

(An address in commemoration of Professor R. R. Marett)

IF what I am giving you this afternoon is little more than a series of rather conjectural reflections about well-known matters, my excuse is that I was tempted by an invitation from an old and highly valued pupil to speak in memory of an intimate companion of the distant days when I was young, a companion from whom I learnt much. Marett, like Frazer and Jane Harrison and others, used his knowledge of Greek as a bridge towards the study of anthropology in general. It is a specially helpful bridge, because the Greeks, with their extraordinary command of literary expression, have left articulate evidence about their thought and feelings and customs at a stage of development when other peoples had no literature. One is always surprised at the coexistence in Greece of the highly developed and the utterly primitive. Dr. Galton in a speculative guess at the intelligence quota of different human groups put the fifth-century Athenian about twice as high as the nineteenth-century Londoner; yet an Athenian army was reduced to terror by an eclipse of the moon, contemporaries of Thucydides worshipped at the Diasia an imaginary enormous snake, and while Aristotle was writing his treatise on dramatic poetry some of his contemporaries were introducing Ludi Scenici to Rome as a medicine against a pestilence.

The great essentials of poetic feeling and perhaps the great insolubles of philosophy seem to have existed in many primitive peoples, but somehow they did not preserve their poetry or inspiration as the Greeks did, they did not work it up into the same Cosmos or artistic perfection, as a thing of permanent value. We may remember the South Sea Island chief who discussed his poetry with Stevenson. When asked what it was mostly about he gave the admirable answer: 'Oh, sweet-hearts and the sea; not all-same true, you know, all-same lie.' He had the root of the matter in him, like Anacreon or Alcaeus, but it passed as the moment of inspiration passed; no one thought of preserving those songs. When a certain much-loved Governor of Papua died, delegates from a number of villages to the number of 8000 gathered in what the Greeks would have called a great *Panegyris*. They fasted for thirty days, and then an old Headman made a long, formal, and really beautiful ἐπιτάφιος λόγος. An English reporter happened to be present, and so we know about it; otherwise it would never have occurred to the author or his companions to preserve it. A parallel to Hesiod or Orpheus, again, can be seen in those Gilbert Island accounts of the origin of the world of which Sir Arthur Grimble has told us. Many varying accounts are current, but only one particular prophet-king can speak with real authority. What he says is the inspired truth, when he feels inspired to give it; and even he, so we are informed, does not by any means always say the same. Nothing apparently was preserved except in memory, nothing reduced to Cosmos. Not only had no Prometheus given to man in those places the gift of γράμματτα, 'the all-remembering instrument, whence every Muse is born'. They had not even formed, it would seem, the desire for such a gift, except for a few practical purposes. My real theme to-day is to study the growth of this conception of a Book as an artistic unity, a thing to be preserved for ever.

One may well apply to the whole process of Greek literature, and perhaps even of Greek civilisation, the famous phrase of Anaxagoras about the origin of the world, that 'all things were mixed up—a chaos, a confusion, what the Book of Genesis expressively calls a *Tohubohu*—until Nous, intelligence or mind, came and put them in order'. It is a gradual formation of *Cosmos*; a process of order, of coherence, of enlightenment and lucidity, an advance involving sometimes a loss which is hard to define, as we move from the αἰραρον to the realm of πέρας; one can see such a movement from the oracles of Heraclitus and Pythagoras to the definitions of Prodicus and Protagoras; from the poetry of Aeschylus, who, in the words of a great contemporary, 'did things right without knowing how', to that of a generation which knew all the approved rules of σοφία rather too well and sometimes, like our own eighteenth century, wronged its own poetic genius by following the rules too self-consciously. There is a somewhat similar change from the imaginative ease and abundance of Herodotus' style to the artificial clarity of Lysias or Isocrates. It is a movement, in the happy phrase of Professor J. A. K. Thomson, from a Prophetic Age to a Classical, from an age which spoke from inspiration to one which studied and spoke from *Sophia* and books.

In actual philosophy, of course, the process is pretty clear. Heraclitus never argues, he reveals mysteries: 'All things flow.' 'The age—or the World—is a child playing'. 'Our life is a death of ψυχαί, souls, their life is our death', and so on. But even the Ionian group of philosophers, sometimes considered too aridly materialist, have, as Cornford has emphasised, a good deal of the prophet in them. Thales, too, pronounced that all things were 'full of gods'. Anaximenes proclaimed our souls to be air, and air the living soul of the universe. Anaximander saw all individual existence as an act of aggressive injustice for which every individual thing must pay retribution by returning according to the law of Diké into that from which it had emerged. Philosophy was brought to

greater precision partly by the Sophists and Socrates, but also, I think, by the influence of two real sciences. First by mathematics, which implied and demanded exact measurement—always an embarrassment to prophets; and also, I would suggest, by the science of medicine, which in Greece developed surprisingly early and in the hands of Hippocrates rejected magic and tried to base itself on records of objective observation. There is significance in Thucydides' detailed account of the symptoms of the plague, nor was it for nothing that Aristotle's father was a professional doctor, trained to observe and record facts and symptoms.

The process is clearest of all in the realm of History, where *Nous* had to produce some order or *Kosmos* out of a most confused superabundance of tradition. Hecataeus, the first prose writer (fl. 520–516), knows his own purpose. 'I write as seems to me to be true, for the traditions of the Greek are πολλοὶ καὶ γελοῖοι, which here means, I would suggest, not merely 'numerous and ridiculous', but 'inconsistent and ridiculous'. There were many *Logoi*, or versions, about the same subject. What did Hecataeus really do? He was, according to Heraclitus, who paid few compliments, a man of great learning, though little sense. He knew a great quantity of λόγοι and μῦθοι and selected the versions that seemed most probable. He has much to say about the Calydonian Boar, and the Argonauts and Deucalion, and he seems to have thought that, in some sense, the Ram of Phrixus really spoke. Yet he sometimes rationalises. Cerberus, the Hound of Hell, was a deadly snake so nicknamed, which infested the so-called 'mouth of Hell' on Mt. Tainaron. He makes intelligent criticisms; for instance, in noting the nationalist bias of the Athenian account of the expulsion of the Pelasgians from Attica (127). He observes that many of the legendary Kings were not Greeks, and that in very early times all Greece consisted of 'barbarian settlements'. He gave valuable advice about geography to the Ionians at the time of the revolt. He made a map of the world, and was credited with a sort of Gazetteer containing masses of detailed information about remote peoples and places; though, of course, such a collection would never be left as it came from the hands of the supposed original author. Everyone who made a copy of it would extend and improve it.

Naturally this first bold creative effort had its weaknesses, as his successors were not slow to point out. Strabo says emphatically that he would sooner believe the poets. Herodotus in criticising Hecataeus' map, with its Ocean River encircling the earth, observes drily that he knows of no such river (ii. 19) and mentions with some malice the comment of the Egyptian priests on his claim to have had, sixteen generations ago, a divine ancestor. They had records going back to 345 successive priests, but no god had appeared during that time.

Herodotus' criticisms are well known. But the greatest flaw in Hecataeus' whole achievement was its terrible incompleteness and its lack of any clear chronology. The next step in reducing chaos to *Cosmos* was taken by Hellanicus. In the first place he made a much wider and fuller collection of *logoi* from all sources in the poets and in local traditions; then he made them into something like a complete story by dividing them into three classes, before, during, and after the Trojan War as a central date, and further by treating the whole story as a history of four great families, descended from Phoroneus, Deucalion, Atlas, and Asopus respectively. He followed his poets very closely, assuming that they were narrating real facts, but, as poets will, turning them into the marvellous. The miraculous fight of Achilles with the river god Scamander, for instance, was a real incident in which Achilles, going too far in advance of his troops, was cut off by a sudden flood of the kind that often occurs in that river owing to rain on Mt. Ida, but saved himself, just as Homer says, by clinging to an elm-tree. Similarly, the taking of Troy, complete with the wooden horse and the escape of Aeneas, is given in close detail, but explained and rationalized. Into this account, based on the poetic tradition, he introduced details gathered from local reports, such for instance as the curious remark that the name 'Italy' came from the Latin word 'vitulus', bull; it was a cattle country into which Heracles went in pursuit of the herds of Geryon.

He seems to have carried on his record to events in his own lifetime, to have used Herodotus as a source, and even to have mentioned the Battle of Arginusae. Thucydides says he was not satisfactory about the Pentecontaetia between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. But his great achievement was to record the great mass of early traditions, and reduce them to some sort of consistent order by forcing them into a chronological system. In some part of his work he made what was perhaps a new chronological device: he established an era for dating. The Priestesses of Hera at Argos went a long way back, and apparently their years of office were recorded. Hellanicus tells us, for example, that the Sicani were first driven out of Italy in the twenty-sixth year of the Priestess Alcyone. For the most part, however, he worked out his dates by an elaborate scheme of generations. Codrus, for example, was furnished with a detailed genealogy up to Deucalion. Hesiod was in the tenth generation from Orpheus. The trial of Orestes before the Areopagus took place nine generations after that of Ares for the slaying of Halirrhothius, and six after that of Cephalus for killing his wife—the only Greek hero who committed, and that by accident, that fashionable modern crime. The trial of Daedalus for killing the giant Talôs was three generations after Cephalus and three before Orestes. As for the taking of Troy, he was quite precise. He found it had occurred in the eighteenth year of Agamemnon's reign on the twelfth of the month Thargelion. He is conscientious in accepting the results of his calculations. Theseus, it appears, was just fifty years of age when he

carried off Helen, who was only seven; but we may well believe that he only took her into safe keeping to protect the precocious princess from less scrupulous suitors.

Hellanicus did indeed reduce a mixed multitude of things to an ordered Cosmos. One cannot be surprised that he formed the most convenient and most frequently used authority on early history for mythographers like Apollodorus and commentators on the poets; nor yet that sober historians like Strabo and Josephus speak of him as utterly untrustworthy and indeed 'worse than Homer and Hesiod'.

There has been much discussion about his various books. The article in Suidas says he 'wrote very many works both in prose and poetry'. But we do not really know what a book was in Hellanicus' day, particularly a prose book. It always needs an imaginative effort for us modern scholars to free our minds from the misleading conception of the modern printed book, published in a number of identical copies with the author's name attached and intended for private reading. I doubt if any such idea was even conceived much before the time of Aristotle, and in any but a limited intellectual circle even then.

About poetry the problem is clearer, provided we cling to one central guiding fact. Poetry was meant for recitation or performance. It was an ἐπίδειξις, an exhibition or show; it aimed, Aristotle tells us, πρὸς ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς, at being read aloud or declaimed. That is what it is for. A bard might carry his material about with him in his handbook or his memory, as Xenophanes did, and vary the performance according to the tastes of his audience; but the poem performed on a definite public occasion had of necessity to be a finished unity, with a known author and a fixed text. An Epinikion of Pindar was a special poem with a fixed text, learned and performed by a chorus for a particular victory by a particular man, and that was that. A drama of Aeschylus, similarly learned and performed by a Chorus at the annual Dionysia, was a definite unity, with a fixed text—unless, of course, it was performed again and might be altered. It was, as Wilamowitz says, the first book, and even a book with a name, though for some time apparently the name was not quite a title, only a description of the Chorus or the chief character. They spoke of Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women*, or his Ὀρέστεια πολήσις, of Aristophanes' *Knights, Birds*, or *Lysistrata*. There is never a name like *Midsummer Night's Dream* or *As You Like It*.

The greatest 'occasion' of all, at least for Athens and the Ionian cities was, of course, the quadrennial πανήγυρις of the Panathenaea; and for that, as we know, two special poems, made of old traditional material but formed into magnificent artistic unities, with a suitable heroic and pan-Hellenic atmosphere, grew to a generally recognised position of absolute pre-eminence and to something approaching a fixed text. True the great Ἰλιάς πολήσις, 'poetry about Ilion', and the Ὀδύσσεια πολήσις, 'poetry about Odysseus', never obtained the same textual unity as an epinikion of Pindar. The Pindaric ode was performed once for all. It was not repeated at successive festivals. The Ilian and Odyssean poetry was performed again and again at the recurring Panathenaea. The recitation was competitive, and we do not know how far an individual rhapsode might improve his text. But the poems were widely learnt by heart and recited for educational purposes and copied out for private use by individual literary men. The process led ultimately towards the fixing of an established text, but certainly offered constant opportunities for variety, as is proved by the ancient quotations, especially those in Aeschines and Aristotle, and confirmed by the early papyri.

Still the two great poems stood out from the rest in their respective artistic unities. They were accepted as more definitely the true work of the great Homer than all the rest of the tradition. What, then, remained out of the mass of traditional raw material out of which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had been hewn, and on which collectors like Hecataeus and Hellanicus had based the greater part of their histories? Most of it was presumably in epic verse, and easily capable of being recited in the form of lays—of which more later: much of it probably stored in the form of memoranda or catalogues; all of it in a very fluid state.

Collections were made which assumed the existence and common knowledge of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, filled up the gaps before and after, and completed a sort of Cosmos or epic narrative. These so-called cyclic epics, though attributed to definite authors, do not seem to have had much unity in themselves. Their names, we should remember, are all collective: τὰ Κύπρια ἔπη, 'The Aphrodite verses', ἡ μικρὰ Ἰλιάς πολήσις, 'The lesser Trojan poetry', and the like. The Κύπρια ἔπη, or *Verses about Cypris*, for instance, though centring on the Judgement of Paris and the action of Aphrodite, contain a great deal of other matter—enough, Aristotle says, for a great number of tragedies. It included, for instance, digressions as far apart as the legends of Oedipus, the madness of Heracles, and the story of Theseus and Ariadne. Obviously 'post-Homeric' as they are, they are interesting as showing remnants of an older, ruder tradition. Like Attic tragedy they preserve some of the crudities and horrors which were expurgated from the *Iliad* when it was worked up into a mirror of chivalry and a central instrument of liberal education.

Besides this epic material, there must have been a quantity of current oral poetry, used for singing or reciting at banquets or else as an ordinary element of a full man's culture. Every educated man was trained in poetry, and although women, as we are told in the *Medea*, were not themselves poets, the myths and legends were certainly repeated or sung to them while at work at their spinning. Creusa's attendants in the *Ion* when examining the friezes at Delphi recognise with excitement the

various heroes whose legends they have heard at their looms. We can perhaps trace three stages in the reduction of the Chaos of traditional oral poetry into Cosmos. There are first what I may call the stores of raw material, the *Logoi* or legends, mostly in verse, the catalogues, the genealogies, the epic formulae like the descriptions of shields, forms of address to gods, maxims for agriculture or seafaring or general education. These are not meant for performance, or public *epideixis*, as they stand. They are only raw material for an *epideixis*. Then the opposite of these, real *epideixis*, poems produced in full dress for a special occasion, like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and, still more definitely, the Pindaric Odes and the Attic dramas. Thirdly, a sort of middle stage in which the raw material is somehow stuck together, artistically or inartistically, so as to make either a proper *epideixis* or at least a book with some pretence of unity. Good examples are in the collection of Homeric hymns or *prooimia*. Most of them (VIII-XXXII) are just what they say; preludes or proper forms of address for opening a hymn to a god or goddess. They would seem to us hardly worth recording, but we must remember that mistakes in such a matter were dangerous. The god must have his right epithet. But Hymns II-VI show a real ὕμνος or lay, added to the opening and closing formulae, and in some cases worked into real unity and beauty of form; Hymn III, again, shows obviously an attempt to combine two separate lays into a unity; Hymn VII, to Dionysus, is a pure lay without any opening or closing formulae.

But the most instructive and unmistakable example of the process of manufacture which produces from the collected raw material a proper lay, suitable for *Epideixis*, is the Hesiodic *Aspis*, or *Shield of Heracles*. It starts undisguisedly by an extract from the *Eoiai*, or *Catalogue of Women*, beginning with the words ἢ οἴη, 'or like . . .', 'Or like Alcmena, when she left her home and land to follow her husband—Alcmena, who surpassed the whole race of women in form and stature, while in intellect no one competed with her.' So on for fifty-six lines till we hear that she gave birth to Iphicles and Herakles. Then we start 'who also killed Kyknos, son of Ares'. Then from 57 to 122—less than sixty lines—we hear how Herakles and his nephew Iolaus saw Kyknos and Ares blocking the pilgrims' way to Delphi, and Iolaus told Herakles to arm. Then in twelve lines we are told how he puts on greaves, thorax, spear and helmet, also club, bow and poisoned arrows—a very mixed and rather embarrassing accoutrement; then from 138 to 313 we find nearly 200 lines occupied with a description, obviously traditional and, so to speak, taken ready-made from store, of a great heroic Shield, like those made by Hephaestus for Achilles in the *Iliad* (18. 478-617) and for Memnon in the *Aethiopis*. Descriptions of shields were like *Prooimia*, part of the bard's stock-in-trade. It is worth noting that in one of the Homeric papyri (π51) several lines here describing Herakles' shield are attributed to that of Achilles. An echo of the tradition can be noted in the shields of the *Seven against Thebes* and that of Achilles in Euripides' *Electra*. Then comes the battle with Kyknos, with what looks like an insertion from some other store about the wounding of Ares by a hero under Athena's guidance—here by Herakles, as by Diomedes in *Iliad* V and by Odysseus in the *Telegonia*. A competent but not inspired bard had just stuck together ready-made pieces of his traditional store by the help of a few lines of his own in the proper style and the correct Homeric metre. The necessary Cosmos is achieved. The poem is ready for performance.

Far more puzzling and interesting is the effort after Cosmos in Hesiod's *Theogony*. There clearly is such an effort, some attempt at a selection out of an immense store. The imperfections of the *Theogony* itself imply the selection; the immense store is implied by the great number of works attributed to Hesiod, and the quotations by ancient authors, using phrases like 'Hesiod or one of those who have inserted verses into Hesiod', or 'the author of such-and-such', or more vaguely still τὸ μνησθευμένον (cf. Hes. fr. 87, 158, 163, 171, 174, 177, 188). The *Theogony* itself professes to be the work, in Professor Cornford's language, of a prophet or *shaman* like that inspired chief in the Gilbert Islands, rather than a mere poet or συγγραφεύς. It comes from inspiration. Hence it starts with a long appeal to the Muses, or probably a combination of at least two such appeals; this includes a brief but orthodox list of the Olympian gods (11-21, omitting such unpleasant persons as Ares). Then, having paid this tribute to the Olympians, we start upon the real origin of the world from Chaos; first came Earth and Tartarus, and Erôs; Earth out of herself produced the Sky, and we proceed with the progeny of Ouranos and Gaia. This leads to the sequence of *Eniautos* gods; an old Sky King who, wedded to Earth, produces a Young Sky King, who in co-operation with his mother Earth kills or removes the Old King and takes his place, till he in turn becomes an old King and is duly destroyed by his son with the same accomplice. The new Kings come and go with the years, but Earth the eternal wife and mother remains. The actual Ouranos-Kronos story occurs in 155-200, the Kronos-Zeus story in 454-506. It ought, of course, to continue with the overthrow of the Old Zeus by a Young Zeus, as it does in the Orphica, and so on for ever; but that, in the Olympian tradition, cannot be thought of. On the contrary, we have for some five hundred lines, from about 510 to the end of the poem at 1018, the stories of all the sinister or unwise beings who strove against Zeus and were defeated, including a short insertion about the defeat of the over-clever Prometheus. Then comes the War of the Titans; the episode of the three powers of Darkness, Kottos, Gyes, and Briareus, who had been released and forgiven by Zeus and thus became his policemen; then finally the Chthonian monster Typhoeus. It is all a prolonged battle between Zeus and his dark Enemies, and the ultimate victory of Zeus. It is a strange mixture; many lists,

muses, nymphs, rivers, etc., consorts of Zeus, etc., all of them imperfect; an attempted combination of the very personal anthropomorphic Olympians, and impersonal beings such as Earth, Sky, Darkness, Erebus, etc. What unity of theme can we find? Following a study of Cornford's and some suggestions in Professor Gaster's great collection of Semitic Nature rituals, I am inclined to see in the *Theogony* not exactly an independent poem, but a μῦθος in its special religious sense of τὰ λεγόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις. It seems to be the accompaniment or explanation of a great ritual pageant combining two distinct but well-known rituals: the regular *eniautos* series of Old Kings dethroned each year by Young Kings, and secondly, the battle of Darkness against Light, which we know from the Mummings Play. It is, after all, an *epideixis*, a performance at a festival, and thus has a right to be a book, a real σῶμα σύμφωνον, or consistent unity, made out of a selection from a mass of inconsistent local lore.

Apart from these public rituals, educated people evidently knew a great lot of current poetry by heart. Niceratus, in Xenophon's *Symposium*, mentions that he can still repeat the whole of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which his father had made him learn ὅπως ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ γένοιτο. He is reminded, however, that all the professional rhapsodes can do that, and where can you find an ἡλιθιώτερον ἔθνος, 'a sillier tribe'. This criticism perhaps led to the collection of select passages. One might collect out of the poets the parts that were really calculated to make you good, such as the educational parts of Hesiod, and the moral precepts of Solon, Tyrtaeus, and Theognis. Hence arose educational handbooks, containing as much as the compiler could collect of the suitable elegiac material. Evidently it was often anonymous or its author was forgotten. Hence particular poets, in order to preserve their rights, imposed what they called a 'seal' or σφραγὶς on their compositions. It might be a definite statement καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδειω, or more artistically the advice or exhortation might be addressed to some special person. If to Kyrnos, you knew the author was Theognis, just as advice to 'the foolish Perses' was the work of Hesiod. This might protect the authorship of a particular couplet, but was no protection against interpolation. Another proof of the same uncertainty of authorship, or one might say the widespread indifference to that question, is afforded by the considerable number of passages in our Theognis collection which are elsewhere attributed to other elegiac poets. I suspect that the chief popular test of authorship was style; indeed, no objective evidence can have been easily available. When in doubt, love poems were presumably by Mimnermus, warlike poems by Tyrtaeus; political wisdom belonged to Solon, fierce oligarchic 'virtue' to Theognis, and floating verses of uncertain origin were apt to be distributed accordingly.

The collection that comes to us under the name of Theognis is in many ways instructive. We can see, roughly speaking, about what time it was made. Isocrates (*Nicoles* 43) says that people regard Hesiod, Theognis, and Phocylides as ἀριστοὶ σύμβουλοι τῷ βίῳ, but do not attend to them. 'And if somebody were to make a collection of the so-called Gnomae of the most eminent poets it would be just the same.' Evidently the idea was in the air but still new. Again, Plato in the *Laws* (810e) criticises what he regards as the common view that the best education is for boys 'to be constantly hearing and learning' the famous poets till they are 'saturated'; whereas many educationalists make extracts and headings and whole speeches into a collection (εἰς ταὐτὸ συναγαγόντες) and set them to be learnt by heart. He himself thinks it would be much better if they learnt by heart good prose philosophy like 'the discussion we are now having'. Our Theognis is evidently just such a collection, based on Theognis and made by someone who shared that poet's strong opinions on democracy, but embracing a good many gnomae of an equally elevating character without much care about their authorship. It is very interesting to note, as Mr. Barns points out in the *Classical Quarterly* for 1951, 1, that another type of anthology was also made, consisting not of harmonious gnomae but of contradictory gnomae; the student was to consider both *Logoi*, and presumably judge between them. This is quite in the spirit of the early sophists; they may well have noted a few such contradictory gnomae, but any large anthology of them must, I presume, be much later in date. Our Theognis collection was evidently a great success, and seems to have driven the rest of Theognis' poetry out of existence. Hardly anything is quoted from him by later compilers which does not come from this little book.

In poetry, then, one can see how a *Cosmos*, a work in permanent artistic shape, with a definite fixed text, arises out of a mass of μνημονεύόμενα or μυθεύόμενα. I leave aside for the moment the special songs, like those of the Lesbian and Boeotian schools, the *skolia* and the songs of Anacreon. But is there a similar process in prose? Of course there are lists and catalogues and memoranda, magical charms, contracts, Laws, and Treaties. They are preserved for their obvious utility. Also important speeches, both public and private, political and personal alike, tend to be preserved. Some are useful to the possessor; all are careful works of art recited in public on a specific occasion, in the same way as Pindar's Odes. But what about the ἑστροφή or Enquiry of Herodotus, made into a book and called his 'Nine Muses'? They are clearly meant for recitation. Thucydides says so (I. 22. 4). The ancients generally assume it as a matter of course. Traditions speak casually of recitations at Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and what is more important, Olympia. He himself sometimes pauses to correct the scepticism with which certain of his statements had been received by previous audiences. He often refers to particular *Logoi*, and sometimes to *Logoi* that do not now exist. Sometimes he promises *Logoi* which he does not give. The book may not be quite finished; nevertheless, he has

out of most various materials made ἐν σῶμα σύμφωνον, 'one harmonious body,' just as Homer did. The whole was too long for ordinary performance; so were the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But, like them, it was not too long for some very great occasion; not too long for the quadrennial Panhellenic Panegyris at Olympia, as the *Iliad* was not too long for the Panionian Panegyris at the Panathenaea. Perhaps, like them, very suitable to be learned by heart, in long passages, such as τὰ Μηδικά. A public which does not read is capable of wonderful feats of listening and of memory. And, as Longinus and other ancient critics remarked, Herodotus was recognised as Ὀμηρικώτατος καὶ Πανηγυρικώτατος, most Homeric and most suited for a Panegyris. The two adjectives, I think, are almost identical in meaning. The Homeric poems, clearly a great artistic unity, clearly composed for recitation yet far too long for an ordinary occasion, demand a great Panegyris. So does Herodotus, and he has the more impressive claim to it because he has not only made his great mass of material into a 'single concordant body', he has also made his πρὸς τὴν φράσιν ὁμοίαν τῇ κρατίστῃ ποιήσει 'his prose language like the noblest poetry' (Dionysius vi. 865). He thus won for his book not only the title of *The Nine Muses*, but a place in permanent literature like that hitherto reserved for great poetry.

The one author who in Longinus' opinion deserves equally or even more the title of Ὀμηρικώτατος is Plato. The ten Logoi of the *Republic* form a σῶμα σύμφωνον, just as Herodotus' *Nine Muses* do; his prose undoubtedly is 'like the noblest poetry', and when we keep well in mind that recitation or reading aloud, ἀνάγνωσις or ἐπίδειξις, and not private reading, was the normal object of literature in antiquity, we cease to be surprised that Aristophanes in the *Ecclesiazusae* should have quoted and parodied in detail doctrines and phrases of the Fifth book of the *Republic* some twenty years before the *Republic* as a whole can have been what we call published. Evidently the part which we now call Book V, in some form similar to that in which we have it, had been read aloud, had received an ἐπίδειξις or ἀνάγνωσις to a select audience, a long time and doubtless many times, before the whole work as a 'single harmonious body' was ready for the public. No doubt a good deal of it was learnt by heart. Probably the Athenian speaker in the *Laws* was quite serious when he recommended that the young should be encouraged, as a matter of education, instead of mere poetry, to learn by heart a good stretch of his own somewhat prolix wisdom.

Herodotus evidently made an epoch in Greek literature. Traditionally there were two kinds of composition which were recognised as works of art and worthy of preservation with a fixed text; poems such as dramas and odes and epics composed for some special ἐπίδειξις, and prose speeches composed with high rhetorical art and delivered on some particular occasion. Other books were roughly speaking handbooks for information or professional use. Of course, historians and λογοποιοὶ read aloud extracts from their works as they moved about. They collected facts, but were hardly artists. Dionysius (p. 181) mentions twelve predecessors of Herodotus who all wrote in the same way, copying down their sources, and sometimes criticising them, but with no style, no δεινότης. Herodotus was quite different. He composed something that reminded people of the *Iliad* and was suited for a great Panegyris, something Ὀμηρικὸν καὶ Πανηγυρικόν. He made his prose speech 'ὁμοίαν τῇ κρατίστῃ ποιήσει' prose, but somehow like the noblest poetry. The book was not quite finished, but it stood there as a great harmonious whole.

But what of Thucydides? He did not seem to fall into any recognised category. No one could call him πανηγυρικόν. He was not at all suitable for recitation to a vast audience, only for a selected group of intellectuals. Yet he was full of ὑποθέσεις πανηγυρικαί, 'subjects suitable for large public treatment'. Dionysius seems rather puzzled, not to say peevish, about him. He respects him as a historian, as indeed the greatest of historians; he has rejected the mythical stuff of the earlier historians, rejected their untruthfulness and humbug (γοητεία). He has seen that History is 'the priestess of Truth'. Yet even as a historian he has faults: his system of chronology by summers and winters of the war leads to terrible confusion, his speeches are not only interruptions to the narrative but are also tiresome (ὀχληραὶ) to listen to (pp. 847, 910). His style too is full of archaisms, strange words, foreign turns of speech, and even solecisms. He is sometimes so moving, sometimes so cold and indifferent (845). He is ἀσαφής, constantly obscure, unintelligible, 'more twisted than any labyrinth' (913). The fact is he writes like a poet, parts of him are ποιητικά, parts are actually full of θεατρικὰ σχήματα (869), parts even more like διθυραμβική (887). This is just what his fanatical admirers are most enthusiastic about, his grandeur and emotional power.

A critic in Marcellinus' *Life* roundly condemns Thucydides for writing stuff that is neither verse nor yet good prose. It has no ῥητορικὴ. Marcellinus answers that of course it is prose, not verse, but it is marked out 'by poetical expressions and metaphors' (ποιητικαῖς λέξεσι καὶ μεταφοραῖς), that, as for ῥητορικὴ, it is not a necessary quality in good prose; Plato does not use it, nor yet do handbooks of medicine. What these critics blame in Thucydides is really a sign of his extraordinary genius—his power and his high artistic ambition, δύναμις καὶ πλεονεξία. He is like Homer, too, in his οἰκονομία, that is, in the way in which he works a great and varied subject into a unity.

It is interesting to note that the ancient critics were almost as conscious as the moderns of the problems affecting the composition of the great book. They see that it cannot have been written at one go. He began, says Marcellinus, by making a very careful collection of facts, using his great wealth to pay groups on both sides to keep him informed—like the foreign correspondents of a

modern newspaper. Then, when in exile, he worked up the collection into an artistic whole. Then came the second war. A new conception was necessary. The introduction especially must have been written after all the rest. Some, we are told, divided his work into thirteen books; some into eight. In any case the last book was unfinished and left without speeches, not, as Dionysius thought, because he saw what a mistake the speeches were, but simply because he died before τὴν προθεσίαν, 'the appointed day'. A curious phrase, taken apparently from the language of the theatre and meaning the day of the performance. Was there to have been some great Ἐπίδειξις? Difficult prose writing, divided by some into eight books and by others into thirteen, and not finished; only intelligible to a small and scholarly audience; it was yet, by some art of genius, ἐν σώμα σύμφωνον, and in some strange way Ὀμηρικόν and πανηγυρικόν. It produced not mere παιθῶ like a prose speech, but like a great poem, ἐκπληξις: how shall we translate that word? L. and S. say 'consternation', which will not quite do here. Rhys Roberts says 'transport'. It leaves you 'amazed' or 'astounded'. Literally it 'knocks you out'. The greatest poetry need not particularly produce παιθῶ or παιδεία, persuasion, or instruction. It just produces ἐκπληξις, 'it knocks you out', or as Dionysius sometimes puts it, κατὰπληξις 'it knocks you down'. Ἐκπληξις was considered a special characteristic of Aeschylus.

Genius cannot be analysed. It does not think much of mere σοφία or τέχνη or logic. It is not the same as *Cosmos*. Yet it was by means of *Cosmos* and in the search for *Cosmos* that it ultimately asserted its rights. The reciter must be ready for the occasion, for τὴν προθεσίαν, the First Night. The thing produced must be a consistent whole, a unity; and for a very great occasion, a great whole. If it is prose it may be a speech which needs παιθῶ, power of persuasion; if not, it is chiefly a vehicle of useful information, but it always needs some sort of *Cosmos* or arrangement. It is interesting to note that Thucydides based his claim to have composed not a mere ἐπίδειξις for recitation, but a κτῆμα ἐς αἰῶν, 'a thing to keep permanently', on its usefulness as a book of reference in case the same sort of thing as the Peloponnesian War should happen again. Did he suspect that he had made a κτῆμα ἐς αἰῶν in a much greater sense? He created 'an eternal possession' for the human race because, in addition to its *Cosmos* and its truth to fact, it had genius and produced ἐκπληξις, if not for ever at least for two thousand years, for instance in historians like Macaulay. Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, these three more than any others seem to have produced the conception of a serious prose work which should, in addition to the accepted rules of *Cosmos* and *Sophia*, reach also by its own methods a power of inspiration or emotional effect akin to that of poetry.

After Thucydides we are well into an age which likes to analyse its art and seeks its effects by self-conscious τέχνη and σοφία. The next important step which it took was the style of Isocrates. He could see what Thucydides' faults were: we have just been through them—the strange words, the contorted sentences, the bewildering brevity; Isocrates would be normal and correct in language, use well-constructed periods, and insist on perfect lucidity, σαφηνεία. He would study παιθῶ and convince his audience. All these things he does. Furthermore, since the greatness of Thucydides and Herodotus was said to be due to their poetic qualities, he would have qualities still more poetical; cola and periods exactly balanced as in a lyric poem; plenty of echoes and paronomasiai and parrhesiai, and lastly, like real poetry, he would make his prose avoid hiatus between vowels. Then he would write a tremendous *Panegyricus*, like Herodotus, and a *Panathenaicus*, like Homer. What more could possibly be desired? Only the genius was lacking. There is not much ἐκπληξις in him or any of his followers.

GILBERT MURRAY

A BRONZE FROM DODONA

THE bronze piece here studied is in the possession of Sir John Beazley, and it is at his invitation that I publish it. I must thank him both for his invitation and for enabling me to study the object repeatedly and at leisure.¹ It was acquired in Paris.

The object is a thin, ovoid piece of bronze with a projection, representing the head of a snake, within the circle. The whole object is doubtless thought of as a coiled snake. The dimensions of the whole are: inner diameter from A of ΝΑΙΩΙ to Θ of ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ, 0.065 m.; distance from tip of snake's head to opposite inner edge, between Σ and Τ of ΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ, 0.050 m. The bronze is of a regular width, save that it widens slightly behind the projecting head; normal



FIG. 1.

width, 0.008 m.; width behind head from outer edge to base of head, 0.010 m. Length of snake-head, 0.027 m. Average thickness, 0.003 m.; max. thickness of head, 0.005 m.

The piece, which is covered with a green patina, is perfectly preserved save for a narrow strip where the surface has been removed, which appears as a black streak on the photograph. This may be original, and due to a flaw in casting, since the dots of the inscription, which are in its path, appear to be undamaged by it.

The inscription, in dotted lettering, starts immediately to the left of the snake's head, the second letter of the first word being in the centre behind the head. The letters, punched on the surface, are mostly 0.005 m. high; *omicron*, 0.003 m. They are carefully executed, and set in the centre of the circular coil. The inscription reads: Αἰσχρων Δι Ναιῶι δῶρον ἐστράτου ἀνέθηκεν.

The dedication to Zeus Naïos identifies the piece as an offering, or 'gift', to Zeus of Dodona, to whom and to whom alone this cult-title belonged.² As regards style, the inscription is

¹ I must also thank archaeological friends in Oxford, notably Dr. Paul Jacobsthal, for discussing the object with me.

² For Zeus Naïos, see Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 38 ff.; A. B. Cook, *CR* XVII (1903), pp. 178-86. The same epiklesis is also found at Athens (*IG* II², 4707; *Acrop. Inv.* 4887 (cf. lemma ad *IG* II², 4643); *IG* II², 4643; 5113; I², 274, lines [11], [20], 197, 225, etc.; of these only 4707 is a dedication to Zeus Naïos; 4643 is a dedication to Zeus Naïos and Dione,

his consort, and the remainder refer only to Dione. The cult was evidently established by the fifth century, and continued into the Roman period), and at Delos (Bekker, *Anac. Græc.* I, p. 283, s.v. Ναίου Διός: ὁ ναὶς τοῦ Διός, ὅς ἐν Δήλῳ, Ναίου Διός καλεῖται; no documentary corroboration of this exists, so the cult can have been only of minor importance—if indeed the entry is not an error); in both places it doubtless derived from the Dodonæan cult; cf. Cook, *op. cit.* p. 186.

closely akin to the inscriptions on the ex-votos and bronze plaques found at Dodona, and published by Carapanos in 1878,³ and by reference to these it is possible to fix an approximate date for it. As regards technique, the dotted, drilled lettering, of which this piece is a particularly fine example, is paralleled by numerous inscriptions from Dodona.⁴ The use of dotted lettering is indeed common on bronze at all periods,⁵ and call for little comment.

Several of the proxeny-decrees and manumission-documents from Dodona are dated by the reigning King of Epirus and the Molossians. Of those so dated, the majority bears the name βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος. One, however—a proxeny decree—is dated by βασιλεὺς Νεοπτόλεμος.⁶ The interpretation of these inscriptions constitutes the thorniest problem of Epirote history at this period, and agreement as to the date of those in which reference is made to King Alexander has not yet been reached,⁷ opinions being divided between the first king of that name, who died in south Italy in 330 B.C.,⁸ and Alexander II, the nephew of Pyrrhus, who died ca. 240 B.C.⁹ On the other hand, the identity of the King Neoptolemus, son of Alexander, is not in serious doubt: we know of only one king of that name, who reigned at the end of the fourth century, dying in 297.¹⁰ The lettering of the inscription in which he is mentioned has been, as frequently in documents of this type, worked in dots from the reverse, thus appearing in relief on the front surface.¹¹ In style it is thus closely analogous to, though not identical with, our piece, and a comparison of the lettering of the two inscriptions is permissible. This comparison reveals a close resemblance.¹² Both have, in particular, the small suspended omicron and the splay omega, and in general the shape of the hands is very similar. The inscriptions referring to King Alexander seem to be of earlier date: the letters are far more rigid and less elegant, and for this reason I would be inclined to regard the Alexander as the first Epirote king of that name (ob. 330 B.C.). Consequently, a date ca. 300 B.C. would, on these grounds (and these are all there are) be a suitable date for our offering.

The dedication, like most of those at Dodona, is written in ordinary koine. The word ἀνέθηκε, found in our text, is also found in one of the two early (sixth-fifth-century) dedications, and is thus evidently to be attributed to the fact that the dedications were made by foreigners to whom such forms were natural.¹⁴ On the three dedications most closely akin in style, and no doubt in date, to ours, the form ἀνέθηκε is constant.¹⁵ The contracted form Δί is also found at Dodona from the

³ C. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses Ruines* (Paris, 1878), 2 vols. *Texte and Plancher*. I refer to this work as C; Roman numerals refer to the plates. The other main collection of material is that published by D. Evangelides, *Ἡπειρώτικα χρονικά* X (1935), pp. 192-264, with πλάκες 1-28. I have not seen J. Friederich, *Dodonaica*, 1935, and know nothing of its contents.

⁴ See, for example, C. xxiii, 1, 3, 4, 6; xxiv, 1, 4, 5: all dedications; xxvii ff.: all documentary texts.

⁵ An epigraphical corpus of this material is badly needed. There is a useful list of inscriptions in bronze in Robert, *Coll. Frochner* i, pp. 47-8.

⁶ Alexander, *SGDI*, 1334-35; 1337; 1346. Neoptolemus, 1336. For the reproductions in C. see notes 12-13.

⁷ The most important discussions of the problem are those of Nilsson, *Lund Arskrift*, N. F. Afd. 1, Bd. 6 (1910), no. 4, 'Studien zur Geschichte des Alten Epeiros', pp. 59 ff.; Beloch, *GG* III, 2^a, pp. 181 ff.; G. N. Cross, *Epirus*, 1932, pp. 109-14 (a useful summary). The problem hinges mainly on the relationship of the κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν mentioned in the documents which refer to King Alexander, to the symmarchy of the Epirotes, which occurs in the decree which mentions King Neoptolemus. Nilsson regarded the Molossian κοινὸν as the sovereign community of the Epirotes which preceded the Epirot symmarchy, primarily on the grounds of lettering (with which I agree, see below, note 13), and thus made Alexander the first Molossian king of that name. Beloch held that the κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν was simply a unit of the Epirot symmarchy, and contemporary with it. It is hardly possible to decide between these two alternatives, although I favour the earlier date on epigraphical grounds (though this does not mean that Beloch's explanation may not be factually correct). The argument of Cross, pp. 110-11, that the Aetolians were the first κοινὸν in the west, originating ca. 314 B.C., and that the appearance of the κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν must be later than this, is untenable in fact (though it could be right in principle; but cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 62, note 1), now that we know that the Aetolian koinon was already in existence by 367 B.C. (Tod, *GHI*, 137). The constitutional question needs re-examination in the light of: (a) the proxeny-decree issued by οἱ Μολοσσοί, with no reference to either king or Molossian προστάτης, published by Evangelides, *op. cit.* p. 245, no. 1, the letter-forms of which point to a date ca. 300 B.C. (very similar to the Neoptolemus-inscription and to our dedication); (b) the decree of the [κοινὸν] τῶν Ἀντιπάργων, dated by the Molossian prostates, and apparently of the later third or second century, published *ibid.* p. 261, no. 1.

⁸ See Nilsson, *op. cit.* pp. 59-60; Tarn, *Antig. Gonat.*, pp. 55 ff.; Lenk, *RE*, s.v. Molossi, col. 22. Other references in Cross, *op. cit.* pp. 124 ff. Beloch, *op. cit.* pp. 181 ff., does not make it clear whether he accepts the identification with Alexander I or not. In *ibid.* I, p. 472 he seems to.

⁹ The later date is favoured by Klotzsch, *Epirot. Gesch.* pp. 53, 173-4; Cross, *loc. cit.* For Alexander II see the discussion in Cross, pp. 124 ff.

¹⁰ For Neoptolemus see H. Berve, *RE*, s.v. Neoptolemos (4), cols. 2463-4. (Neoptolemus I was the son of Alcetas (see Berve, *ibid.* s.v. Neoptolemos (3)), and does not therefore come into question.) Cross, *op. cit.* pp. 106 ff., argues that Neoptolemus was not the son of Alexander I, since if he had been it must be presumed that he reigned as an independent monarch, while Arrian (*FGH*, 156, F1 § 7) and Dexippus (*ibid.* 100, F8 (1), § (3)) 'both speak of Epirus as forming part of Antipatros' government after Alexander's death'. In fact, however, both Arrian and Dexippus refer to Epirus in terms of specific boundaries (Arrian says ἡ Ἡπειρος ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ Κεραυνία ἀνήκουσα καὶ οἱ Ἑλλήες σύμμαχοι Κρατερῶ καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου ἐκείνη, while Dexippus has Ἀντιπάτρου... ὅσα τῆς Ἡπείρου ἔστι Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπείκει), and though the implications of these definitions for political history cannot, in the absence of other evidence, be determined, they clearly admit the possibility that Epirus was only in part a Macedonian protectorate, while the rest of the country remained, as it had been in the time of Alexander the Great, independent.

¹¹ Compare, for example, the bronze plaques from Lusoi, *JÖAI*, IV (1901), pp. 64 ff. nos. 4-7 (= *IG* V, 2, 392-395, and tab. v, 2; Kern, *Inscr. Gr.* pl. 21).

¹² Facs. of *SGDI*, 1336: C. xxvii, 1.

¹³ Facs. of *SGDI*, 1334 in *AEMO* V (1881), p. 132; *ibid.* 1335, C. xxvii, 3; *ibid.* 1337, C. xxxii, 5; *ibid.* 1346; C. xxxi, 1. It should be noted that the first two of these four inscriptions are not in dotted style, and the normal engraved stroke lends itself less readily to slight curves. In spite of this I feel fairly confident that they are of the fourth century, and not the third, as would be necessary if Alexander II was the king in question.

¹⁴ C. xxiii, 2; cf. *ibid.* *Texte*, p. 40: 'L'emploi des lettres longues η et ω indique que Terpsiclès est un Ionien'. A dialect form of the present tense occurs in *SGDI*, 1369 = C. xxv, 1: Πολύβητα τῶν ἀντιπάρων τοῖ Δί καὶ χρῆματα.

¹⁵ C. xxiii, 3, 5-6.

fifth century onwards, in one instance in the same document as the longer form.¹⁶ There seems to be no chronological distinction involved.

The general interpretation of the dedicatory inscription leaves room for some uncertainty. The phrase δῶρον εστράτου is ambiguous. First the form εστράτου: this is hardly comparable to the common ἐστήλη for ἐν στήλῃ,¹⁷ or ἐπόλι, found at Dodona itself for ἐμ πόλι,¹⁸ since the omission of the kappa of ἐκ is harsher than that of the easily assimilated nu or mu of ἐν. We should, however, probably regard the form as correct, and not suppose that the kappa was omitted accidentally. This being so, how are we to understand the word στρατού? Two obvious formal possibilities exist: it may be the genitive of the place-name Στράτος in Acarnania or it may be from στρατός, 'army'. But the latter alternative seems very unlikely. First, στρατός is itself a poetical word and out of place here; it would have to be understood in the sense of στρατεία, 'campaign', a usage for which there are no analogies. Secondly, if that were possible, it seems unlikely that this small object would be dedicated either as the spoils of war or for a safe-homecoming after campaigning. It is therefore preferable to interpret εστράτου as ἐ(κ) Στράτου 'from Stratos'.

The reference to the Acarnanian city causes in itself no difficulty, but the phrase still needs attention. Are we to take ἐ(κ) Στράτου closely with δῶρον, 'a gift from Stratos', or does it go with Αἰσχροῦν, providing him with the ethnic qualification he otherwise lacks, equivalent to the normal Στράτιος¹⁹? Certain ethnic, and still more demotic, affinities, are, of course, expressed by the prepositions ἐκ and ἀπό, but these follow immediately on the name of the person to whom they belong (giving, in the present instance, Αἰσχροῦν ἐ(κ) Στράτου), and, moreover, they are mainly found in connexion with a wider political or ethnic group,²⁰ and are rarely used of a city as equivalent to the simple ethnic.²¹ It may be argued that a dedication such as this would not demand a strict documentary usage, and that we should look for parallels rather in the language of epigrams, where usage in this respect is naturally less stereotyped, but the natural run of the sentence certainly makes it preferable that we take δῶρον ἐ(κ) Στράτου closely together, and the language of other contemporary and similar dedications at Dodona, in which we find the ethnic, if used at all, used in its normal adjectival form, points to the same conclusion.²² The ethnic of Aischron is, then, unrecorded, as in the majority of surviving Dodonaean dedications.²³ The object will have been a gift from Stratos: the circumstances must remain unknown.

So much for the inscription. The elucidation of the significance of the object itself is not within my competence. I do not feel certain that it represents anything more than a coiled snake. It obviously bears some resemblance to a metal buckle, but it is far larger than surviving instances, and the head of the snake does not project right across the oval as a buckle-pin would do.

P. M. FRASER

¹⁶ Thus Δι occurs in C. xxiii, 1-2. The first probably of the fifth century, the second perhaps even earlier. C. xxvii, 1, where it also occurs, is probably of the sixth century. The latest instance with it is C. xxiv, 4, a double dedication (both clearly inscribed at the same time): Αὐταγαθίδος Δι Νάων, Αὐτοκρατίδος Δι Νάων (sic; as often). This piece appears to be slightly earlier than our snake (note the sigma with widely divergent hastae). Some of the early pieces (C. xxiii, 3; xxiv, 5) and the majority of the Hellenistic ones (xxiii, 5-6; xxiv, 1-6; xxv, 2) have Δι. Both Δι and Δι occur in the oracular texts: Δι; C. xxiv, 3 = SGDI, 1557; C. xxvii, 3; Evangelides, *op. cit.* p. 255, no. 13: Δι; C. xxv, 2; xxvi, 5 = SGDI, 1564. Hoffmann's interpretation of the form Δι in the oracular text, SGDI, 1582 = C. xxxiv, 3, as a variant of Διφ is accepted by Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.* ii, pp. 78 ff., but, as Saloni, *De dialectis Epirotarum, etc.*, p. 148, § 3, pointed out, the presence in the same text of ις = ες indicates that this is probably only an etacism. (So also, I suspect, in the Coryraean dedication, IG ix, 1, 718, where Hoffmann, *ibid.*, claims Διφ is Διφ. This is a dedication in the koine to Zeus Hypaistos.)

¹⁷ For this see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Gram. der att. Inschr.* p. 111.

¹⁸ C. xxxvii, 1 = SGDI, 1573 = Michel, 846 = Syll.³ 1164. Blass, *Rh. Mus.*, XXXIV 1879, p. 160, considered that the mu had been omitted accidentally. But the omission is not uncommon in this position.

¹⁹ For instances of the normal ethnic Στράτιος see e.g. Syll.³ index, s.v. The kletican Στρατικός occurs as an ethnic in IG, IX, 1^a, 3A, line 25.

²⁰ For example: Αἰτωλὸς ἐκ Ναυπάκτου (Syll.³ 380; 422, line 8; 500, line 9), Αἰτωλὸς ἐκ Βοττοῦ (*ibid.* 417, line 11), Αἰτωλὸς ἐκ Μελίτας (IG VII, 287; 2467a); Θετταλὸς ἀπὸ Κυρίου (IG VII, 1760), Θετταλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης (*ibid.* 420), Θετταλὸς ἐκ Μητροπόλεως (*ibid.* 361), Θετταλὸς ἐκ Φερῶν (IG V (1), 948); Ἀκαρινὸς ἐκ Τυρβείου (Syll.³ 417, line 5), Ἀκαρινὸς ἐκ Ἀστακοῦ (IG VII, 12); Μακεδὼν ἐκ Αἰγέων (Syll.³ 492, line 30), Μακεδὼν ἐ(ς) Ἐβίσσας (IG VII, 2848), Μακεδὼν ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης (Syll.³ 492, lines 38-9; IG VII, 295; 2482); Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκ Αἰγίρας (Syll.³ 492, line 34), Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκ Λαρίσης (*ibid.* line 37), Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκ Αἰγῆς (IG II², 8404), [Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπὸ] Ἀκρίων (IG VII, 415); Αἰτωλὸς ἀπὸ Ὑπάτης (IG II², 7973); Σικελὸς ἀπὸ Τιβαρίδος (IG II², 10293), Σικελὸς ἀπὸ Νεαίου (*ibid.* 10292), Σικελὸς ἀπὸ Καλῆς Ἀκτῆς (*ibid.* 10291). Examples of this usage could, of course, be multiplied; cf. Reusch, *Gramm. der delph. Inschr.* i, pp. 268-9.

²¹ Instances are: Βουβαλὸς ἐκ Κασσανδρείας (Syll.³ 314, vi, line 28); ἐκ Χίου Γάνωνος (*ibid.* 444A; cf. Reusch, *op. cit.* p. 269, § 4); Κριτίας ἐκ Ἡρωσστίας (IG II², 8826; here, however, the use of the normal ethnic to denote a cleruch would perhaps be incorrect); Κοσμία ἐκ Κελαινῶν (IG II², 9009); --- ἀνδρὺ ἐκ Μελίτας (IG II², 9334). Here the form may be influenced by the more usual Αἰτωλὸς ἐκ Μελίτας, for which see previous note.) There is nothing to suggest that the individual thus designated possessed a lower status (e.g. that of a metic) than an individual designated by the true ethnicum.

²² The ethnic occurs only in C. xxiii, 2, Φιλοκλέδα(ς) Δαμοφίλου Λευκαδίου Δι Νάων; and C. xxiv, 3, Δι; Νάων Φίλωνος; Ἀθηναίος.

²³ E.g. C. xxiii, 2: Τερφεύλης τῷ Δι Νάων βαρυκόδης ἀνέθηκε; C. xxiii, 5: Σώταρος ἀνέθηκε Δι Νάων; xxiii, 6: Δωρόβριος Δι Νάων ἀνέθηκε & Διοπίτης εὐξάτο, and others.

THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1950-51

THE present bibliography, relating to the years 1950 and 1951, follows the same lines as those of former years.¹ Books and articles which I know only at second hand are marked by an asterisk. My cordial thanks are due to those scholars who have lightened my burden by sending me copies of their works.

Death has inflicted severe losses on epigraphical studies. Adolf Wilhelm,² who for more than half a century stood in the foremost rank of Greek epigraphists and maintained his tireless activity, despite increasing infirmity, until nearing his eighty-seventh year, died in Vienna on August 10, 1950. *Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam cari capitis?* J. J. E. Hondius,³ founder and editor of *SEG* and Secretary of the Epigraphical Congress which met at Amsterdam in 1938, died suddenly at the Hague on November 5, 1950, in his fifty-fourth year; in him 'epigraphy has lost one of its most devoted and tireless servants, and all scholars in his field will mourn his passing'.⁴ Among others who have recently died are G. M. Bersanetti,⁵ E. Capps,⁶ E. Hermann,⁷ M. Launey,⁸ G. P. Oikonomos,⁹ A. Olivieri,¹⁰ A. Passerini,¹¹ A. Stein,¹² and N. Vulič.¹³ Further tributes have been paid to the work of P. Jouguet,¹⁴ A. Rehm,¹⁵ and P. Roussel.¹⁶

I. GENERAL

My summary for 1948-9 appeared, somewhat belatedly, in *JHS* LXXII 20 ff., and, so far as it relates to Egypt and Nubia, in *JEA* XXXVI 106 ff. J. and L. Robert have issued two further 'Bulletins Épigraphiques',¹⁷ even fuller than their predecessors and indispensable for any serious study of Greek inscriptions. To J. Marouzeau and J. Ernst we owe two volumes of the *Année Philologique*,¹⁸ relating to 1948 and 1949, and to G. Reincke the *Archäologische Bibliographie*¹⁹ for 1944-8. Of the *Année Epigraphique*, edited by A. Merlin, the issues for 1948, 1949, and 1950 have appeared in the *RA* and also separately,²⁰ registering many Greek inscriptions relative to Roman affairs, while brief summaries of epigraphical discoveries and discussions are found in the *Fasti Archaeologici*²¹ for 1948 and 1949. The *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*²² and *Biblica*²³ contain useful epigraphical surveys confined to their respective fields, and Byzantine studies are dealt with in the bibliography for 1939-48, *Dix années d'études byzantines*.²⁴ Among bibliographies of individual scholars I note those of G. M. Bersanetti,²⁵ M. Cary,²⁶ H. Grégoire,²⁷ P. Jouguet,²⁸ D. M. Robinson,²⁹ and P. Roussel.³⁰

No new instalment of *IG* has appeared, but fresh fascicules of the Delian, Cretan and Syrian *corpora* have been issued and are noticed below in their appropriate places, as also the main contents of two further volumes of L. Robert's *Hellenica*,³¹ devoted almost wholly to Asia Minor, and of Hondius' *SEG* XI (1), which deals with Aegina, the Argolid and Sparta. S. Dow's 'review article'³² on archaeological indexes is chiefly concerned with the Index to *Hesperia*, I-X, and Supplements I-VI, and Y. Béquignon's Index³³ to the *Revue Archéologique* for 1900-1945 is of some value epigraphically. R. Joly comments³⁴ on the proper use of epigraphical texts in school teaching, and a short article on 'Epigraphy' by M. N. Tod appears in the new edition of *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*.³⁵

To the student of Greek language and literature inscriptions offer constant supplies of fresh materials of unique value, since they can usually be located and at least approximately dated.

¹ I call attention to the following abbreviations: *Ann Plovdiv* = *Annuaire du Musée National Archéologique de Plovdiv*; *BCAC* = *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*; *BIAB* = *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare*; *Beitr Bibl* = *Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*; *Jb Kl Forsch* = *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung*; *Par Pass* = *Parola del Passato*; *RIDAnt* = *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*; *SO* = *Symbolae Osloenses*.

² *Gnomon*, XXII 415 ff., *REG* LXIV 127, *Anz Altert* III 193 ff.

³ *Epigraphica*, XI 166.

⁴ P. M. Fraser, *CR* I (1951) 225.

⁵ Ob. 27.9.49. *Epigraphica*, X 160 ff. (with bibliography).

⁶ Ob. 22.8.50. ⁷ Ob. 14.2.50.

⁸ Ob. 11.7.51. ⁹ Ob. 21.6.51. ¹⁰ *Αθήνα*, LV 376 f.

¹¹ *Rend Linc* VIII. vi 306 ff.

¹² Ob. 23.6.51. *Aene*, III 442, *Epigraphica*, XII 162 f.

¹³ Ob. 15.11.50. *Anz Altert* IV 193 f., *Historia*, I 515 f.

¹⁴ *RA* XXXVII (1951) 207.

¹⁵ *Rev. Belge*, XXVIII 1576 f., *Gnomon*, XXII 194, *BSA Alex* XXXVIII 113 ff., *REA* LII 188 f., *CRAI* 1949, 213 ff., 1950, 394 ff., *Chron. d'Ég.* XXV 365 ff., *REG* LXIII, xx f., *Rev Phil* XXIII 105 f., *Rend Linc* VIII. vi 311 ff., *J Jur Pap* IV 9 ff., *J Sav* 1949, 179, *Rev. d'Égypt.* VII 1 f.

¹⁶ *AJA* LIV 254, *Gnomon*, XXII 315 ff.

¹⁷ *REG* LIX-LX. xxx ff., *RA* XXXVI 109 ff. (with bibliography).

¹⁸ *REG* LXIII 121 ff., LXIV 119 ff.

¹⁹ XIX, XX, Paris, 1950-1.

²⁰ Berlin, 1950 (esp. pp. 225 ff.).

²¹ *RA* XXXIII 27 ff., XXXIV 171 ff., XXXVI 172 ff.

²² III, IV, Florence, 1950.

²³ XXXIX 582 ff., XL 339 ff., 557, XLI 284, 563 ff., XLII 362, XLIII 239 ff., 494 f.

²⁴ XXXI 121* ff.

²⁵ Paris, 1949; cf. *REG* LXIV 125.

²⁶ See n. 5.

²⁷ *A Tribute to Professor Max Cary* (Oxford, 1951), 17 ff.

²⁸ *Mél. H. Grégoire*, II, v ff.

²⁹ *J Jur Pap* IV 15 ff.

³⁰ *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson*, I (St. Louis, Missouri, 1951), xxii ff.

³¹ See n. 16.

³² VIII, IX, Paris, 1950. See reviews of I-VII, *BIAB* XVII. 346 ff.; of V-VII, *Gnomon*, XXII 42 ff.; of VII, *JHS* LXX 81 f., *Fasti Arch.* IV 272 ff.; of VIII-IX, *Gnomon*, XXIII 388 ff., *Syria*, XXVIII 134 f.

³³ *AJA* LIV 41 ff., 54 ff.

³⁴ Paris, 1949; cf. *Ant Class* XIX 573 f., *REA* LII 341 f.

³⁵ *Phoebos*, III-IV 111 ff. ³⁶ London, 1950.

J. J. E. Hondius edits ³⁶ a selection of fifty-nine inscriptions illustrating the Achaean (Arcadian and Cyprian) and Aeolic (Asiatic, Thessalian, and Boeotian) dialects, and M. Lejeune examines ³⁷ the extension of H to denote long ē in dialect-inscriptions of Attica, Troezen, Lusi, Delphi, Chyretiae, and Thasos. G. Redard studies ³⁸ Greek nouns in -της, -τις, including a large number of ethnics, and E. Laroche ³⁹ words derived from the root nem-; on both these works J. and L. Robert make ⁴⁰ full and valuable comments. D. J. Georgakas finds ⁴¹ in inscriptions almost all the available evidence for the endings -ις, -iv (for -ιος, -iov) in later Greek, and E. J. Bickerman's article ⁴² on 'The Name of Christians' considers the meaning of χρηματίζω in *Acts*, XI 26, which he interprets as denoting entry into a legal category, and cites many epigraphical parallels for the name Χριστιανός. A. Wilhelm studies ⁴³ the phrase ἐμ Μούσαις, found in *IG IX* (1) 235, *IOSPE I*² 482, *OGI* 282. 13 ff., and *Sammelbuch*, 3990. A. Christophilopoulos examines ⁴⁴ the legal use of ἀθάνατος, and P. M. Fraser corrects ⁴⁵ the interpretation of ἀρχιπροστάτης in *Sammelbuch*, 626, deletes from *LS*⁹ the word ἀρχιπροστάτης, and studies ⁴⁶ the alternative forms προσ(ορ συγ)κύρω and -κυρέω. K. Bulas publishes ⁴⁷ an interesting tabula Iliaca, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, bearing a general title at the head and scenes from the several books of the *Iliad*, of which those from books XVIII-XXIV survive. A. Wilhelm's article 'Zu griechischen Gedichten' includes ⁴⁸ comments on a number of inscriptions, indexed on p. 155. J. H. Oliver interprets ⁴⁹ in the light of epigraphical evidence the puzzling phrase τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμεινεν in Pericles' Funeral Speech (*Thuc.* II 42.4), and J. Delz's inquiry ⁵⁰ into Lucian's knowledge of Athenian antiquities involves frequent reference to inscriptions. A. Wikgren's selection, made in collaboration with E. C. Colwell and R. Marcus, of Hellenistic texts includes ⁵¹ three inscriptions, that of Abercius of Hieropolis, part of that of Antiochus of Commagene (*OGI* 383), and the poem of Sansnos of Nubia (*CIG* 5041), found at Talmis. P. Friedländer's *Epigrammata* (cf. *JHS* LXXII 20) is discussed by J. Pouilloux ⁵² and A. M. Woodward,⁵³ and C. M. Dawson's article on 'Some Epigrams by Leonidas of Tarentum' contains ⁵⁴ stylistic remarks on a number of inscriptions in Friedländer's work (nos. 2, 24, 30, 44, 87, 111, 135, 154, 169). G. Pasquali rejects ⁵⁵ the conclusion of M. Guarducci (cf. *JHS* LXXII 20 f.) regarding the authorship of an oft-repeated couplet stressing the sadness of an early death, and sees in Κερελλάσιος not a Cyprian poet, but one who bears the Latin name, Etruscan in origin, Caerellius.

Inscriptions play an invaluable role in the study of Greek and Graeco-Roman history—political, military, social and economic. Valuable comments are offered ⁵⁶ by J. and L. Robert on a number of articles in *RE* XVIII (3, 4), and much use is made of Greek inscriptions among the materials for E. De Ruggiero's *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane*, continued under the editorship of G. Cardinali, of which vol. IV is now complete.⁵⁷ A further instalment of F. Jacoby's monumental *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* ⁵⁸ includes many inscriptions, quoted in full or in part as *F*(ragmenta) of ancient historians or as *T*(estimonia) relating to them; among the former are the Archilochus-inscriptions from Paros, *IG XII* (5) 445 (502, 1), the Lindian Chronicle, *Lindos*, II 2 (532), the Pergamene Chronicle, *OGI* 264 (506, 1), and the record of the arbitration between Samos and Priene, *Io Priene*, 37 (417, 2; 491, 1; 535, 3); Jacoby's *Atthis* ⁵⁹ also appeals occasionally to epigraphical evidence, indexed on p. 425. R. Meiggs and A. Andrewes render a signal service to students of the Pentekontaetia by their new and radically revised edition ⁶⁰ of G. F. Hill's *Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars*, in which 124 epigraphical sources are collected on pp. 284 ff., while the Parian Chronicle appears among the literary sources on p. 141. To K. M. T. Chrimes' *Sparta* I refer below (p. 69). E. Bickerman examines ⁶¹ the concepts of συμμαχία and ἡγεμονία in classical Greece, and A. Aymard continues ⁶² his study of the title βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων and the character of the monarchy in Macedonia and elsewhere. The vexed question of double citizenship, Roman and local, in the Imperial period is discussed ⁶³ by E. Schönbauer with special reference to the views of Lewald and Visscher and the evidence of the Cyrene edicts and the Rhodus dossier. A. Stein's *Die Präfecten von Aegypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit*,⁶⁴ G. M. Bersanetti's article ⁶⁵ on 'Legatus pro praetore', and H. G. Pflaum's *Les procurateurs équestres*

³⁶ *Tituli ad dialectos Graecas illustrandas selecti*, I, Leyden, 1950.

³⁷ *REA* LI 5 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 134.

³⁸ *Les noms grecs en -της, -τις, et principalement en -ριτης, -ριτις*, Paris, 1949; cf. *Rev. Phil* XXV 257 ff.

³⁹ *Histoire de la racine nem- en grec ancien*, Paris, 1949; cf. *Rev. Phil* XXV 256 f., *Gnomon*, XXIV 81 ff., *Ant. Class* XXI 190 ff., *Cl. Phil* XLVII 183 f.

⁴⁰ *REG* LXIII 135 ff., LXIV 138 ff.

⁴¹ *Cl. Phil* XLIII 243 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 134.

⁴² *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XLII 109 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 141, J. Moreau, *Nouvelle Clé*, I-II 190 ff.

⁴³ *Mél. Grégoire*, I 630 f.

⁴⁴ *RID Ant* IV 297 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 129 f.

⁴⁵ *Chron. d'Ég.* XXVI 162 f.; but see XXVII 290.

⁴⁶ *Eranos*, XLIX 102 ff.

⁴⁷ *AJA* LIV 112 ff.; cf. *Bull. Metr. Mus* XIX 240 f.

⁴⁸ *Wien. Stud.* LXIV 135 ff. ⁴⁹ *Rh. Mus* XCIV 327 ff.

⁵⁰ *Lukians Kenntnis der athenischen Antiquitäten*, Freiburg, 1950; cf. *REG* LXIV 148, *AJP* LXXII 216 ff., *CR* II (1952) 47 f., *Cl. Phil* XLVII 195 f.

⁵¹ Chicago, 1947, pp. 136 ff.; cf. *JHS* LXIX 96.

⁵² *BCH* LXXXIII 482 ff.

⁵³ *CR* LXIV 17 ff.

⁵⁴ *AJP* LXXI 280 f.

⁵⁵ *Riv. Fil* LXXVIII 351 f.

⁵⁶ *REG* LXIII 130 f., LXIV 119 ff.

⁵⁷ Fasc. 8-19, Rome, 1941-9.

⁵⁸ III B, Leyden, 1950.

⁵⁹ Oxford, 1949; cf. *Gnomon*, XXII 216 ff., *Cl. Journ.* XLVI 415.

⁶⁰ Oxford, 1951.

⁶¹ *RID Ant* IV 99 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 129.

⁶² *RID Ant* IV 61 ff., *REA* LII 115 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII, ix ff., LXIV 128 f.

⁶³ *Anz. Wien*, 1949, 343 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 131.

⁶⁴ Berne, 1950; cf. *Chron. d'Ég.* XXVI 439 ff., *Mus. Helv.* VIII 334 f., *Gnomon*, XXIII 440 ff., *Ant. Altert* IV 226 f., *Ant. Class* XXI 223 f., *AJP* LXXIII 418 ff.

⁶⁵ *Diz. Epigr.* IV 527 ff.

*sous le Haut-Empire romain*⁶⁶ also use the relevant inscriptions. J. H. Oliver collects⁶⁷ the new evidence supplied by inscriptions for the Attic Panhellenion founded by Hadrian in A.D. 131-2 and examines its official documents (see below, p. 67); Hadrian's precedent for his Eleusinian initiation was, he argues,⁶⁸ afforded not by Philip II of Macedon, as stated in our text of the *Vit. Hadr.* XIII 1, but by Philopappus. H. T. Wade-Gery's study⁶⁹ of the fortunes of Miltiades starts from a late sixth-century plate in Oxford, and inscriptions play their part in J. Schwartz's account⁷⁰ of Ti. Claudius Balbillus, prefect of Egypt and Nero's counsellor, and in the first part of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*⁷¹ by W. Peremans and E. van't Dack, comprising 1824 items belonging to the civil and financial service, to which Peremans' * *Prosopographische opzoekingen betreffende Ptolemaisch Egypte*⁷² should be added. I do not know I. Bieżunska-Malowist's discussion⁷³ of some problems of ancient slavery save through the comments⁷⁴ of J. and L. Robert. W. L. Westermann examines⁷⁵ the extinction of claims in slave-sales indicated by the εὐδόκησις-clause found in 390 out of a thousand Delphian manumissions. The professions of freedmen recorded in Attic and Delphian emancipations are collected and discussed⁷⁶ by M. N. Tod (see below, pp. 67, 71). H. Schaefer's article⁷⁷ on πάροικοι contains much epigraphical material, and L. Robert makes considerable additions⁷⁸ to his *corpus* of sculptured and inscribed monuments of gladiators. A second edition has appeared of H. I. Marrou's * *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*,⁷⁹ and M. N. Tod deals⁸⁰ with some laudatory epithets, especially χρηστός and εὐλυπτος, found in Greek epitaphs, with a view to determining the qualities most prized among the common people. F. Pringsheim's *The Greek Law of Sale*⁸¹ makes constant use of inscriptions, which are conveniently indexed on pp. 545 ff.

L. Robert's brilliant *Études de numismatique grecque*⁸² offers striking illustrations of the fruitful co-operation of epigraphy and numismatics. Chapter I (pp. 6 ff.) deals with the coinages of the cities of the Troad, especially Alexandria, Scepsis, Cebren (temporarily renamed Antiochia), Berytis and Larisa, supplementing the evidence of coins by that of inscriptions for historical and topographical purposes, and ends with a survey of monetary circulation in the Troad. Chapter II (pp. 101 ff.) identifies as Alabandus a figure in the frieze of the temple of Lagina. Chapter III (pp. 105 ff.) proves that the Attic δραχμαὶ (τοῦ) στεφανηφόρου, or δραχμαὶ στεφανηφόροι, named in Attic and Delian records, are the 'new-style' drachmas first issued about 180 B.C. Chapters IV and V (pp. 136 ff.) deal respectively with the στατήρες ἱεροὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος of a Milesian inscription (*Milet*, III, no. 32), which are shown to be staters belonging to Apollo, not staters of a special type, and with the Cretan community of the Ἀριστοί. Chapter VI (pp. 143 ff.) examines a considerable number of coins mentioned in the Delian inventories after 166 B.C., especially those whose names end in -φόρος (e.g. φοινικοφόρος, τουροφόρος, βοτρυοφόρος, πλινθοφόρος), assigning them on numismatic grounds to their several mints. Chapter VII (pp. 179 ff.), dealing with the circulation of the coins of Histiaea and its relations with Macedonia and Rhodes, starts with an examination of the impressive list of thirty-one Histiaeian πρόξενοι appointed in one year about 266 B.C. (*IG* XII (9) 1187). The invaluable indexes include a list (pp. 238 f.) of epigraphical texts discussed in the work.

The subject of Greek religion, its inner meaning and especially its outward observance, is one on which inscriptions throw an ever increasing light, and they afford abundant and invaluable evidence for vol. II of M. P. Nilsson's masterly *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*,⁸³ dealing with the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as well as for P. Amandry's *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes*,⁸⁴ whose appendix of *testimonia* (pp. 241 ff.) includes six inscriptions from Delphi and Athens. We may note also P. P. Bourboulis' work⁸⁵ on *Apollo Delphinios*, in which the epigraphical evidence is marshalled on pp. 13 ff., H. Grégoire's 'studies of the mole-god and the mouse-god in Greece and India',⁸⁶ in which Asclepius is traced to a Thessalian origin with his home at Tricca, B. Hemberg's account⁸⁷ of the nature and cult of the Cabiri and cognate deities, G. Restelli's examination⁸⁸ of the Dioscuri and of the forms in which their name appears in dialect inscriptions, and A. J. Festugière's detailed discussion⁸⁹ of the composition and significance of the aretalogies of Isis, for which, he argues, we need not postulate an Egyptian model, but rather a Greek prototype, perhaps of the early third century B.C. P. Merlat's *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus*⁹⁰ includes some Greek inscriptions, indexed on pp. 395 ff. The ruler-cult of the Hellen-

⁶⁶ Paris, 1950; cf. *AJP* LXXII 316 ff., *Gnomon*, XXIII 324 ff., *REG* LXIV 131, *Latomus*, XI 91 ff.

⁶⁷ *Hesperia*, XX 31 ff.

⁶⁸ *AJP* LXXI 295 ff.

⁶⁹ *Bull. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* XLIX 45 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 147.

⁷⁰ Louvain, 1950; cf. *JEA* XXXVI 118 ff., *Aegyptus*, XXX

112 f., *REG* LXIV 381 f., LXV 138, *Ant. Class.* XXI 221 ff.

⁷¹ *Meded. K. Vlaamse Acad.* X (3); cf. *Mus. Helv.* VII 246 f.,

Ant. Class. XIX 515.

⁷² * *Eos*, Suppl. XX.

⁷³ *J. Jur. Pap.* IV 49 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 133.

⁷⁴ *Epigraphica*, XII 3 ff.

⁷⁵ *Hellenica*, VIII 39 ff.

⁷⁶ Paris, 1950; cf. *JRS* XLI 191 f., *Greece and Rome*, XXI

43 ff.

⁷⁷ *BSA* XLVI 182 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 136 f.

⁷⁸ Weimar, 1950; cf. *Gnomon*, XXIV 218 ff., *Ant. Class.* XXI

213 ff., *Seminar*, IX 72 ff., *AJP* LXXIII 437 ff., *JHS* LXXII

143.

⁸² Paris, 1951; cf. *DLZ* LXXIII 161 ff.

⁸³ Munich, 1950; cf. *Mus. Helv.* VIII 311, *REG* LXIV

131 f., 314 ff.

⁸⁴ Paris, 1950 (epigraphical index, pp. 276 ff.); cf. *Cl. Phil.*

XLVII 45 ff., *Gnomon*, XXIV 5 ff., *Rev. Hist. Rel.* CXL 238 ff.,

Rev. Phil. XXV 261 f., *AJP* LXXIII 445 ff.

⁸⁵ *Salonica*, 1949; cf. *JHS* LXX 103, *REG* LXIV 337 f.,

CR I (1951) 242 f., *Cl. Phil.* XLVII 47.

⁸⁶ *Asklēpios, Apollo Smintheus et Rudra*, Brussels, 1950; cf. *REG*

LXIV 137 f., *Rev. Belge*, XXIX 263 ff., *Nouvelle Clé*, III 379.

⁸⁷ *Die Kabiren*, Upsala, 1950 (epigraphical index, pp. 363 ff.);

cf. *REG* LXIV 132 f., *CR I* (1951) 211 ff., *JHS* LXXII 147.

⁸⁸ *Riv. Fil.* LXXIX 246 ff.

⁸⁹ *Harc. Theol. Rev.* XLII 209 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 136 f.

⁹⁰ Paris, 1948.

istic age is studied by J. Tondriau in a series of articles on the assimilation of Alexander the Great to various divinities⁹¹ (in which the epigraphical evidence is confined to the phrase παῖς Βάκχου in the paeon of Philodamus), on 'Démétrios Poliorcète, Neos Théos',⁹² and on the cults of the Seleucids⁹³ and Lagids,⁹⁴ while P. M. Fraser derives⁹⁵ the epithet of Ζεὺς Σελεύκιος in Lydian documents from the Seleucid dynasty, but in Alexandria from Seleucia Pieria. To the functions of the Attic ἐξηγηταὶ I refer below (p. 64). W. Otto's posthumous work,⁹⁶ edited by F. Zucker, on the ἱεροδουλεία in Hellenistic Egypt is based mainly on papyri, but frequently refers to inscriptions from other lands (pp. 41, 48, 67, 73 f.), and C. G. Yavis' *Greek Altars*⁹⁷ describes many inscribed altars (see index, pp. 263 f.), but quotes only a single Milesian text (p. 156). Inscriptions also contribute to M. P. Nilsson's articles on the use of lamps and candles in ancient worship⁹⁸ and on Anatolian 'pseudo-mysteries';⁹⁹ the word μυστήριον, used for pagan initiatory rites, is discussed¹⁰⁰ by A. D. Nock, who regards its meaning as 'secret' (as in the Old Testament), unrelated to the sense it bears in St. Mark (IV 11) and St. Paul. F. Halkin comments¹⁰¹ on the letters alleged to have passed between Abgar and Jesus Christ, of which epigraphical texts have been found in five places. Special attention has recently been paid to a curious feature of ancient religion, the use of amulets, often inscribed, of which the most comprehensive and authoritative study is C. Bonner's *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*,¹⁰² in which inscriptions are carefully examined (pp. 167 ff.). The same scholar publishes¹⁰³ a Roman silver *denarius*, probably of Antaratius, re-used before A.D. 300 as a Christian amulet, whose inscription contains echoes of St. Paul's Epistles (I Cor. IV 3, Rom. VIII 28), and S. Eitrem deals¹⁰⁴ with a haematite amulet from Syria, now in Copenhagen, corrected by Bonner, and draws up a list of amulets against diseases. In an interesting article¹⁰⁵ A. J. Festugière summarizes Bonner's book and discusses a number of special points and problems, such as national elements and influences, solar and other types, the purposes of amulets, and their inscriptions, intelligible or cryptic. H. J. Rose reads¹⁰⁶ διψῶς in place of διψᾶς in one of Bonner's amulets (*op. cit.* 87 ff., 276), and M. P. Nilsson examines¹⁰⁷ the snake-footed creature occasionally depicted on amulets.

In the field of art and architecture I note G. Klaffenbach's interesting lecture¹⁰⁸ on the relations between archaeology and epigraphy, G. M. A. Richter's *Archaic Greek Art against its Historical Background*,¹⁰⁹ in which a number of inscribed monuments are studied (among them the Cypselid bowl from Olympia, Chares' statue from Didyma, and that of Aeaces from Samos, and the Kore of Antenor from the Athenian Acropolis), and O. A. W. Dilke's article¹¹⁰ on 'Details and Chronology of Greek Theatre Caveas', in which epigraphical evidence is used for the theatres of Piraeus, Thoricus, Rhamnus, Icaria, Oropus, Chaeronea, Mycenae, Epidaurus, Megalopolis and Delos. I refer briefly to some vase-inscriptions published or discussed in works not primarily concerned with ceramics. To J. D. Beazley we owe expert notes¹¹¹ on twenty-four such inscriptions, of varied nature and provenance, and to J. H. Jongkees a valuable study¹¹² of price-inscriptions on Greek vases, in which he examines a r.f. kalpis in Utrecht University, defends his interpretation of its graffito against M. J. Milne, draws up a list of prices attested before and after 470 B.C. (pp. 259 f.), and rejects Amyx's view that the numbers denote obols rather than drachmas. R. Lullies describes¹¹³ some Attic b.f. pottery from the Ceramicus, including several inscribed vases, and M. T. Mitsos¹¹⁴ a Panathenaic amphora of ca. 150 B.C. from the precinct of Pythian Apollo, bearing on its back the legend ἀγωνοθετοῦντος βα[σιλέως Καππαδόκων:] Ἀριαράθου φιλοπά[τορος καὶ εὐσεβο]ῦς. M. Robertson describes¹¹⁵ a r.f. kylix of the Brygos Painter recently acquired by the British Museum, H. T. Wade-Gery¹¹⁶ a r.f. plate in the Ashmolean Museum, dated 520-510 B.C., inscribed Μιλτιάδης καλός, and A. D. Ure¹¹⁷ a Boeotian kantharos, now in Reading, inscribed in retrograde script ΚΟΕΣ, the title, according to Hesychius, of the priest of the Cabiri. G. M. A. Richter reports¹¹⁸ the rediscovery, in a private collection in Paris, of a fragment by Duris reputed to be lost, D. von Bothmer publishes¹¹⁹ an Attic b.f. pelike, now in New York, bearing a καλός-inscription, and C. Boulter¹²⁰ the sherds of a white-ground krater in the Sempole Collection at Cincinnati. M. Robertson deals¹²¹ with Gordion cups found at Naucratis, among which are ten inscribed examples, and A. D. Trendall¹²² with Attic vases in Australia and New Zealand, including two in Canterbury with καλός-inscriptions, one of doubtful authenticity. Other ceramic inscriptions are mentioned below in their geographical contexts.

⁹¹ *Rev. Phil.* XXIII 41 ff.

⁹² *BSA Alex.* XXXVIII 3 ff.

⁹³ *Muséon*, LXI 171 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 132.

⁹⁴ *Chron. d'Ég.* XXV 283 ff., *Rev. Hist. Rel.* CXXXVII 207 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 135 f.

⁹⁵ *CR* LXIII 92 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 133 f.

⁹⁶ *Abh. München*, XXIX; cf. *REG* LXIV 136, *Bibl. Orient.* VIII 220 ff.

⁹⁷ St. Louis, Missouri, 1949; cf. *AJA* LIV 436 ff., *REG* LXIV 335 ff., *Rev. Hist. Rel.* CXXXIX 232 ff.

⁹⁸ *Op. Arch.* VI 96 ff.

⁹⁹ *BLAB* XVI 17 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 132.

¹⁰⁰ *Harv. St.* LX 201 ff.

¹⁰¹ *Anal. Boll.* LXIX 402.

¹⁰² Ann Arbor, 1950; cf. *Aegyptus*, XXX 110 ff., *REG*

LXIII 308 ff., *JEA* XXXVII 117 f., *Bibl. Orient.* VIII 76 f., *CR* I (1951) 213 f., *Gnomon*, XXIV 340 ff.

¹⁰³ *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XLIII 165 ff.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 173 ff.

¹⁰⁵ *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XLIV 59 f.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 61 ff.

¹⁰⁷ New York, 1949; cf. *REG* LXIV 334 f.

¹⁰⁸ *BSA* XLV 21 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *Mnem.* IV (1951) 258 ff., *Studia van Hoorn*, 66 ff.

¹¹⁰ *Jdl.* LXI-II 56, 58, 65, 69.

¹¹¹ *AE* 1948-9, 5 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 155.

¹¹² *BMQ* XVI 19 ff.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 194 ff.

¹¹⁴ *JHS* LXXI 41.

¹¹⁵ *JHS* LXXI 143 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Cl. Phil.* XLVI 81 ff.

¹⁰⁷ *AA* 1948-9, 253 ff.

¹⁰⁸ *AJA* LIV 310 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *JHS* LXXI 212 ff.

¹¹⁰ *JHS* LXIX 73.

¹¹¹ *AJA* LIV 120.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 186, 193.

M. N. Tod publishes notes,¹²² mainly bibliographical, on the collection of Greek inscriptions in the Ashmolean Museum which came into the possession of Oxford University before 1763, and the *Guide to the Danish National Museum: Oriental and Classical Antiquity*¹²³ refers to several Attic and other inscriptions and ten from Lindos, comprising the 'Lindian Chronicle' (*Lindos*, II 2), the list of priests of Athena Lindia (*ibid.* 1), a law of A.D. 22 and 225, and seven signed statue-bases.

Recent discoveries have given a new impetus to the study of the history of writing¹²⁵ and supplied it with fresh materials. The earlier stages of its development lie, strictly speaking, outside the scope of this survey, but since they belong to the ancestry of the Greek alphabet, I mention in passing some relevant books and articles. J. G. Février's *Histoire de l'écriture*¹²⁶ deals with all types of script and includes sections on the Cretan scripts (pp. 138 ff.), the Cypriote syllabary (pp. 164 ff.), the Semitic consonantal writing, especially the Phoenician alphabet (pp. 203 ff.), the Greek alphabet, its origin, characteristics and development (pp. 381 ff.), and the derived Anatolian alphabets (pp. 407 ff.); the Greek borrowing of the Phoenician letters cannot, he holds (p. 395), be dated after 900 B.C. An appendix (pp. 574 ff.) is devoted to numeral signs, but the Greek section of this (pp. 579 f.) is of little value; another appendix (pp. 588 ff.) deals with the magical use of the alphabet. Elsewhere¹²⁷ Février discusses the light thrown by the excavations at Byblus on the date of the Phoenician alphabet. J. Bouüaert's *Petite histoire de l'alphabet*¹²⁸ I have not seen. H. Tur-Sinai traces¹²⁹ in detail the origin and early evolution of the alphabet, holding that 'approximately at the beginning of the ninth century B.C.E. the Greeks adopted this early alphabet, i.e. the order and names of the letters as well as their shape, from the Canaanites of Phoenicia' (p. 83). A. Pratesi's article¹³⁰ on the origin and development of the alphabet and of separate letters contains bibliographical notes on some recent works on alphabetic history, and the subject is also studied¹³¹ by A. Jirku, who dates *ca.* 2000 the syllabic script of at least 75 signs used at Byblus, *ca.* 1800 the appearance of the first alphabet and Canaanite culture in Palestine, and *ca.* 1200 the creation of the old Semitic linear script of 22 letters. Special interest has been roused by the discovery in 1949 at Ras Shamra of a tablet, apparently for educational use, dating from the fourteenth century and containing a cuneiform alphabet of thirty signs, of which the 22 corresponding to the signs of the Phoenician alphabet occur in exactly the same order; the value of this new evidence is emphasized by R. Virolleaud,¹³² O. Eissfeldt¹³³ and E. A. Speiser,¹³⁴ of whom the last claims that 'one thing, at least, is now clear and beyond dispute: we are still a long way from fully understanding our ABC'. W. F. Albright¹³⁵ and R. Dussaud¹³⁶ stress the value of the cuneiform biographical inscription on the statue of Idrimi found at 'Atshana by L. Woolley and published¹³⁷ by S. Smith. D. Diringer's account¹³⁸ of the early Hebrew script contains (p. 78) a chart showing the evolution of the alphabet, and R. Demangel calls attention¹³⁹ to the forms and meanings of the letters *daleth* and *he*. H. L. Lorimer's *Homer and the Monuments*¹⁴⁰ includes a chapter (pp. 122 ff.) on 'Writing in the Aegaeon Area; the Age of Illiteracy in Greece', in which tables of Semitic and Greek alphabets are reproduced from B. L. Ullman's article (*AJA* XXXVIII 364 f.) and accompanied by notes contributed by him. P. Kretschmer's article¹⁴¹ on the ancient system of punctuation deals with Etruscan and Greek punctuation, tracing one usage back to Phoenicia, the other to the Minoan script. M. N. Tod studies¹⁴² the use in Attica of the alphabetic numeral system.

To recent research in the field of the Minoan scripts I deal very briefly, for their relation to the writing of historic Greece is still obscure. J. L. Myres' monumental edition¹⁴³ of the Cnossian tablets in Linear B appeared early in 1952, and so falls outside the range of this review. E. Sittig writes¹⁴⁴ on the 'decipherment of the oldest European syllabic script, the Cretan linear script B', and claims¹⁴⁵ that a comparison of the Cretan and Cyprian signs shows that the languages they express were similar in structure, and justifies the assignment of the same phonetic values to the same or similar signs in Cretan and Cyprian where general statistics support it. J. Sundwall examines (a) Cnossian tablets¹⁴⁶ containing the double axe in postpositive position, (b) wagon-inventories,¹⁴⁷ and (c) indications of hepatoscopy,¹⁴⁸ and B. Hrozný gives¹⁴⁹ a list of Cretan signs with the phonetic value he attributes to each, and also a summary¹⁵⁰ of the scientific discoveries which he claims to have made; his work on the Minoan inscriptions is translated into French¹⁵¹ by M. David. V. Georgiev also publishes an essay¹⁵² on 'Le déchiffrement des inscriptions minoennes', and another¹⁵³ on 'Inscriptions minoennes quasi-bilingues'. K. D. Ktistopoulos treats¹⁵⁴ of composite words in the Minoan

¹²² *JHS* LXXI 172 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 132.

¹²³ Copenhagen, 1950, pp. 67 ff., 106 ff.

¹²⁴ Cf. *Biblica*, XXXI 120* f.

¹²⁵ Paris, 1948; cf. *Syria*, XXVI 362 f., *REG* LXIII 266 f.

¹²⁶ *J. Asiatique*, CCXXXVI 1 ff.

¹²⁷ Brussels, 1949; cf. *Ant. Class.* XIX 484 ff.

¹²⁸ *Jew. Qu. Rev.* XLI 83 ff., 159 ff., 277 ff.

¹²⁹ *Doxa*, II 193 ff. ¹³⁰ *ZDMG* C 515 ff.

¹³¹ *CRAI* 1950, 71 ff. ¹³² *FuF* XXVI 217 ff.

¹³³ *BASOR* CXXI 17 ff.

¹³⁴ *BASOR* CXVIII 11 ff.; cf. *PEQ* 1949, ix f.

¹³⁵ *Syria*, XXVII 157 ff.

¹³⁶ *The Statue of Idrimi*, London, 1949.

¹³⁷ *Bibl. Arch.* XIII 74 ff. ¹³⁸ *BIAB* XVI 47 ff.

¹³⁹ London, 1950; cf. *CR* II (1952) 13 ff.

¹⁴⁰ *BIAB* XVI 99 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 123.

¹⁴¹ *BSA* XLV 126 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 123 f.

¹⁴² *Scripta Minoa*, II, Oxford, 1952.

¹⁴³ *Nouvelle Clé*, III 1 ff.

¹⁴⁴ *Jb. Kl. Forsch.* I 151 ff.

¹⁴⁵ *Arch. Orient.* XLVII 387 ff.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* XVI 162 ff.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 310 ff.

¹⁴⁸ *Les inscriptions crétoises: essai de déchiffrement*, Prague, 1949;

cf. *JNES* Studies, X 285 ff., *Bibl. Orient.* VIII 94 ff.

¹⁴⁹ *Ann. Univ. Sofia*, XLV (1949) 4; cf. *Ant. Class.* XIX 482 ff., *JHS* LXX 87, *Rev. Phil.* XXV 81 f., *Cl. Phil.* XLVII 132 f.

¹⁵⁰ *Ann. Univ. Sofia*, XLVI (1950) 4; cf. *JHS* LXXI 269, *Ant. Class.* XX 489 ff.

¹⁵¹ *Mots composés de la langue minoenne*, 1951 (unpublished).

language, F. Chapouthier reviews ¹⁵⁵ G. Pugliese Carratelli's important work on the subject (cf. *JHS* LXXVII 95), A. E. Kober, whose death ¹⁵⁶ is a severe loss to Minoan studies, supplies ¹⁵⁷ a 'Note on some "cattle" tablets from Knossos', E. L. Bennett deals ¹⁵⁸ with 'Fractional quantities in Minoan book-keeping', and F. Melis with * *La ragioneria nell'età minoica*.¹⁵⁹ To Bennett we owe also *The Pylos Tablets: a preliminary Transcription*; ¹⁶⁰ Ktistopoulos too studies ¹⁶¹ the Pylian hoard, and Hrozný sees ¹⁶² in one of these tablets (Blegen, no. 40) a list of sheep supplied by various sacred domains. At Mycenae a tablet inscribed in Linear B has come to light.¹⁶³ T. B. Jones rejects ¹⁶⁴ W. T. M. Forbes' interpretation (cf. *JHS* LXXII 24) of the legend on an Eleusinian vase, and studies ¹⁶⁵ the 'Eteocypriote' inscriptions. To M. Anstock-Darga we owe a useful 'Bibliographie zur Kretisch-minoischen Schrift und Sprache'.¹⁶⁶

II. ATTICA

H. A. Thompson summarizes the epigraphical results of the excavations carried on in the Agora in 1949,¹⁶⁷ including over a hundred inscriptions on marble and forty ostraka, and in 1950,¹⁶⁸ when a Δήμητρο[s] hópos, a prytany decree and a number of clay tallies were brought to light, and reports ¹⁶⁹ on the Odeum in the Agora, in which many stamped roof-tiles of five types were unearthed. V. Grace continues ¹⁷⁰ her study of stamped jars from the Agora and elsewhere. M. T. Mitsos devotes himself to the rearrangement of the Epigraphical Museum,¹⁷¹ which in 1949 housed no fewer than 13,142 inscribed stones, and to the detailed study of its contents (below, p. 66). I. A. Meletopoulos' article ¹⁷² on the antiquities of the port of Piraeus refers frequently to inscriptions, and the Piraeus Museum has been enriched ¹⁷³ by the gift of a number of articles, epigraphical and other, from his collection. The French excavation at Brauron has brought to light ¹⁷⁴ some votive bases, inscribed vases and inventories, which still await publication. R. Carpenter's study ¹⁷⁵ of 'Tradition and Invention in Attic Reliefs' includes an examination of various inscribed votive and sepulchral stones. Of N. M. Kontoleon's work ¹⁷⁶ on the Erechtheum, in which numerous inscriptions are cited (indexed on p. 91), there is a useful summary ¹⁷⁷ by J. Pouilloux. J. H. Oliver's important work *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* ¹⁷⁸ deals with every aspect of the appointment and functions of the ἐξηγηταί and contains (pp. 139 ff.) a collection of 54 epigraphical references, mainly Attic, and an index of inscriptions discussed (pp. 169 ff.); new restorations are proposed in *IG* II² 3182, 3979a, 4007, 4487, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII 279 f. and *IOl.* 612. The ἐξηγηταί play a prominent part also in F. Jacoby's *Atthis*,¹⁷⁹ where twenty-two items of epigraphical evidence, seventeen from Athens and five from Delphi (*Delphes*, III (2) 5, 6, 24, 59-60, 114), are quoted (pp. 8 ff.) and discussed (pp. 17 ff., 237 ff., 399). In an article ¹⁸⁰ on the professions followed by freedmen M. N. Tod examines the evidence of the *catalogi paterarum argentarum* (*IG* II² 1553-78), the list of names and professions appended to a fifth-century decree (*IG* II² 10), the fragment of that decree (*IG* II² 2403), and numerous epitaphs of the fourth or third century B.C. He also discusses ¹⁸¹ the use of alphabetic numerals in Attic inscriptions.

In an article ¹⁸² comprising 217 pages and 39 photographic illustrations W. Peek gives us a valuable series of 446 addenda and corrigenda to *IG* I² and II², which include 86 unpublished inscriptions (of which nos. 15, 24-26, 29, 32, 46, 60, 79, 94, 212, 306, 309, 310, 327, 330 and 333 deserve special notice) as well as three new fragments added to texts already known. To a very large number of inscriptions (see the index, pp. 203 ff., which, however, does not cover pp. 209 ff.) Peek adds notes embodying corrections of or additions to the descriptions of stones, revised readings, new restorations and miscellaneous comments, while thirteen texts included in *IG* II² are assigned to provenances outside Attica-Aegina (p. 213 nos. 8 ff.), Megara (no. 246), Oropia (nos. 269 bis, 361, 381), Boeotia (p. 214 no. 15), Carystus (no. 357) and Macedonia (no. 92).

[*IG* I².] Forty additional ostraka were found ¹⁸³ in 1949 in a pit in the Agora, and one beneath the Stoa of Attalus naming Socrates of Anagyrus, στρατηγός in 441-0 B.C. G. A. Stamires and E. Vanderpool discuss ¹⁸⁴ Callixenus the Alcmeonid, previously unknown, whose name occurs on 251 ostraka, 34 of which they publish, and A. Wilhelm examines ¹⁸⁵ the famous metrical inscription on an ostrakon given against Xanthippus, father of Pericles, in which he restores Χσάνθ[ιππον τόδε]

¹⁵⁵ *Rev. Phil.* XXIV 81 ff.

¹⁵⁶ *Ob.* 16, 5-50; cf. *Jb. Kl. Forsch.* I 344.

¹⁵⁷ *Jb. Kl. Forsch.* I 142 ff.

¹⁵⁸ *AJA* LIV 204 ff.

¹⁵⁹ Rome, 1948.

¹⁶⁰ Princeton, 1951; cf. E. Sittig, *Bibl. Orient.* IX 41 ff.

¹⁶¹ Πρόστασις παρατηρήσεως ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν τῆς Πύλου (unpublished); cf. *Epigraphica*, XII 154 f., *Bibl. Orient.* IX 41 ff.

¹⁶² *J. Jur. Pap.* IV 43 ff.

¹⁶³ *JHS* LXXI 240, *BCH* LXXV 113.

¹⁶⁴ *AJA* LV 67.

¹⁶⁵ *AJP* LXXI 401 ff.

¹⁶⁶ *Orientalia*, XX 171 ff.; cf. *Biblica*, XXXI 125.*

¹⁶⁷ *Hesperia*, XIX 318 f., 336 f.; cf. *JHS* LXX 4, *BCH* LXXIII 524, LXXIV 296.

¹⁶⁸ *Hesperia*, XX 51 ff., 58 f.; cf. *JHS* LXXI 236, 240, *BCH* LXXV 108 ff.

¹⁶⁹ *Hesperia*, XIX 50 ff.

¹⁷⁰ *Hesperia*, XX 46.

¹⁷¹ *BCH* LXXIV 293 f.; cf. LXXIII 520, LXXV 105, *JHS* LXXI 234.

¹⁷² Παλλήμων, IV 125 ff.

¹⁷³ *BCH* LXXIII 521.

¹⁷⁴ *BCH* LXXIII 527, LXXIV 300, LXXV 110, *JHS* LXXI 238.

¹⁷⁵ *AJA* LIV 323 ff.

¹⁷⁶ Το 'Ερεχθίδιον ὡς οικοδόμημα χθονίας λατρείας, Athens, 1949.

¹⁷⁷ *BCH* LXXIV 265 ff.

¹⁷⁸ Baltimore, 1950; cf. *Ant. Class.* XIX 502 f., *ZSS* XLVIII 537 f., *AJP* LXXI 420 ff., *Hermathena*, LXXVI 108 f., *Class. Weekly*, XLIV 135 f., *JHS* LXXI 270 f., *REG* LXIV 147 f.

¹⁷⁹ Oxford, 1949; cf. *Gnomon*, XXII 216 ff., *Cl. Journ.* XLVI 415 f., *REG* LXIII 144.

¹⁸⁰ *BSA* XLV 126 ff.; *REG* LXIV 123 f.

¹⁸¹ *AM* LXVII 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 143 ff.

¹⁸² *Hesperia*, XIX 337, XX 253.

¹⁸³ *Hesperia*, XIX 376 ff.

¹⁸⁴ *Ant. Wien*, 1949, 237 ff.

φρσιν ἀλειπερὸν πρ[υτ]άνειον. A. E. Raubitschek traces¹⁸⁶ the origin and history of ostracism, and J. A. O. Larsen comments¹⁸⁷ on it in his essay on 'The origin of the counting of votes'.

Of the few new inscriptions published during the period under review some have already been mentioned. P. E. Corbett describes¹⁸⁸ a large number of Attic vases of the late fifth century, four of them inscribed (nos. 1, 4, 68, 102), found in a well on the south slope of the Kolonos Agoraios, and I. Papademetriou edits¹⁸⁹ an epigram of the late fifth or early fourth century, unearthed on the western foothills of Hymettus, commemorating Myrrhine, daughter of Callimachus (perhaps the archon of 446-5), ἡ πρώτη Νίκης ἀμφοτέρωθεν νεών. We may also note an archaic votive statuette¹⁹⁰ of Athena, perhaps of Peloponnesian origin, and a r.f. cup¹⁹¹ from the Acropolis with a καλός-inscription, both added to the National Museum, and a late fifth-century epitaph¹⁹² from Chalandri.

B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor have issued the eagerly awaited third volume of *The Athenian Tribute Lists*,¹⁹³ which sets forth the history of the Athenian fifth-century Empire, as revealed in the sources, epigraphical and literary, collected, arranged and restored in vols. I and II. The work falls into three sections, dealing respectively with 'The evidence of the texts' (pp. 5 ff.), 'The other evidence' (pp. 95 ff.), and 'The Athenian Naval Confederacy' (pp. 183 ff.), and will be followed by a further volume containing the indexes essential to the maximum utility of the work. In a second edition of the *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*¹⁹⁴ of H. Payne and G. Mackworth Young several inscribed monuments appear (*IG* I² 469, 485, 589), but, though the photographs are superb, the epigraphical references leave much to be desired.

Other inscriptions in *IG* I² which call for notice are the following:

5 (*SEG* X 3), 6 (*SEG* X 6). In an addendum to his *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* L. Ziehen restores¹⁹⁵ Ἐλευσί[ν]ι δ' ἐπ' Ἐχ[ο]ῖ in 5.5 and μὲν δ' ἐπ[ὶ] τοῖς γέ[ρ] | σοι in 6.113 f.

10-13a (*GHI* 29, *SEG* X 11), 18 (*SEG* X 8), 22 (*SEG* X 14). In a study of the use of garrisons in the consolidation of the Athenian ἀρχή before 431 B.C. A. S. Nease examines,¹⁹⁶ *inter alia*, the decrees relating to Erythrae (pp. 105 f.), Aegina (pp. 103 ff.), and Miletus (p. 107).

26 (*GHI* 39, *SEG* X 18). A. Wilhelm drastically revises¹⁹⁷ the reading and restoration of this decree concluding an alliance with the Amphietyonic states, from which the Phocians and the archon Ariston disappear. I. Calabi discusses¹⁹⁸ Meritt's restoration (cf. *JHS* LXXII 26) of the decree, which attests a specific function of the Amphietyonic συνέδριον.

63 (*GHI* 66, *SEG* X 75). Y. Béquignon and E. Will study¹⁹⁹ from the standpoint of Athenian institutions the reassessment-decree of 425 B.C.; they offer a new text, based mainly on *ATL* I and II, with critical notes (pp. 6 ff.), examine the role of the ἡλιαία (pp. 14 ff.) and those of the polemarch and στρατηγοί (pp. 24 ff.) in the process of assessment, and support, against Nesselhauf and Kahrstedt, the restoration [νομο]θέτα[i] in l. 16.

77 (*SEG* X 40). M. Ostwald re-examines²⁰⁰ the 'Prytaneum-decree', restoring καὶ τῶν μάντεων ὡς ἔν in l. 9 and denying that it proves the existence of ἐξηγηταὶ πυθόχρηστοι in the fifth century; the decree is also discussed by J. H. Oliver²⁰¹ and by F. Jacoby.²⁰²

108 (*GHI* 84, *SEG* X 124). B. D. Meritt and A. Andrewes re-edit²⁰³ the decrees of 410-9 and 407-6 relating to Neapolis and give a photograph of an unplaced fragment (EM 6589).

330 (*GHI* 80, *SEG* X 241). J. and L. Robert comment²⁰⁴ on the meaning of ἀνάκλις in l. 10 of the sale list of Alcibiades' furniture.

530. J. Pouilloux suggests²⁰⁵ that the Ἐκφαντος of this metrical dedication (Raubitschek, *Dedications*, no. 121) was of Thasian origin.

609 (*GHI* 13). B. B. Shefton discusses²⁰⁶ in detail the votive epigram of the Callimachus Memorial (Raubitschek, *Dedications*, no. 13) and its 'posthumous addition', and records²⁰⁷ an alternative restoration proposed by Raubitschek. E. Fraenkel offers²⁰⁸ a divergent version, getting rid of the ἡελέων (= Ἑλλήνων), which, he claims, 'makes havoc of the language as well as the metre'.

763 (*SEG* X 404). W. Vollgraff deals²⁰⁹ with the second epigram relative to the battle of Marathon, which, in his view, commemorates those who died on the march from Marathon to Athens after the battle.

806 (*SEG* X 336). L. H. Jeffery restores²¹⁰ this Eleusinian discus-inscription Αἰσι[μίδης] μ' ἀνέθε[κεν], and dates it between 600 and 550 B.C.

945 (*GHI* 59, *SEG* X 414). A. Wilhelm gives²¹¹ a fresh reading and restoration of the first epigram in honour of those who fell at Potidaea in 432 B.C.

¹⁸⁶ *AJA* LV 221 ff.

¹⁸⁷ *Cl Phil* XLIV 173.

¹⁸⁸ *Hesperia*, XVIII 298 ff.

¹⁸⁹ *AE* 1948-9, 146 ff., cf. *JHS* LXXI 237, *BCH* LXXV 105.

¹⁹⁰ *BCH* LXXIII 517.

¹⁹¹ *BCH* LXXV 103, *JHS* LXXI 234.

¹⁹² *BCH* LXXIII 526; cf. *REG* LXIII 153.

¹⁹³ Princeton, 1950; for addenda and corrigenda to *ATL* I, II see pp. xi f.; for *ATL* I-III, cf. *Hist. Zts.* CLXXIII 540 ff., for *ATL* II, *BCH* LXXIV 277 f., for *ATL* III, *CR* II (1952) 97 ff.

¹⁹⁴ London, 1950.

¹⁹⁵ *Hermes*, LXXIX 214 ff.

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¹⁹⁶ *Phoenix*, III 102 ff.

¹⁹⁷ *Mnem* II (1949) 286 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 150.

¹⁹⁸ *Par Pass* IV 250 ff.

¹⁹⁹ *AJP* LXXII 24 ff.

²⁰⁰ *Atthis*, 8 ff.

²⁰¹ *Hellenica*, IX 46.

²⁰² *BSA* XLV 140 ff.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* 164.

²⁰⁴ *Eranos*, XLIX 63 f.

²⁰⁵ *Mél. Grégoire*, I 621 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 149 f.

²⁰⁶ *JHS* LXIX 25; cf. *REG* LXIV 159.

²⁰⁷ * *Festschrift für J. Bick*, 666 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 150 f.

[*IG II²*.] The new Attic inscriptions later than 403 B.C. are considerable in number, but few of them are of special interest. Many mine-leases are edited by M. Crosby, and two mortgage stones by J. V. A. Fine in articles mentioned below. D. Hereward publishes²¹² a base from the Roman Agora erected by the tribe Aiantis in honour of Tib. Claudius Atticus, similar to the five bases united in *IG II²* 3597. M. T. Mitsos adds²¹³ new fragments in the Epigraphical Museum to stones included in *IG II²* and publishes²¹⁴ for the first time a fragmentary decree of Carthaea (Ceos) inscribed on the back of 2455. With E. Vanderpool he publishes²¹⁵ ten new inscriptions from various sites in Attica; eight of these (nos. 4–11) are epitaphs ranging from the fourth century B.C. to the second or third A.D., one (no. 2) is a votive from the shrine of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way, and one (no. 1) a metrical dedication made to Pythian Apollo by a certain Xenophon, perhaps the famous historian. H. A. Thompson reports²¹⁶ the discovery in the Agora of a dedication for Q. Lutatius and a statue-base erected by Attalus II and Apollonis in honour of Theophilus, and R. S. Young announces²¹⁷ the epigraphical fruits (bronze jurors' tickets, a fourth-century *defixio*, and a mortgage stone of a workshop) of his excavation of a district adjacent to the Agora, probably part of Melite. G. A. Stamires publishes²¹⁸ 31 new epitaphs collected since 1939, together with notes on 33 others previously known, T. A. Arvanitopoulou²¹⁹ three grave-stelae now in the Loverdos Museum, and C. Alexander²²⁰ an inscribed marble lekythos in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, dating ca. 375–350 B.C. G. Ballinda and N. I. Pantazopoulos discuss²²¹ an interesting and well preserved lease, dated 333–2 B.C., of a garden belonging to the ὄργ[εῶ]νες τοῦ ἡρώϊου (the shrine of the ἡρώς ἱερός) for a term of thirty years at an annual rent of 20 drachmas. D. M. Robinson publishes²²² a new mortgage-inscription of ca. 325 B.C. from Icaria, and D. I. Pallas a fourth-century stele²²³ with a relief and an almost wholly erased decree from Salamis, together with some Christian and Byzantine texts.²²⁴ Two metrical epitaphs of the first half of the fourth century B.C. have come to light²²⁵ in the deme Echelidai, and one, of the same century, at Charvati,²²⁶ and several inscribed bases²²⁷ in a basilica built on the site of the Olympieum.

Four articles by M. T. Mitsos embody a wealth of addenda and corrigenda relating to inscriptions housed under his care in the Epigraphical Museum, and especially to the ephebic and other lists collected in *IG II²*. In one²²⁸ he unites 2060 + 2155 + 2098, which may well be the lower portion of 2089 + 2289 + 2190 + 2290 + EM 3679, and shows that 2107 + 2174 + 2164 + 2276 belong to a single stele, as do also 2015 + 2094 and 2340b + EM 4275. In a second²²⁹ he gives corrected readings, chiefly of personal names, in thirty-one texts between 1822 and 2474, including 2160 + 2159 + 2136, parts of the same text, restores 3732, and records further details of 4594. A third article²³⁰ comments on numerous texts between 1696 and 2485, ranked among the *catalogi* in *IG II²*, and on 1106 and 1109, which are shown to belong to 2485 and 2456 respectively (nos. 19, 25), and unites a large number of *disiecta membra*. Mitsos also publishes²³¹ a list of forty-two inscriptions whose inventory numbers (EM) are wrongly recorded in *IG II²*, seventy-four whose EM-numbers are omitted, and forty-six whose presence in the Museum is not mentioned, beside stating the present location of fifteen, which are merely said to be 'in Athens'.

C. Pelekides collects²³² inscriptions referring to the 'Panathenaic Stadium', including three (*II²* 794, 893, 1011) in which he restores the phrase. M. Crosby edits²³³ in chronological order the thirty-eight extant mine-leases (including twenty-nine new texts and four fragments added to inscriptions already known), of which the earliest is *Hesperia*, X 14 ff., of 367–6 B.C., and the latest *IG II²* 1586. In a full introduction (pp. 189 ff.) she deals with the form of the documents, the names, locations and boundaries of mines, the classification, lengths and amounts of the leases, and the persons named in them, ending with a chart (pp. 286 ff.), a name-list (pp. 293 ff.) and an epigraphical index (pp. 298 ff.). J. V. A. Fine's monograph²³⁴ on 'Horoi' makes a valuable contribution to the study of mortgage, real security and land-tenure in ancient Attica: its eight chapters deal with (a) new mortgage-stones from the Agora, together with two new horoi from other sites and a re-edition of two stones from the Agora previously known, (b) published horoi from Attica and the islands, (c) horoi in general, (d) ὑποθήκη, (e) μίσθωσις οἴκου, (f) ἀποτίμημα προικός, (g) πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει (cf. *JHS* LXXII 21), and (h) mortgage and land-tenure. The views here propounded demand a revision of 'our ideas on many aspects of the social, economic and legal life of the Athenians in the sixth and fifth centuries' (p. 207). J. H. Oliver challenges²³⁵ Notopoulos' view²³⁶ that at Eleusis

²¹² *Πολύμω*, IV 1; cf. *AJP* LXX 302.

²¹³ *BCH* LXXIII 351 ff. nos. 2, 5, *AE* 1950–1, 17 ff. nos. 1, 6, 11, 12, 22.

²¹⁴ *AE* 1950–1, 51 no. 39, 45 f. no. 26.

²¹⁵ *Hesperia*, XIX 25 ff., 391; cf. *REG* LXIV 158 f.

²¹⁶ *Hesperia*, XIX 318, 336.

²¹⁷ *Hesperia*, XX 201, 216, 222 f., 271.

²¹⁸ *AM* LXVII 218 ff.

²¹⁹ *Πολύμω*, IV 118 ff.

²²⁰ *Bull. Met. Mus.* IX 57 f.

²²¹ *Πραγματικὰ Ἀκροῦ. *Αθ.* XIII (2) 5 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 148 f., *Πολύμω*, III 128.

²²² *Hesperia*, XIX 23 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 159.

²²³ *Πολύμω*, IV 113 ff.

²²⁴ *AE* 1948–9, 114, 116, 128.

²²⁵ *BCH* LXXIII 525 f.; cf. *REG* LXIII 153, *Πολύμω*, III f.

²²⁶ *BCH* LXXIII 526 f.; cf. *REG* LXIII 153.

²²⁷ *JHS* LXXI 235.

²²⁸ *BCH* LXXIII 351 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 156 f.

²²⁹ *BCH* LXXIV 218 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 142.

²³⁰ *AE* 1950–1, 17 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 142.

²³¹ *Πολύμω*, IV 13–16; cf. *REG* LXIV 147.

²³² *REG* LXIII 107 ff.; cf. LXIV 155.

²³³ *Hesperia*, XIX 189 ff.

²³⁴ *Hesperia*, Suppl. IX; cf. *REG* LXV 141, *Gnomon*, XXIV 348 ff.

²³⁵ *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XLIII 233 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 157.

²³⁶ *Hesperia*, XVIII 1, 23.

the hierophant and the ἱεροκῆρυξ did not enjoy lifelong tenure of office, and gives a table of the great Eleusinian priests from A.D. 165 to 209. He also brings up to date ²³⁷ our knowledge of the Panhellenion established at Athens by Hadrian in A.D. 131-2, adds to the list of its members, examines their official records engraved at Athens (IG II² 1089, 1088 + 1090 + III 3985; cf. *Hesperia*, X 363 ff.) and rejects as irrelevant 1092 and 3194; he further studies ²³⁸ three documents important for the chronology of Commodus, supplementing or correcting A. E. Raubitschek's recent article (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII 279 ff.). V. Laurent's list of the bishops of Athens, in which use is made of Christian inscriptions of the Parthenon, I know only from the comments ²³⁹ of J. and L. Robert.

Special attention has been drawn to the following inscriptions in IG II², in addition to those already mentioned:

10 (GHI 100). M. N. Tod discusses ²⁴⁰ the professions named in the schedule added to this decree and in 2403, a fragment of the same document.

28 (GHI 114). In his study of Athenian garrisons in the ἀρχή A. S. Nease includes ²⁴¹ an examination of this decree of 387 B.C. honouring Clazomenae.

33. J. Pouilloux shows ²⁴² that the Ἐχφα[ντος] named in l. 9 of this decree is probably of Thasian origin.

70. G. Klaffenbach restores ²⁴³ ψηφισ[α]μένων in l. 12 and ἐψηφ[ίσαντο] in l. 18, and supports the restoration ἔδοξεν] Φωκε[ῦσι] in l. 20.

463. L. B. Holland examines ²⁴⁴ in detail ll. 52-74 of the specification appended to the decree of 307-6 for the reconstruction of the Athenian walls, denies that any part of them was roofed except the towers, and in l. 115 restores τοὺς ἀνακλ[ισμούς], 'inclined props or struts'.

794. C. Pelekides restores ²⁴⁵ ἐν τῷ[ι] παναθηναϊκῷ σταδίῳ τῶν in l. 4.

844. M. Guarducci denies ²⁴⁶ that this decree proves the existence of the Cretan κοινόν before 229-8 B.C.

893. Pelekides restores ²⁴⁷ ἐ[κ τ]οῦ παναθηναϊκοῦ in ll. 6-7 of this decree.

1008. He discusses ²⁴⁸ ll. 21 f. of this ephebic decree of 118 B.C.

1009. J. and L. Robert restore ²⁴⁹ Μα[γνιδεύς] in iv 105 of this ephebic list.

1011. In ll. 21 f. of this ephebic decree Pelekides restores ²⁵⁰ ἐν τῷ πα[ναθηναϊκῷ].

1013. L. Robert explains ²⁵¹ the phrase σ[τεφανηφόρου] δραχμῆς in l. 31.

1027. Pelekides offers ²⁵² a new restoration of ll. 24 f.

1028-30. L. Robert explains ²⁵³ the phrase δραχμῶν στεφανηφόρου in 1028. 30, 1029. 24, 1030. 27 f.

1035. S. Dow comments ²⁵⁴ on this inscription in reviewing Jacoby's *Atthis*.

1243. A. Christophilopoulos restores ²⁵⁵ ἀθάνατα for ἀκίνητα in l. 7.

1324. This orgeonic decree is now in the Piraeus Museum. ²⁵⁶

1553-78. M. N. Tod examines ²⁵⁷ the professional names found in the *catalogi paterarum argenteorum*.

1582-9. I refer above (p. 66) to M. Crosby's edition ²⁵⁸ of the mining leases.

1629 (GHI 200). G. Vallet studies ²⁵⁹ the decree of 325-4 B.C. (ll. 165-271) in his account of Athenian relations with the Adriatic.

1804. J. A. Notopoulos restores ²⁶⁰ this unique prytany-list, dating it between A.D. 197-8 and 199-200.

1824. He maintains ²⁶¹ his view that the Αὐρήλιοι of l. 9 are Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, and criticizes Oliver's dating ²⁶² of the inscription (A.D. 196-211).

2403. See 10 above.

3451. M. Santangelo examines ²⁶³ the monument of C. Julius Antiochus Philopappus on the Hill of the Muses and its bilingual inscription.

3558. R. Flacelière comments ²⁶⁴ on Plutarch's friends Ammonius and Thrasyllus.

3661. A. D. Nock discusses ²⁶⁵ the word μυστήριον in the poem commemorating the hierophant Glaucus, recently re-edited by J. H. Oliver (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII 252 f.).

3781 (SIG 666). H. A. Thompson reports ²⁶⁶ the rediscovery of the base of Carneades.

4258. A. Wilhelm analyses ²⁶⁷ the epigram commemorating Codrus' death.

4356. O. Walter unites ²⁶⁸ a relief bearing five letters with this dedicatory epigram to Asclepius, dated by Peck 400-380 B.C.

²³⁷ *Hesperia*, XX 31 f.

²³⁸ *AJP* LXXI 170 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 151 f.

²³⁹ *REG* LXIII 155.

²⁴⁰ *Epigraphica*, XII 18 ff. ²⁴¹ *Phoenix* III 110.

²⁴² *BCH* LXXV 96 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 140.

²⁴³ *Mus. Helv.* VI 224 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 154.

²⁴⁴ *AJA* LIV 337 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 154.

²⁴⁵ *REG* LXIII 112 ff.; cf. *LXIV* 155.

²⁴⁶ *Riv. Fil.* LXXVIII 142 ff.

²⁴⁷ *REG* LXIII 110 ff.; cf. *LXIV* 155.

²⁴⁸ *REG* LXIII 119 f.; cf. *LXIV* 155.

²⁴⁹ *REG* LXIII 143.

²⁵⁰ *REG* LXIII 107 ff.; cf. *LXIV* 155.

²⁵¹ *Études de num. grecque*, 115 ff., 134.

²⁵² *REG* LXIII 119; cf. *LXIV* 155.

²⁵³ *Études de num. grecque*, 117 ff.

²⁵⁴ *Cl. Journ.* XLVI 415.

²⁵⁵ *BCH* LXXIII 521.

²⁵⁶ *Hesperia*, XIX 189 ff.

²⁵⁷ *Hesperia*, XX 64 f.; cf. *XVIII* 31.

²⁵⁸ *Hesperia*, XX 65 f.; cf. *XVIII* 37 ff., 51.

²⁵⁹ *AJP* LXX 305 ff. n. 15.

²⁶⁰ *REG* LXIV 327.

²⁶¹ *Hesperia*, XIX 318 f.; cf. *XVII* 29.

²⁶² *Anz. Wien*, 1950, 366 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 157.

²⁶³ *AM* LXVI 149 ff.

²⁶⁴ *RIDAnt* IV 300.

²⁶⁵ *Epigraphica*, XII 3 ff.

²⁶⁶ *Md. Rome*, LXII 39 ff.

²⁶⁷ *Ann. n.s.* III-V 153 ff.

²⁶⁸ *Harv St* LX 201 f.

5347, 5359. M. T. Mitsos and E. Vanderpool show ²⁶⁹ that these are copies of the same inscription.

9232. J. and L. Robert suggest ²⁷⁰ that Παλούρου may be an error for Ταλούρου.

10949. M. Schwabe reads ²⁷¹ Βενιαμής for Βενιδάης in this Jewish epitaph and discusses the word πρόσχολος, but Klaffenbach vouches ²⁷² for the reading Βενιδάης.

11030. H. A. Thompson regards ²⁷³ this stone as marking a boundary of the gymnasium constructed ca. A.D. 400 on the area of the Odeum in the Agora.

11477. A. Wilhelm reads ²⁷⁴ χάριταν in place of χάριτ' ὦν in l. 7.

11606a. M. N. Tod discusses ²⁷⁵ this metrical epitaph of the president of a teetotal society.

12147. D. S. Robertson independently reaches ²⁷⁶ the reading αὐτῷ δὲ οὐ πάρα δεῖξαι in this metrical epitaph.

12609. M. T. Mitsos reads ²⁷⁷ Συμ(εώ)ν for Σιμ(ο)ν and doubts the Jewish character of this epitaph, asserted by L. Robert (*Hellenica*, III 101) and Kirchner.

13172. Wilhelm studies ²⁷⁸ the epigram on a warrior who had surpassed Leonidas and fell in battle against the Costoboci in A.D. 170 or the Goths in A.D. 269; J. Keil suggests (p. 376) an alternative restoration.

13230. Mitsos and Vanderpool revise ²⁷⁹ the text of this memorial inscription from the shrine of Aphrodite on the Sacred Way.

E. Cavaignac summarizes ²⁸⁰ Robert's restoration and exegesis ²⁸¹ of the decree of the Acamantid tribe relative to Demetrius Poliorcetes, which he dates at the end of April, 303 B.C.; G. Daux regards ²⁸² 302 B.C. as also possible and challenges Cavaignac's assertion that 304-3 was an intercalary year. I. Calabi discusses ²⁸³ the πρόεδροι of the League of Corinth and the office held by Adimantus of Lampsacus, whom, proposing a new restoration of the Athenian decree in his honour (cf. *JHS* LXXII 33), she holds to have been στρατηγός rather than πρόεδρος. T. B. L. Webster examines ²⁸⁴ an Attic relief from Aexone bearing five comic masks above a relief of Dionysus and a satyr, ²⁸⁵ which he dates in 340-39 B.C. In an article on Greek oath-formulae E. Benveniste studies ²⁸⁶ the meaning of ὅρκον ὀμνύναι, ἐπιόρκος and ἐπιόρκειν, and the procedure described in the 'Plataean oath' (*GHI* 204. 46 ff.; cf. *JHS* LXXII 34). R. Flacelière discusses ²⁸⁷ the Stoic poet Sarapion on the basis of his poem (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII 243 ff.) and references in Plutarch, J. H. Oliver questions ²⁸⁸ Notopoulos' dating ²⁸⁹ of a list of ἀεστωτοί in A.D. 190-1 (*Hesperia*, XI 35 no. 6), and D. M. Robinson adds ²⁹⁰ some supplementary notes on his recent articles (*Hesperia*, XVII 137 ff.) on a new Heracles-relief and on three new inscriptions from the deme Icaria.

III. THE PELOPONNESE

[IG IV.] Of vol. XI of Hondius' *SEG*, ²⁹¹ planned to include all Peloponnesian inscriptions published or discussed since the appearance of *SEG* III, only the first half had been issued before the editor's death. This contains 510 items, of which fifty-one belong to Aegina, one to Pityonesus, and 420 to the remainder of the area comprised in *IG* IV, especially to Corinth (nos. 51-221), Sicyon (nos. 244-271), Argos (nos. 314-365) and Epidaurus (nos. 392-453). On nos. 11, 12 and 46 from Aegina J. and L. Robert comment, ²⁹² L. H. Jeffery examines ²⁹³ a sixth-century Aeginetan ὄρος and seeks to locate the precinct of Heracles, and studies a seventh-century Protoattic stand (*BSA* XXXV 189 f.), found in Aegina and now in Berlin, while P. Orlandini criticizes ²⁹⁴ previous restorations of the Aphaea-inscription (*IG* IV 1580) and offers a new text, in which the lines begin [Ἐπὶ Δρ]εῖτρα, [ἐπο]ίθε, and [καὶ θεδδδ]ς respectively.

J. H. Kent has been engaged ²⁹⁵ at CORINTH in preparing an edition of over 700 inscriptions found there since 1927; meanwhile he has published ²⁹⁶ a marble altar re-used as the base of a statue, probably of Constans II, celebrating his victory over the Bulgars at Corinth. O. Broneer reports ²⁹⁷ the discovery in 1950 of three inscribed Hellenistic sherds, L. Robert interprets ²⁹⁸ the ethnic Καισαρεύς, found in Corinthian victor-lists (*Corinth*, VIII (1) 14a 46, c93, 15a 20; cf. *SEG* XI 61 f.), as referring to Tralles, and S. Dow studies ²⁹⁹ an epigram honouring an Athenian, Diogenes, Περικλήϊον αἶμα λελογχῶς (*Corinth*, VIII (1) 88), reading the final word as λαμπρομέν[η(ι)] in place of Peek's λα[μ]προφαῖ. ³⁰⁰

²⁶⁹ *Hesperia*, XIX 30.

²⁷⁰ *Hellenica*, IX 72.

²⁷¹ *Tarbiz*, XXI 112 ff.

²⁷² L. Robert, *Hellenica*, III 101.

²⁷³ *Hesperia*, XIX 136.

²⁷⁴ *SO* Suppl. XIII 62.

²⁷⁵ *Hermathena*, LXXVII 20 ff.

²⁷⁶ *JHS* LXVII 134; cf. *REG* LXIII 153.

²⁷⁷ *Πολύμων*, IV 28.

²⁷⁸ *Anz. Wien*, 1950, 370 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 157 f.

²⁷⁹ *Hesperia*, XIX 26 f.

²⁸⁰ *REG* LXII 233 f.; cf. LXIII 149.

²⁸¹ *REG* LXII xiv, 109 ff.

²⁸² *REG* LXIII 253 f.; cf. LXIV 128, 154 f.

²⁸³ *Athenaeum*, XXVIII 59 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 128.

²⁸⁴ *JHS* LXXI 222.

²⁸⁵ *AM* LXVI 218, E. Buschor, *Misc. Acad. Berol.* II (2) 25 f.

²⁸⁶ *Rev. Hist. Rel.* CXXXIV 83 ff.

²⁸⁷ *REG* LXIV 325 ff.

²⁸⁸ *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XLIII 235.

²⁸⁹ *Hesperia*, XVIII 14, 17 f., 55.

²⁹⁰ *Hesperia*, XIX 23 n. 3; cf. *REG* LXIV 155, 159.

²⁹¹ Leyden, 1950; cf. *REG* LXIV 159, *CR* I (1951) 223 ff.

²⁹² *REG* LXIV 160.

²⁹³ *JHS* LXIX 25 f.

²⁹⁴ *JHS* LXXI 238, *BCH* LXXIV 303.

²⁹⁵ *Speculum*, XXV 544 ff.

²⁹⁶ *Hesperia*, XX 297.

²⁹⁷ *Hellenica*, VII 214; cf. *REG* LXIII 157.

²⁹⁸ *Harv. St. LX* 96 f.; cf. *REG* LXV 148.

²⁹⁹ *SEG* XI 77.

In his recent work on Mycenae A. J. B. Wace comments³⁰¹ on the early second-century decree for Damocles of Sparta, on *IG* IV 494, and on the Hellenistic inscriptions found in the temple built over the palace ruins, and J. and L. Robert add³⁰² an important note to a magical text from Argos (*SEG* XI 353), now in the British Museum. In an article³⁰³ on the Argive Theatre W. Vollgraff returns (pp. 7 ff.) to the ἐμπρησμός-inscription (cf. *JHS* LXXII 34 f.), in which he restores ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων in place of ἀπὸ θεμελίων. K. Rhomaios has found³⁰⁴ an epitaph at Phoneméni in Cynuria, and U. Kahrstedt's geographical study³⁰⁵ of the Thyreatis takes into account the inscriptions of this region (*IG* IV 676-8, Ἀθηνᾶ, XVII 440, 445). J. Marcadé publishes³⁰⁶ the base of an equestrian statue dedicated to Demeter at Hermione, and P. Orlandini discusses³⁰⁷ two dedications to Demeter Chthonia (*IG* IV 683-4), signed by Cresilas and Dorotheus respectively, re-edited by Peek (*SEG* XI 378-9), and argues that they supported cows rather than horses. At the Asclepieum of Epidaurus I. Papademetriou has carried out successful excavations, the fruits of which include³⁰⁸ an inscribed base, an interesting *lex sacra* engraved stoichedon, an opisthographic fragment bearing building-accounts, two dedications to Apollo, and a third-century signpost inscribed ὅδε ὁδὸς εἰς ἱερὸν κλεινοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ παριόντες. I. Calabi's article on the πρόεδροι in the League of Corinth includes³⁰⁹ a study of the constitution of the League as laid down in *IG* IV² 68 iii 21 ff., F. Hiller von Gaertringen proposes³¹⁰ to read Αἰγλα δ' ὀνομάσθη τόδ' ἐπώνυμον τόκ' ἄλλος δέ κτλ. in the Paean of Isyllus (*ibid.* 128. 44 f.), and H. Grégoire rejects³¹¹ Wilhelm's recent solution (cf. *JHS* LXXII 35) of the problem presented by this passage. G. Gask's *Essays in the History of Medicine* refers³¹² to the Epidaurian ἰάματα (*IG* IV² 121 ff.) in the section dealing with the cult of Asclepius. Wilhelm illustrates³¹³ a metrical peculiarity in a dedication from this sanctuary (*IG* IV² 529).

[*IG* V.] The latter part of *SEG* XI (1), in the editing of which A. M. Woodward gave invaluable aid, contains thirty-eight items relating to Spartan public documents and official careers (nos. 454-89). A large number of Spartan inscriptions afford K. M. T. Chrimes her main evidence for an examination³¹⁴ of the life and organization of Sparta, especially in the Roman period; these are indexed on pp. 526 f. In his 'Notes on the Spartan σφαιρεῖς' Woodward publishes³¹⁵ a fragmentary list of σφαιρεῖς, perhaps of the first half of Trajan's reign, tabulates the sixteen extant lists (*IG* V (1) 674-88), discusses their chronology, and argues that the σφαιρεῖς were probably ball-players and not, as Chrimes maintains, boxers. A. Billheimer supports³¹⁶ the view that the age-classes in Spartan education, often mentioned in agonistic records (*ibid.* 252 ff.), relate to boys and youths from their eighth to their twentieth year. At Sparta R. V. Nicholls has unearthed³¹⁷ four new inscriptions, one of them a fragment of an official list, and J. M. Cook publishes³¹⁸ a text of the second century A.D. from Amyclae, in which the city and an individual friend honour a ἱερωνίκη τῶν ἀσύνκριτον ἀγορανόμων. Several Spartan inscriptions have been emended or interpreted: A. D. Nock discusses³¹⁹ the sense of μυστήριον in a curious epigram (*IG* V (1) 361), A. Wilhelm restores³²⁰ Συμφῶ[ς] in an honorary inscription (*ibid.* 539. 15), A. J. Beattie examines³²¹ and restores a text (*ibid.* 722), known only from Fourmont's copy, in which he sees a sixth- or fifth-century *lex sacra* relating to the cult of a goddess, probably Demeter, as affecting the ὡφά Ἀρκάλων, a hitherto unattested obe, and Wilhelm discusses³²² the metrical epitaph of a Cretan (*ibid.* 725), seeing in Ὀλεῶν a reference not to the Ὀρεῖοι, but to Olus. J. M. Cook reports³²³ on the British investigations at Kalyvia Sokhas, a few miles south of Sparta, where, *inter alia*, an interesting series of Hellenistic and later dedications to Demeter and Kore, a fragment of a sacrificial calendar, an inscription honouring a [θιοναρχό]στριαν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀμ[φωτέρων] (*sic*) [ἀμφιθα]λειτεύσ[ασαν] have come to light; this leads Cook to restore³²⁴ [ἀμφο]τέρων for [ἀγρο]τέρων in a brick-stamp from the same site (*IG* V (1) 1515a). U. Kahrstedt makes full use of the available epigraphical evidence in discussing³²⁵ Sparta's western frontier in the Imperial period, and an inscribed statue-base of Hadrian from Abia (*ibid.* 1352) helps him to show³²⁶ that the *reliquae civitates in Achaia* (Pliny, *N.H.* IV 22) did not form an administrative district and cannot have appeared in Agrippa's survey of the Empire.

L. H. Jeffery regards³²⁷ the temple of Demeter Thesmia founded under Cyllene by the Pheneates (Paus. VIII 15. 4) as the probable source of the archaic *lex sacra* examined³²⁸ by A. J. Beattie. S. Accame gives³²⁹ a revised text and a translation of the Elatean decree recently found at Stymphalus (cf. *JHS* LXXII 36) and discusses fully its significance for the history of Elatea; this

³⁰¹ *Mycenae: an Archaeological History and Guide* (Princeton, 1949) 67, 86.

³⁰² *REG* LXIV 160. ³⁰³ *Studia van Hoorn*, 1 ff.

³⁰⁴ *JHS* LXXI 241, *BCH* LXXV 114.

³⁰⁵ *Rh Mus* XCIII 230. ³⁰⁶ *BCH* LXXIII 537.

³⁰⁷ *Arch. Class.* III 94 ff.

³⁰⁸ *PAE* 1945-8, 97 ff., *BCH* LXXIII 366 ff., *AE* 1948-9, 135 ff.; cf. *JHS* LXXI 241, *REG* LXIV 160, *BCH* LXXV 113.

³⁰⁹ *Athenaeum*, XXVIII 55 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 128.

³¹⁰ *AM* LXVII 230 f.

³¹¹ *Op. cit.* (n. 86) 178 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 161.

³¹² London, 1950. ³¹³ *SO* Suppl. XIII 45.

³¹⁴ *Ancient Sparta*, Manchester, 1949; cf. *Gnomon*, XXII

258 ff., *Mus. Helv.* VIII 335, *CR I* (1951) 98 ff., *REG* LXIV 161,

342 ff., *Cl Phil* XLVI 184 ff., *Historia*, I 616 ff.

³¹⁵ *BSA* XLVI 191 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 148.

³¹⁶ *TAPA* LXXXVIII 99 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 158.

³¹⁷ *BSA* XLV 296 f.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* 281 f.

³¹⁹ *Harv St LX* 203.

³²⁰ *SO* Suppl. XII 12; cf. *REG* LXIV 162.

³²¹ *CQ I* (1951) 46 ff.

³²² *SO* Suppl. XIII 72 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 162.

³²³ *BSA* XLV 261 ff.; cf. *JHS* LXX 5, LXXII 35, *BCH*

LXXIV 304 f., *REG* LXV 148 f.

³²⁴ *BSA* XLV 280.

³²⁵ *Rh Mus* XCIII 232 ff.

³²⁶ *JHS* LXIX 30 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 162.

³²⁷ *CQ* XLI 66 ff.

³²⁸ *Riv Fil* LXXVII 217 ff.

³²⁹ *SO* XXVIII 66 f.

article and that of Passerini are summarized,³³⁰ and at a number of points challenged or supplemented, by J. and L. Robert. At Gortys further stamped tiles have been unearthed.³³¹

[IG VI.] L. H. Jeffery traces³³² a bronze pinax from OLYMPIA (*IvOl* 27) to the district of Pheneus and Lusi, and associates a metrical dedication (*ibid.* 252 = *IG V* (1) 1562) with the Helot Revolt of the late sixth or early fifth century B.C. A. Wilhelm dates³³³ the decree *IvOl* 44 between 364 and 348 B.C., proposes some new restorations, and shows that the Hellanodikai there named number eight, not ten, and O. Walter studies³³⁴ the epigram of the wrestler Xenocles (*IvOl* 164), suggesting ἀπτης in l. 5 and associating with it the genitive μονοπαλᾶν, while regarding as possible νίκασα ἀπτης μονοπαλᾶν.

IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

[IG VII.] L. H. Jeffery assigns³³⁵ to Megara an early fifth-century bronze statue of Heracles, now in the Benaki Museum, Athens, and W. Peek reads³³⁶ ἀπὸ λα[ι]στᾶν in place of ἀπὸ λαί[α]ς τᾶν on a bronze plate found near Megara (*IG VII* 37 = *DGE* 149). R. L. P. Milburn³³⁷ and H. A. Musurillo³³⁸ translate and comment on a long Christian poem from Tanagra (cf. *JHS* LXXII 36). M. Gelzer attributes³³⁹ to L. Mummius rather than to M. Livius Drusus the authorship of the letters addressed to the Dionysiac τεχνῖται at Thebes (*IG VII* 2413-4), and R. Demangel studies³⁴⁰ the sculptured decoration of a grave-stele in the Museum at Thebes bearing the name Erotion (*AD III* 316).

[IG VIII.] In an archaic dedication from Crisa or Delphi (*DGE* 316) A. E. Raubitschek reads³⁴¹ τᾶσδε γ' Ἀθηναῖαι δραχμᾶς Φανάριστος ἔθηκε, seeing in it a parallel to the drachma-inscription of Perachora (*SEG XI* 223), Milne's interpretation of which (*CR LVIII* 18 f.) he rejects.

R. Flacelière edits³⁴² twelve new texts of the Imperial period from the Temple Terrace at DELPHI, including grants of πολιτεία to a κισαρῳδός from Rhosus, a Corinthian architect and a doctor (nos. 1-3), and a series of inscribed bases of statues commemorating τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικὸν ἐπανορθωτὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος Κλαύδιον Λεοντικόν (cf. *SIG* 877), the 'sophist' Soterus erected by Ephesus κατὰ δόγμα τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, the 'sophist' Philiscus, μέγας ἐν σοφίῃ, professor at Athens, and the Emperor Gordian III, honoured by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ Δελφῶν πόλις ca. A.D. 240 (nos. 8-12). J. Pouilloux publishes³⁴³ the dedication of a statue set up κατ'ἄ χρῆσιν by King Dropion of the Paconians (cf. *SIG* 394) in honour of his father Leon. P. Amandry devotes³⁴⁴ careful studies, architectural and epigraphical, to the monument erected ca. 465 and re-engraved in the fourth century B.C., celebrating the victory of Taras over the Peucetii, and to the 'Corcyrean bull'³⁴⁵ and a dedication signed by Theopropus of Aegina (*Fouilles*, III (1) 2), in which Πλαταιᾶς should perhaps replace Κορκυραῖοι. M. Guarducci examines³⁴⁶ a fifth-century financial record of the Labyad phratry (*DGE* 320) with an unpublished fragment, stresses the difficulties of the accepted reading, and seeks to solve them by reading τῶν [πέρ] in l. 2 and ἐπίτριχα ἄρχοντο (*avrebbero prelevato per tre volte*) in l. 4. In his long account of Pelopidas' career G. M. Bersanetti considers³⁴⁷ the evidence of the Pelopidas-epigram found at Delphi (cf. *JHS* LXV 82), which he dates³⁴⁸ in 363-2, after Pelopidas' death. T. H. Gaster's *Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East*³⁴⁹ contains (pp. 435 ff.) a translation of the paean to Dionysus by Philodamus of Scarphea. W. Peek offers³⁵⁰ new readings or restorations of some Delphian epigrams, including those relating to Agamemnon and Telephus (pp. 232 ff.; cf. *JHS* LXV 82), Theogenes of Thasos (pp. 240 ff.; *SIG* 36), Calliades (pp. 243 ff.; *Fouilles*, III (1) 510), the Liparaeans (pp. 246 ff.; *SIG* 14C), Xenon and Diocles of Opus (pp. 249 ff., 269), Xanthippus of Elatea (pp. 252 ff., 269 f.; *SIG* 361C), Patron of Lilaea (pp. 262 ff., 270, *Fouilles*, III (1) 523), and the Arcadians (p. 268; *Fouilles*, III (6) 3), and revises (pp. 266 ff.) two grants of πολιτεία (*Fouilles*, III (1) 202, 206). G. Daux estimates³⁵¹ the value of Sturtzenbecker's copies of Delphian inscriptions (cf. *JHS* LXXII 37), especially of *SIG* 779 D and *Fouilles*, III (1) 351. J. and L. Robert comment³⁵² on Daux's two long articles published in 1949 (cf. *JHS* LXXII 37), J. Marcadé reports³⁵³ on his examination of sculptors' signatures at Delphi, and E. J. Raven studies³⁵⁴ in the light of the treasurers' accounts *Fouilles*, III (5) 48 f., 67 f., the amphictyonic coinage issued at Delphi from 336 to 334 B.C. by melting down various coins, explains the term ἀπουσία used in this connexion (pp. 6 ff.), and calculates the amount minted (pp. 9 ff.) and its circulation, adding (pp. 20 ff.) a list of the surviving examples. E. Manni dis-

³³⁰ *REG* LXIV 163 f.

³³¹ *BCH* LXXV 132 f.

³³² *JHS* LXIX 26 ff., 31; cf. *REG* LXIV 164.

³³³ *Misc. Acad. Berol.* II (1) 195 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 164.

³³⁴ *Rh Mus* XCIII 170 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 164 f.

³³⁵ *JHS* LXIX 31 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 165.

³³⁶ *Hermes*, LXXIX 221 f.

³³⁷ *Journ. Theol. Stud.* I (1950) 176 ff.

³³⁸ *Theol. Studies*, XI 567 ff.

³³⁹ *Gnomon*, XXI 20 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 133.

³⁴⁰ *Op. cit.* (n. 29) 621 ff.

³⁴¹ *Tale Cl St XI* 293 ff., Friedländer, *Epigrammata*, 44; cf. *REG* LXIV 166 f.

³⁴² *BCH* LXXIII 464 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 166.

³⁴³ *BCH* LXXIV 22 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 165 f. But see *BCH* LXXVI 136 ff.

³⁴⁴ *BCH* LXXIII 447 ff.

³⁴⁵ *BCH* LXXIV 10 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 165.

³⁴⁶ *Riv Fil* LXXIX 258 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 149.

³⁴⁷ *Athenaeum*, XXVII 43 ff., and separately, Pavia, 1949; cf. *REG* LXIII 162.

³⁴⁸ *Athenaeum*, XXVII 83 ff.

³⁴⁹ New York, 1950.

³⁵⁰ *AM* LXVII 232 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 150 f.

³⁵¹ *RA* XXXV (1950) 194 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 166.

³⁵² *REG* LXIII 162 ff.

³⁵³ *NC* 1950, 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 149 f.

cusses³⁵⁵ the Delphian archons who held office from 264 to 208 B.C., tabulating his results on p. 93, and claims that the influence of Aetolia on the Amphictyony reached its maximum between 223 and 220. W. L. Westermann deals³⁵⁶ with the nature, purpose and result of the 'approval clause' (εὐδόκησις) found in 390 out of a thousand Delphian manumissions, regarding it as a legal requisite in sales in which claims against the slave might later be raised, and M. N. Tod collects³⁵⁷ from the same source references to the professions of slaves emancipated at Delphi. Recent discoveries are briefly reported³⁵⁸ pending fuller publication, and photographs of the base of Gelo's tripod and part of the Siphnian frieze appear in *Le trésor de Delphes*.³⁵⁹

[IG IX.] L. Lerat has discovered³⁶⁰ at Phycus (Malandrino) in Ozolian Locris a continuation of the manumission-records IG IX (1) 349-50.

S. B. Kougeas reports³⁶¹ on a manuscript collection, now in the National Library at Athens, of inscriptions copied by, or sent to, a Thessalian schoolmaster, A. Pezaros. Of its seventy-eight items eleven are from Athens (no. 5), Nauplia (no. 54), Macedonia (no. 76), or Scythia (nos. 1-4, 70-73); the remainder, including in some cases two or even three copies of the same text, are from Hestiaeotis, Pelasgiotis, Magnesia and Perrhaebia in THESSALY. Twenty-nine are regarded by Kougeas as unpublished (the most interesting are 34 = 69 and 35), and some add fresh details of provenance, description and reading of texts already known, notably IG IX (2) 487, an arbitration-record from Phaÿttus (no. 22), 1110, a Magnesian decree regulating the cult of Zeus Akraios (no. 40 = 61 = 75), and 1296 (misprinted 1926), a manumission-list from Azorus (no. 59). T. D. Axenides publishes³⁶² three new inscriptions of Larisa, (a) a third-century list of donors to some public purpose, headed by Philip V and including his son Perseus; the names, in the Thessalian dialect, are followed by patronymic adjectives; (b) a dialect decree inviting subscriptions for the repair of the gymnasium in view of the financial straits of the state, and (c) two fragments of lists of estates, with the area of each, probably given for some public or religious object, similar to IG IX (2) 1014; valuable comments on all three are made by J. and L. Robert. R. Goossen discusses³⁶³ the term κελέτρα (*ibid.* 521. 26, 33, 35) independently of H. Frisk (*SO* XI 64 ff.) and A. von Blumenthal (cf. *JHS* LXII 67), regarding it as a movable dam used in river-fishing. A. Wilhelm reads³⁶⁴ Συμφών τήν in a grave-epigram of Larisa (IG IX (2) 641) and μ[όρ]σιμ[ο]ν [ω]ι τὸ χρε[ών] in one of Pagasae (*ibid.* 367. 9), and M. Schwabe comments³⁶⁵ on the epitaphs of the Jewish diaspora in Thessaly. An altar recently discovered³⁶⁶ at Larisa is inscribed Φιλιννα Αὐτονοεῖα. A. S. Arvanitopoulos describes³⁶⁷ twenty-five more painted stelae (nos. 251-75) from Demetrias-Pagasae, all inscribed except nos. 251, 260, 267. J. Pouilloux and N. M. Verdélis publish³⁶⁸ two texts from the territory of Demetrias, (a) the latter part of a decree of Demetrias, dated ca. 117 B.C., honouring three ex-generals, and the opening lines of a proxeny-decree for a Calydonian, passed by the σύνεδροι of the Magnesian κοινόν, and (b) a dedication made by a Cretan, probably a mercenary, between 227 and 221 to King Antigonos Doson and his ward Philip, later to become Philip V of Macedon. A phrase in the former leads J. and L. Robert to restore [παρ]ορμῶσιν in a Magnesian decree (IG IX (2) 1102. 3 f.). L. Robert adds³⁶⁹ to his collection of gladiatorial monuments the epitaph, accompanied by a relief, of a προβοκάτωρ, probably from Demetrias.

V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA

G. Klaffenbach interprets³⁷⁰ κάπ' αἰῶνος in l. 14 of the decree of the Pergamii in Epirus (*Hellenica*, I 95 ff.) as representing καὶ ἐπὶ (not καὶ ἀπὸ) αἰῶνος. P. E. Sestieri seeks³⁷¹ the ancient name of Klos in Albania, near Byllis (Gradista), where one inscription has been found, and decides in favour of Astaciae. J. and L. Robert call attention³⁷² to the presence in the Ankara Museum of a series of reliefs of Artemis from Apollonia in Illyria, and read Ταρούλας instead of Γαρούλας in a dedication to Artemis from that site. C. Edson, tracing³⁷³ the course of the Via Egnatia in western MACEDONIA, considers the evidence of four milestones, one of which, found near Tserovo in the Kirli Derven defile, is new (pp. 4, 13), and favours the southern of the two possible routes leading through that pass. He also collects (pp. 11 f.) evidence from Philippi and Drama of a Macedonian road-system under the kings. J. and L. Robert summarize³⁷⁴ and comment on two of Edson's recent articles, that on Olympias' tomb and that on the cults of Thessalonica (cf. *JHS* LXXII 39), and provide³⁷⁵ a valuable account of the epigraphical contents of the fourth and final instalment³⁷⁶

³⁵⁵ *Athenaeum*, XXVIII 88 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 137.

³⁵⁶ *J. Jur Pap* IV 49 ff.

³⁵⁷ *Epigraphica*, XII 14 ff.

³⁵⁸ *BCH* LXXIII 537, LXXIV 327, 331 f., LXXV 138 f.;

JHS LXX 5.

³⁵⁹ Paris, 1950, pp. 24, 28, pll. 38, 64.

³⁶⁰ *BCH* LXXV 141 f.; cf. *Ann. Univ. Paris*, XXI 427 ff.

³⁶¹ *AE* 1945-7, 98 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 167 (especially on no.

34). See below, p. 74.

³⁶² *Πάριον*, II 44 ff., 157; cf. *REG* LXIV 167 ff.

³⁶³ *Nouvelle Clé*, I 202 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 169 f.

³⁶⁴ *SO* Suppl. XIII 12, 34; cf. *REG* LXIV 170.

³⁶⁵ *Bull. Jew. P.E.S.*, XII 65 ff.

³⁶⁶ *JHS* LXXI 243, *BCH* LXXV 116.

³⁶⁷ *Πολύμνη*, IV 81 ff.

³⁶⁸ *BCH* LXXIV 33 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 170, *AA* 1940, 244.

³⁶⁹ *REG* LXIV 170, *Hellenica*, VIII 39 f.

³⁷⁰ *Mus. Helv.* VI 219 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 173 f.

³⁷¹ *Rend. Line* VIII vi 411 ff.

³⁷² *Hellenica*, IX 70 n. 3, 72; cf. *REG* LXIV 174.

³⁷³ *Cl. Phil.* XLVI 1 f.; cf. *REG* LXV 153.

³⁷⁴ *REG* LXIII 168 ff.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 172 ff.

³⁷⁶ * *Spomenik*, XCVIII, Belgrade, 1948; for *Spomenik*, LXXVII no. 6 (a votive relief from Podmol) see R. Egger, *Der Grabstein von Čekantevo*, 11.

of N. Vulič's collection of ancient monuments, sculptured and/or inscribed, from Serbian Macedonia; of special interest are nos. 53, 91, 354, 388-9, 404. In an article on Leibethra, Pimpleia and Pieris, the home of Orpheus, near the Thessalo-Macedonian frontier, N. C. Kotzias publishes³⁷⁷ a dedication made by an ex-*agoranomos* Διονύσω καὶ θιάσω. B. G. Kallipolites and D. Feytmans have found³⁷⁸ in a fourth-century cemetery at Kozani a silver bowl of the early fifth century, inscribed Ἀθαναίας· ἱερὰ· τῶς Μηγαροῖ, probably brought from Megara. Kallipolites also edits³⁷⁹ a Christian inscription from Beroea beginning Τὸν παντοκράτορα σοὶ καὶ ἅγιον Θεὸν καὶ τὴν Τύχην σοὶ τοῦ ἀνεικίτου βασιλείου, but his interpretation of it as an epitaph is questioned³⁸⁰ by H. Grégoire. M. Andronikos publishes³⁸¹ nine inscriptions of Beroea, comprising seven epitaphs (pp. 23 ff.; nos. 2 and 6 were previously edited by Makaronas in *Μακεδονικά*, I 481), a fragmentary record dated βασιλεύοντος Δημητρίου ἐβδόμου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους, which raises a chronological problem on which J. and L. Robert comment³⁸² at length. Andronikos has also found a bronze strigil³⁸³ inscribed δῶρον, and the discovery is reported of the γυμνασιαρχικὸς νόμος³⁸⁴ and of the record³⁸⁵ of a gift to provide oil for the ephebes in A.D. 177-8. An epitaph of the fourth or third century B.C. has been found³⁸⁶ at Vergina and brought to Verria.

C. I. Makaronas publishes³⁸⁷ a new milestone, the first from THESSALONICA, with successive inscriptions of the late third and early fourth centuries A.D., found north of Salonica by the Langada Road, and maintains that the Via Egnatia did not follow the line of the present Ὁδὸς Ἑγνατία through the heart of the city. H. C. Youtie points out³⁸⁸ that in the testament of a Thessalonian priestess (cf. *JHS* LXXII 39) ῥόδοις does not mean 'with roses' but 'at the *rosalia*', when each θιασώτης must bring a crown of roses to the ceremony, on pain of forfeiting his share of the legacy. H. Grégoire studies³⁸⁹ with a revised text and a translation, an edict of Justinian II, dated September 688, granting to St. Demetrius a ὁλική in recognition of the aid vouchsafed by the saint in his battles with the Slavs, and a late Thessalonian epitaph (*Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* IV 126 ff.), dated A.D. 535, is explained³⁹⁰ by V. Beshevliev. Other finds are still unpublished.³⁹¹ In vol. XIII of his monumental report on his *Excavations at Olynthus* D. M. Robinson describes³⁹² the vases found in 1934 and 1938, including an inscribed Panathenaic vase (no. 11), some graffiti (nos. 719, 918-25) and many stamped amphora-handles (nos. 1081 ff.). D. Detshev publishes³⁹³ six inscriptions, five Greek and one Latin, from the district of Sveti-Vrač on the middle Strymon, two of which are dated by the Actian era. P. Collart edits³⁹⁴ three Greek texts and one in Greek letters but Latin words, found in the neighbourhood of Philippi and interesting for the Thracian names they contain; three (nos. 2, 5, 6) are epitaphs, and one (no. 9) records a gift made to a member of [οἱ π]ερί Ποῦφον [Ζεῖπα μύ]στε Βό[τρυ]ος Διονύσου. D. T. Lazarides publishes³⁹⁵ a dedication of the third century B.C. [Ἀ]ρτέμιδι Ὀπιταίδι (for this epithet cf. *IG* IX (1) 600), found at Neapolis (Kavala).

J. and L. Robert re-edit³⁹⁶ an interesting record of a fishers' guild (*IG* I 817), showing that it and the epitaph *IG* I 819 belong not to Callipolis, but to Parium (see below, p. 79). A. Wilhelm approves³⁹⁷ L. Robert's correction (*Hellenica*, II 134 ff.) of ἐνσπορίω to ἐμπορίω in an inscription of Perinthus (*IG* I 811) and comments on the history of another Perinthian stone (*CIG* 7019), once in Venice but now in Vienna, and V. Beshevliev gives³⁹⁸ a revised version of a Byzantine metrical building-inscription from Selymbria. J. and L. Robert publish³⁹⁹ two herms in the Istanbul Museum, one dedicated θεοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις καὶ ἀλεξικάκοις, the other, of the second or third century A.D., Ἀγαθῶι Δαίμονι, Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ, Καλῶι Καίρῳ, Ὀμβροῖς, Ἀνέμοις, Ἑαρί, Θέρεϊ, Μετωπῶρῳ, Χειμῶνι, and discuss the cults of seasons, winds, etc., in the Greek world. A. A. Vasiliev examines⁴⁰⁰ the monument of Porphyrius in the Hippodrome at Istanbul (cf. *BSA* XVII 88 ff.). C. A. Mango compiles⁴⁰¹ a bibliographical list of the Byzantine inscriptions of Constantinople from its foundation to A.D. 1453, including two unpublished texts (pp. 55, 65 f.), and also a list⁴⁰² of Byzantine brick-stamps; another list is drawn up⁴⁰³ by E. Mamboury, with a view of using them to determine the chronology of monuments of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

From the west coast of the Pontus there is less to report than usual. An epitaph from Deultum (Develt), edited⁴⁰⁴ by T. Ivanov, opens with the phrase θεοῖς κατα[χθονίοις]. D. Detshev publishes⁴⁰⁵ a stele from Mesembria, now in the Burgas Museum, bearing a proxeny-decree for a

³⁷⁷ *AE* 1948-9, 69x. 36.

³⁷⁸ *AE* 1948-9, 92 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 173, *JHS* LXX 7.

³⁷⁹ *Mél. Grégoire*, II 357 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 153 f.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 360.

³⁸¹ Ἀρχαῖα ἐπιγραφὰς Βεροίας, Salonica, 1950; cf. *REG* LXIV 171 ff., *JHS* LXX 6, LXXI 243, *CR* II (1952) 114.

³⁸² *REG* LXIV 171 ff.

³⁸³ *JHS* LXXI 243, *BCH* LXXV 117.

³⁸⁴ *BCH* LXXIV 306.

³⁸⁵ *JHS* LXX 6.

³⁸⁶ *BCH* LXXV 117, *JHS* LXXI 243.

³⁸⁷ *Op. cit.* (n. 29) 380 ff.; cf. *BCH* LXXIV 306, *JHS* LXX 6.

³⁸⁸ *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XLII 277 f.; cf. *REG* LXIII 172.

³⁸⁹ *Byzantion*, XVII 119 ff.

³⁹⁰ *Ann Plovdiv*, II 64.

³⁹¹ *JHS* LXX 5 f.

³⁹² Baltimore, 1950, pp. 59 ff., 342, 383 ff., 426 ff.

³⁹³ *Ann Plovdiv*, II 51 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 171.

³⁹⁴ *BIAB* XVI 7 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 170 f.

³⁹⁵ *Μακεδονικά*, 1949, 263 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 170, *BCH* LXXIII 532.

³⁹⁶ *Hellenica*, IX 80 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 186 f.

³⁹⁷ *BIAB* XVI 46; cf. *REG* LXIV 176.

³⁹⁸ *Ann Plovdiv*, II 65 no. 7.

³⁹⁹ *Hellenica*, IX 56 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 176.

⁴⁰⁰ * *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, IV 27 ff.; cf. *Rev. Bibl.* LVIII 157 f., *AJA* LIV 159.

⁴⁰¹ *AJA* LV 52 ff.

⁴⁰² *AJA* LIV 19 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 125.

⁴⁰³ *Byzantion*, XIX 113 ff.

⁴⁰⁴ *BIAB* XVII 326 f., 332.

⁴⁰⁵ *BIAB* XVII 59 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 156 f.

Roman officer, ὁ καθεσταμένος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις [στραταγ]ὸς ὑπὸ Μαάρκου Τερεντίου Μαάρκου[υ] υἱοῦ [Λευκ]όλλου αὐτοκράτορος in 72 B.C. during the Mithradatic War; on the back is a fragmentary document showing that Mesembria had νομοφύλακες and ἐκλογισταί. A third-century epitaph is reported ⁴⁰⁶ from the same site, and another epitaph (Ὁῖη XXVI 111 ff.) is discussed and illustrated ⁴⁰⁷ by R. Egger. M. Mitsos rebuts ⁴⁰⁸ L. Robert's statement (*REG* LVII 217) that he had overlooked a Mesembrian decree for two Mytileneans (*IG* XII Suppl. p. 69, ll. 82 ff.). G. Mihailov offers ⁴⁰⁹ a revised text of a tantalizing votive epigram from Belogradec, now in the Museum at Varna (Stalin), and corrects ⁴¹⁰ a score of inscriptions from Marcianopolis (no. 2), Odessus (Stalin) and elsewhere, and publishes (no. 1) an altar-dedication from Aquae Calidae, near Burgas. T. Ivanov describes ⁴¹¹ a statuette of Hecate from Odessus, M. Mirčev reports ⁴¹² on the late graffiti on a t.c. plaque found in excavations at Karaač-teke, and publishes ⁴¹³ five inscribed stones, three sepulchral and two votive, now in the Stalin Museum. G. Stefan deals ⁴¹⁴ with four monuments of gladiators found at Tomi.

THRACE and Moesia continue to be prolific, especially in dedications and epitaphs, and Bulgarian scholars show commendable enterprise in the discovery, conservation and publication of the antiquities of their land. Among works which have reached an advanced stage of preparation are ⁴¹⁵ G. Mihailov's *corpus* of Greek inscriptions in Bulgaria and V. Beshevliev's collection of Christian inscriptions, Greek and Latin. B. Gerov investigates ⁴¹⁶ the northern frontier of the province of Thrace, D. Djontchev publishes ⁴¹⁷ some new monuments of the cult of the mounted god, of which five (nos. 1, 9, 18, 19, 26) are unpublished; one (no. 18) is a thankoffering for recovery from the bite of a mad dog. I. I. Russu emends ⁴¹⁸ Thracian names in inscriptions from Yambol and Serres, Nevrokop and Belitza, and Thracian personal names, for the most part epigraphically attested, are studied ⁴¹⁹ by G. Seure. V. Beshevliev revises ⁴²⁰ ten inscriptions, several of them Byzantine, from various Bulgarian sites.

T. Gerasimov publishes ⁴²¹ an architrave from Serdica (Sofia) bearing a building-inscription, dated by the name of the γερονσιάρχης and λογιστής, of a house for the use of the local γερονσία, and C. Dremsizova's account ⁴²² of the collection of V. Avramov includes a fragmentary votive text, now in the Sofia Museum. T. Ivanov publishes ⁴²³ an epitaph recently discovered at Pančarevo, and G. Mihailov emends ⁴²⁴ the reading of a dedication from Sofia. Inscriptions aid D. Djontchev in tracing ⁴²⁵ the Roman road from Serdica to Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and locating Bessapara and Tugugerum, which lay on it. L. Botoucharova describes a Thracian grave-tumulus of the first or second century A.D., excavated near Bresovo and containing ⁴²⁶ a fragmentary dedication, and publishes ⁴²⁷ two inscribed marble slabs brought to the Plovdiv Museum from a late Roman grave at Kapitan Dimitriev. G. I. Kazarow's study of many-headed deities includes ⁴²⁸ a marble horseman-relief from Plovdiv inscribed ἡ συνγένεια ἐκ τῶν εἰδίω[υ] εὐχαρισ[σ]ήσα[σ]α, and A. Aleksieva describes ⁴²⁹ eight stamped amphora-handles (six of them Thasian) found at Koprinka; Botoucharova and D. Potchev publish ⁴³⁰ a stamped tile and a fragmentary inscription from this district. T. Ivanov reports ⁴³¹ the discovery at Asenovgrad of two graves, dating from the fifth or fourth century B.C., bearing the owner's name, I. Venedikov reports ⁴³² a *piscina* dedicated to the Nymphs and Aphrodite at Kasnakovo, near Haskovo, and A. Wilhelm revises, ⁴³³ with the aid of a squeeze, several passages in ll. 36 ff. of the charter of the ἐμπόριον at Pizus (*SIG* 880; cf. *JHS* LXXII 42). P. Dimitrov publishes ⁴³⁴ a column from Traiana Augusta (Stara Zagora), erected τῇ ἱερᾷ φυλῇ Ἀρηίδι in recognition of the donor's appointment as priest, and collects archaeological monuments and inscriptions of the city and its environs relating to the entertainments provided in the theatre and amphitheatre; the three inscriptions (nos. 3, 6, 7) were previously known, but to no. 6, the epigram of a mimograph, a new fragment is added. H. Rajkov discusses ⁴³⁵ a votive plaque of Zeus, Hera and Athena in the Stara Zagora Museum, and V. Beshevliev corrects ⁴³⁶ a late epitaph of the same provenance (*BLAB* VI 137). B. Gerov's essay ⁴³⁷ on the Romanization of the territory between Danube and Balkans from Augustus to Hadrian is based largely on Latin inscriptions. I. Stefanova's article ⁴³⁸ on ancient monuments of Nicopolis ad Istrum includes three Latin and three Greek inscriptions; one of the latter (pp. 87 f.) is an epitaph of the third century A.D., another (p. 85) reads Νεικοπολιτῶν τῶν πρὸς Ἰστροῦ πόλεις, and the third (pp. 89 ff.) is an interesting text of A.D. 234, engraved on a statue-base of Julia Mamaea, mother of Alexander Severus,

⁴⁰⁶ *BCH* LXXIV 307; cf. *Ann Plovdiv*, II 63 no. 4.

⁴⁰⁷ *Der Grabstein von Cekanëvo*, 25.

⁴⁰⁸ Πολύμων, IV λβ'. ⁴⁰⁹ *REG* LXIV 104 ff.

⁴¹⁰ *BLAB* XVII 291 ff. ⁴¹¹ *Ibid.* 258 f.

⁴¹² *Ibid.* 287 ff.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.* 268 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 159 f.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. *REG* LXIII 176. ⁴¹⁵ *Gnomon*, XXIII 295.

⁴¹⁶ *BLAB* XVII 11 ff.

⁴¹⁷ Ὁῖη XXXVIII, Beiblatt, 203 ff.

⁴¹⁸ *Epigraphica*, X 19 f., *Ann Plovdiv*, II 57; cf. *REG* LXIV 146, 171, 176.

⁴¹⁹ *BLAB* XVI 165 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 146.

⁴²⁰ *Ann Plovdiv*, II 63 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 174.

⁴²¹ *BLAB* XVII 252 f. ⁴²² *Ibid.* 263 f.

⁴²³ *Ibid.* 329, 332.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.* 293 no. 16.

⁴²⁵ *Ann Plovdiv*, II 69 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 174 f.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.* 105.

⁴²⁷ *BLAB* XVII 247 f.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.* 4.

⁴²⁹ *Ann Plovdiv*, II 185 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 124.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.* 253 ff.; cf. 63 no. 2.

⁴³¹ * *Mus. Nat. Bulg.*, 1948, 99 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 174.

⁴³² *BLAB* XVII 107, 115.

⁴³³ *BLAB* XVI 41 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 175.

⁴³⁴ *Ann Plovdiv*, II 201 ff., 247 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 175 f.

⁴³⁵ *BLAB* XVII 266 f. ⁴³⁶ *Ann Plovdiv*, II 63 no. 3.

⁴³⁷ * *Ann. Univ. Sofia*, XLV (4); cf. *REG* LXIII 175.

⁴³⁸ *Ann Plovdiv*, II 85 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 176. For Νισθηνοῦ, which puzzles the editor, I suggest Νισ(ι)θηνοῦ.

which is also discussed ⁴³⁹ by B. Gerov in connexion with the Emperor Decius. Other votive and sepulchral inscriptions of Nicopolis are published ⁴⁴⁰ by T. Ivanov and by Z. Rakéva-Morfova. I. Dujčev(?) reads ⁴⁴¹ τῇ καλ' ἐπὶ καλῶ in place of τῇ καλε Πικαλῶ on an engraved mirror from Sucidava in Dacia (*Dacia*, XI–XII 248 f.).

V. D. Blavatskij's survey ⁴⁴² of the progress of classical archaeology in the Soviet Union from 1939 to 1947 includes a number of epigraphical items (nos. 22, 44, 49, 78, 94, 99, 105), and J. M. Shtajerman reviews ⁴⁴³ the discoveries and publications of inscriptions in the U.S.S.R. from 1917 to 1947, among them some dealing with stamped amphora-handles and tiles; my knowledge of this I owe to J. and L. Robert, who also give ⁴⁴⁴ a valuable summary of Kocevlov's two recent articles (cf. *JHS* LXXII 40). M. Schwabe discusses ⁴⁴⁵ a Jewish inscription from Panticapaeum, and A. Salač re-edits, ⁴⁴⁶ with a textual and historical commentary, an inscription from near Tanais dated 104 A.D., βασιλεύοντος βασιλ[έ]ως Τιβε[ρ]ίου Σαυρομάτου φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου, εὐσεβοῦς, erected by the officers and members of a θίασος. Of the inscriptions collected by A. Pezaros (above, p. 71) eight were sent to him from Kertch (Panticapaeum) in the Crimea (nos. 1–4, 70–73); J. and L. Robert identify ⁴⁴⁷ the last four (nos. 70–73), regarded by the editor as unpublished, as *IOSPE* II 285, 192, 7 (?) and 6, and we may add that nos. 1–4 are other copies of nos. 73, 70, 71 and 72 respectively. ⁴⁴⁸

VI. ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN

[*IG* XI.] The publication of the first part of the *Inscriptions de Délos*, ⁴⁴⁹ edited by A. Plassart, completes the *corpus* of Delian inscriptions save for (a) J. Coupriy's edition of the records of the Athenian Amphictyons of Delos, (b) the necessary addenda, and (c) the indispensable indexes, in the preparation of which J. Tréheux is engaged. The present fascicule, covering the periods of the Ionian and Attic-Delian Amphictyonies, contains dedications, etc., in Cycladic scripts (nos. 1–35), votives, boundaries and *leges sacrae* in Ionian letters (nos. 36–70), and Delian, Spartan and Athenian decrees (nos. 71–88); but the texts far outnumber eighty-eight, since nos. 31–35 comprise some 211 inscriptions incised or painted on earthenware. On no. 9, the epigram of Micciades and Archermus, Plassart adds (p. 43) a reference to O. Rubensohn's article ⁴⁵⁰ proving that the base on which it is engraved supported the "Nike" of Delos, which he regards as representing the Πότνια θηρῶν. L. B. Lawler discusses ⁴⁵¹ the γέρονος-dance, to which there are frequent references, direct and indirect, in Delian inscriptions (e.g. *IG* XI 161 B 8, 61 f., 164 A 51, 199 B 36), and sees in it not a 'crane-dance' but a 'snake-dance', a nocturnal maze-dance, probably of Minoan origin. J. Tréheux studies ⁴⁵² the meaning of πσιγίς, found only in *IG* XI 287 B 50, 54, and of the cognate terms λιθωνώτις, κυλιχνίς, πυξίς and ἐξάλαιπτρον, concluding that πσιγίς is an alternative form of πυξίς, and Rubensohn uses ⁴⁵³ *Inscr. Délos*, 290. 229 ff., to illustrate the process of regilding statues. B. A. van Groningen interprets ⁴⁵⁴ the puzzling ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ of Maïistas's poem in honour of Sarapis (*IG* XI 1299. 45) not as a proper name, but as a noun meaning *viva effigies patris*, 'a chip of the old block'; L. Robert identifies ⁴⁵⁵ many coins mentioned in the Delian inventories of the years after 166 B.C. (above, p. 61); J. Delorme explains ⁴⁵⁶ the association of Heracles with the Delian guild of ἐλαιοπώλαι (*Inscr. Délos*, 1713 f.) as due, not to the consumption of oil in the *palaestrae*, but to the fact that most of the ἐλαιοπώλαι belonged to South Italy and regarded Heracles as their patron and protector, specially concerned with olive culture, and J. and L. Robert substitute ⁴⁵⁷ κοινωνῶν δεκ[άτης], *sociorum decumae*, for Κοινώνων Δέκ[μου] in *Inscr. Délos*, 1764. 5. S. Risom records ⁴⁵⁸ his services in the identification and reconstruction of the 'Monument of Mithridates', but makes only passing references to its inscriptions (*Délos*, XVI 32 ff.). Some recent discoveries are reported, ⁴⁵⁹ but await fuller publication.

[*IG* XII.] G. Pugliese Carratelli publishes ⁴⁶⁰ twenty new inscriptions from Rhodes (nos. 1–15), Ialysus (no. 16) and the territory of Camirus (nos. 17–20); in one (no. 1) ἡ ἱερὰ θυμεικὴ σύνοδος honours an ἀγωνοθέτην τρίς τῶν μεγάλων Ἀλείων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ὀλυμπ[ίω]ν, another (no. 3) is an honorary inscription set up by Romans and bearing a sculptor's signature, a third (no. 5) is an interesting list of victories won by a runner at various festivals, for which J. and L. Robert's comments should be consulted, five (nos. 4, 12 f., 15, 17) are dedications to Zeus Atabyrios or other gods, and the rest are epitaphs. The same scholar also discusses the appear-

⁴³⁹ *Ann Plovdiv*, II 93 ff.

⁴⁴⁰ * *Mus. Nat. Bulg.* I (1948), 109 ff., 126 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 175 f.

⁴⁴¹ *BIAB* XVII 290 f.

⁴⁴² *JdI* Ergänzungsheft, XVI 159 ff.

⁴⁴³ * *Sowjetwissenschaft*, I (Berlin, 1949) 65 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 176.

⁴⁴⁴ *REG* LXIII 176 ff.

⁴⁴⁵ *Tarbiz*, XIX 61 f.

⁴⁴⁶ *Listy fil. LXXIV* 300 ff.

⁴⁴⁷ *REG* LXIV 177.

⁴⁴⁸ Kougeas' no. 54 = *IG* IV 674 (Nauplia), and his no. 76 = Demitsas, Μουδωνία, 216, where ἀλειφούσης τῆς πόλεως does not refer to a city named Ἀλειφούσα.

⁴⁴⁹ Paris, 1950; cf. *DLZ* LXXII 103 ff., *REG* LXIV 177, LXV 163.

⁴⁵⁰ *Mitt DAI* I 38 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 178.

⁴⁵¹ *TAPA* LXXVII 112 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 179.

⁴⁵² *RA* XXXVIII 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 164.

⁴⁵³ *Mitt DAI* I 31 n. 2; cf. *REG* LXIII 178.

⁴⁵⁴ *Mnem.* IV (1951) 302 f.; but see *REG* LXVI 154 f.

⁴⁵⁵ *Études de numismatique grecque*, 122 ff., 142 ff., 238; cf. *REG* LXV 163 f.

⁴⁵⁶ *REA* LIII 42 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 164.

⁴⁵⁷ *REG* LXIII 134.

⁴⁵⁸ *Act Arch* XIX 204 ff.

⁴⁵⁹ *JHS* LXX 8, *BCH* LXXIV 372.

⁴⁶⁰ *Par Pass* V. 76 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 179.

ances⁴⁶¹ of Bruttians and Lucanians in Rhodian inscriptions, and the part⁴⁶² played by Alexander the Great in the formation of the Rhodian constitution, with special reference to decrees of Camirus and Lindus, *IG* XII (1) 694 (= *SIG* 339, which he dates in Alexander's reign) and 761. L. Shoe examines⁴⁶³ inscribed Greek mouldings of second-century bases at Rhodes (*Par Pass* IV 80 f.) and Camirus, and A. Momigliano discusses⁴⁶⁴ the significance for Rhodian history of the record *IG* XII (1) 58. In a posthumous article M. Segre edits⁴⁶⁵ nine sacrificial regulations, most of the third century B.C., from Camirus, all of them new except no. 3, a re-edition of *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII 385 no. 3 (Blinkenberg, *Δρόγμα* M. P. Nilsson *oblatum*, 110 no. 11), and estimates their value for Rhodian cult-history. G. Klaffenbach offers⁴⁶⁶ suggestions for the reading and restoration of a number of Lindian texts (*Lindos*, II 211, 264, 384 b, 420 a); in *Lindos*, II 419, a decree of A.D. 22, he substitutes *ἐπ[10]υσίω* for Blinkenberg's *ἐν[1α]υσίω*, which, he claims,⁴⁶⁷ has an important bearing on the interpretation of the phrase *ἐπιούσιον ἄρτον* in the Lord's Prayer (*S. Matt.* VI 11, *S. Luke*, XI 3). J. S. Callaway calls attention⁴⁶⁸ to the mention of Sybaris in ch. 26 of the 'Lindian Chronicle' (*Lindos*, II 2).

In an article on the cult of Artemis in Lesbos B. G. Kallipolites publishes⁴⁶⁹ two new inscriptions from Mytilene, an epitaph directing that a fine for violation be paid to Artemis, and an altar-base dedicated *Ἀρτέμιδι εὐακόω*. Klaffenbach shows⁴⁷⁰ that a Mytilenean double altar (*IG* XII Suppl. 49) honours Augustus (not Caligula) and his grandsons, C. and L. Caesar, and was probably erected before A.D. 2. Two recent studies of the late cadastral survey from Mytilene (*IG* XII (2) 76-80) I know only through the comments⁴⁷¹ of J. and L. Robert.

M. Guarducci's account⁴⁷² of the Cretan *κοινωδικιον* contains a revised text of the second-century decree of the *κοινόν* recognizing the *ἀσουλία* of Anaphe (*IG* XII (3) 254 and Suppl. p. 83 = *Inscr. Cret.* IV 197 *), and I. Calabi, discussing the *συνέδριον* of the League of Corinth, examines⁴⁷³ the record of the Argive arbitration between Melos and Cimolos (*IG* XII (3) 1259 = *SIG* 261 = *GHI* 179).

L. Shoe publishes⁴⁷⁴ a fourth-century base from Cos inscribed *ΔΕΛΦΙΣ* and G. Klaffenbach proposes⁴⁷⁵ new restorations of ll. 9-12 and 17-19 of the letter of Eumenes II to Cos (cf. *JHS* LXXII 44); he also revises⁴⁷⁶ the restoration of three passages in a decree of Calymna honouring judges sent by Iasus, and C. B. Welles deals⁴⁷⁷ with three manumissions of that island (*Mem FERT* III 54 f.) and studies the relation between manumission and adoption in the light of Babylonian practice.

A. Wilhelm restores⁴⁷⁸ afresh a metrical epitaph of Naxos (*IG* XII (5) 1017. 5), and N. M. Kontoleon reports⁴⁷⁹ the discovery on that island of a dedication to Demeter, Kore, Zeus Eubouleus and Baubo, and publishes⁴⁸⁰ a fifth-century *columella* from Paros inscribed *Διὸς Ἐλαστέρο*, which leads him to restore this *epiklesis* (derived from *ἐλαύνω* and *ἄσπῃρ*) in *ADelt* XIV παρ. 49 and *IG* XII (5) 1027, in place of *ἐ[νδένδ]ρο*. He also reports⁴⁸¹ interesting discoveries relating to Archilochus and the foundation of the *Ἀρχιλόγειον*, made at Elitas, N. of Paros town. A. J. Gossage draws up⁴⁸² a *stemma*, based on *IG* XII (5), of the Parian family in which Prostheneas is the most frequent name from the third century B.C. to the first A.D., throwing light on the island's history in a period of political and economic instability. F. M. Heichelheim appeals⁴⁸³ to an inscription of Syros (*IG* XII Suppl. 239) as proving that Hadrian's second acclamation falls between May and November 135, probably on August 11, and so helping to date the close of Bar Kokba's War in Palestine. A. Wilhelm offers⁴⁸⁴ a new and more satisfactory restoration of a metrical epitaph from Andros (*IG* XII (5) 764. 7 f.). On Tenos two dedications to Poseidon and Amphitrite have come to light.⁴⁸⁵

N. M. Kontoleon publishes⁴⁸⁶ a group of texts from *Χίος*, (a) an interesting chronicle of the arrival of the founder, Oenopion, with his family and suite, as recounted by Pausanias, VII 4. 8, (b) a decree in honour of judges sent by Andros and Naxos, the text of which was independently published by D. W. S. Hunt in *BSA* XLI 45 ff., (c) a list of victors in a contest, probably the Theophrastia, and (d) a funerary epigram, and re-edits a fifth-century boundary-stone (*ADelt* XI παρ. 23) containing the new word *ἐχρη*. He further describes⁴⁸⁷ a fourth-century stele in the Chios Museum representing the stern of a trireme and bearing the name *Ἑλλάς*. In an article on the counting of votes J. A. O. Larsen refers⁴⁸⁸ to the early Chian constitution (*GHI* 1). E. Buschor examines⁴⁸⁹ a

⁴⁶¹ * *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, XVII; cf. *REG* LXIII 179.

⁴⁶² *Par Pass* IV 154 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 177 f.

⁴⁶³ *Hesperia*, XIX 355.

⁴⁶⁴ *Par Pass* VI 139 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 164 f.

⁴⁶⁵ *Mus. Helv.* VI 216 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 180.

⁴⁶⁶ But see A. Debrunner, *Mus. Helv.* IX 60 ff., *REG* LXV

165.

⁴⁶⁷ *Sybaris* (Baltimore, 1950) 104 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 338 ff.,

Riv Fil LXXIX 182, *Gnomon*, XXII 186 ff.

⁴⁶⁸ *Λοσιβανός σελίδες*, 1950; cf. *REG* LXIV 181, *JHS* LXXI

247.

⁴⁶⁹ *Mus. Helv.* VI 222 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 180.

⁴⁷⁰ *REG* LXIV 180.

⁴⁷¹ *Riv Fil* LXXVIII 148 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 183.

⁴⁷² *Riv Fil* LXXVIII 63; cf. *REG* LXIV 128.

⁴⁷³ *Hesperia*, XIX 355 no. 11.

⁴⁷⁴ *MDAI* III 99 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 166 f.

⁴⁷⁵ *Mus. Helv.* VI 221 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 181.

⁴⁷⁶ *RIDA* III 507 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 181 f.

⁴⁷⁷ *SO* Suppl. XIII 23; cf. *REG* LXIV 182.

⁴⁷⁸ *JHS* LXXI 250, *BCH* LXXV 124.

⁴⁷⁹ *AE* 1948-9, 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 182.

⁴⁸⁰ *BCH* LXXIV 310, LXXV 122, *JHS* LXX 7, LXXI

249 f.

⁴⁸¹ *Rh Mus* XCIV 213 ff.

⁴⁸² *Jew. Qu. Rev.* XXXIV 61 ff.

⁴⁸³ *SO* Suppl. XIII 38 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 182.

⁴⁸⁴ *BCH* LXXV 189 f.

⁴⁸⁵ *BCH* LXXIII 384 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 182.

⁴⁸⁶ *Cl Ph* XLIV 170 f.

⁴⁸⁷ *Misc. Acad. Berol.* II (2) 25 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 182 f.

group of nineteen Samian decrees granting citizenship to twenty-four persons, mostly from Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, who aided the Samians in their *φυγή* (365–322 B.C.) and after their *κόσθος*, and publishes one for a Cardian, passed about 310.

A. Wilhelm restores ⁴⁸⁸ a metrical epitaph (*IG XII* (7) 495) from Aegiale on Amorgos, and the lost beginning of a decree (*ibid.* 228) has come to light, ⁴⁸⁹ together with other inscriptions. Twenty-five texts, ranging from the fifth century B.C. to the third A.D., unearthed in 1937 and 1938 in the Lemnian sanctuary of the Cabiri, are edited ⁴⁹¹ by S. Accame, who stresses their interest for Athenian history and the Eleusinian cult; among them are honorary decrees (some passed by the *δῆμος* or *ἐκκλησία τῶν τετελεσμένων*), dedications (no. 10, of the fifth century B.C., runs *θεοῖς πρόναον σῦλα [κ]αὶ λέβητ[ας] ἀνέθηκ'* 'Αθηνόδωρος 'Οαυ[ς]), and manumissions (nos. 14–16). In a third-century decree (no. 3) *θεωροὶ οἱ ἀποσταλάντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐμ Μυρίναι εἰς τὴν θυσίαν τοῖς Καβείροις τῶν Ὀραίων* are praised by the *δῆμος*, and the same festival is named in no. 16 as the occasion of manumissions. Wilhelm substitutes ⁴⁹² the name *Χρήστης* for the epithet *χρηστῆς* in a metrical epitaph of Imbros (*IG XII* (8) 93. 4). K. Lehmann reports on the progress of excavations in Samothrace; in one account he describes ⁴⁹³ inscriptions, mostly of only one or two letters, on bricks, clay or marble lamps, and pottery, including the earliest known Greek monogram; in the second ⁴⁹⁴ he speaks (p. 11) of new fragments of the dedication of the Arsinoeion (*ibid.* 227), masons' marks (p. 13), graffiti on vases (p. 29), and other finds, now in the Palaiopolis Museum (pp. 29 f.). G. Downey edits ⁴⁹⁵ a mutilated building-inscription of the sixth century A.D. The French excavation of Thasos in 1948–50 has proved rich in epigraphical discoveries, ⁴⁹⁶ ranging from an early fifth-century boustrophedon decree dealing with the wine-trade to the hagiographical records of the Christian basilica, and including ⁴⁹⁷ a large number of amphora-handles: the preliminary reports whet our appetites for their speedy publication. J. Pouilloux discusses ⁴⁹⁸ the epigraphical and archaeological evidence for the temple of Demeter and Kore.

G. Daux, discussing dates expressed by the phrase *μετ' εἰκάδα(ς)*, explains ⁴⁹⁹ the date-formula of a decree of Eretria (*IG XII* (9) 207. 39), and I. I. Russu reads ⁵⁰⁰ *Αὔλοζελαμς* in place of *Διλιζελαμς* in the epitaph of a Sapaean buried there (*ibid.* 795). R. Harder illustrates ⁵⁰¹ a fourth-century epitaph from Chalcis and discusses its script, and his edition of the Chalcidian aretology of Karpokrates (cf. *JHS* LXVII 116 f.) forms the starting point of Fesugiére's important study mentioned above (p. 61), as does a list of *πρόξενοι* from Histiaea (*IG XII* (9) 1187 = *SIG* 492) that of L. Robert's treatment ⁵⁰² of the trade and currency of Histiaea.

[*IG XIII.*] M. Guarducci dates ⁵⁰³ in 217–6 B.C. the foundation of the Cretan *κοινόν*, criticizing the views of Muttelsee and van Effenterre, who advocate an earlier, but less precise, chronology; she maintains that, whatever be the meaning of *κοινοδικιον* elsewhere, in Crete it indicates a tribunal of the *κοινόν*, created to settle disputes among the member-states, and rejects the opinion of Welles and van Effenterre that the word simply denotes a 'mixed tribunal'. In a posthumous work, the value of which is greatly enhanced by a series of useful indexes, A. Wilhelm discusses, ⁵⁰⁴ interprets and emends, with a wealth of parallel examples, twelve Cretan epigrams, of which two (nos. V, XII) are votive and the rest sepulchral; these come ⁵⁰⁵ from an unknown site (*IBM* 380), Polyrhénia (*I Cret* II xxiii 22), Cantanus (II vi 10), Hyrtacina (II xv 3), Gortyn (IV 372 = *SEG* III 781), Lyttus (I xviii 177), Arcades (I v 41), Olus (I xxii 13), Lato (I xvi 7, 53) and Itanus (III iv 37, 39, II x 19, wrongly assigned to Cydonia); he also deals incidentally with epigrams from other parts of the Greek world, the more important of which I mention elsewhere in this survey. B. D. Theophaneides' report ⁵⁰⁶ on his researches in W. Crete includes an archaic epitaph and a late Roman grave-inscription found in or near Canea, and from the province of Selinus two decrees of Elyrus and twelve minor texts, mostly epitaphs, of which nos. 6 and 13 appear to be previously unpublished, and G. A. Stamires comments ⁵⁰⁷ on and corrects Theophaneides' recent article (cf. *JHS* LXXII 45) on early Christian inscriptions from Kastelli Kisamou in W. Crete. N. Platon publishes ⁵⁰⁸ two epitaphs from Panormos, near Eleutherna, one fragmentary, the other commemorating a *ψάλτης περιμένων τὰς ἀψευδεῖς Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐπαγγελίας*, and L. H. Jeffery edits ⁵⁰⁹ two contiguous fragments of a legal code, written boustrophedon, from the acropolis of Axos. By the issue of a fourth volume of the Cretan *corpus*, ⁵¹⁰ devoted to Gortyn, M. Guarducci brings to a successful conclusion her formidable task, save for one further volume which, in addition to addenda and corrigenda, will contain *testimonia* relative to Crete as a whole, Cretan texts of unknown provenance, and full indexes. The present instalment contains 557 Greek and 25 Latin texts, classified

⁴⁸⁸ *SO Suppl.* XIII 65.

⁴⁸⁹ *JHS* LXXI 251.

⁴⁹¹ *Ann N.S.* III–V 75 ff.

⁴⁹² *SO Suppl.* XIII 27 (where for K927 read K327).

⁴⁹³ *Hesperia*, XIX 14 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 124.

⁴⁹⁴ *Hesperia*, XX 11 ff. (in n. 32 for 277 read 227).

⁴⁹⁵ *Hesperia*, XIX 21 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 183.

⁴⁹⁶ *BCH* LXXIII 539 f., LXXIV 336 ff., LXXV 160 ff.,

JHS LXX 7, LXXI 246, *CRAI* 1949, 252 f., 1950, 330 f.,

AJA LV 160 f., *Nouvelle Cléo*, I–II 412 f.

⁴⁹⁷ *BCH* LXXIV 359 ff., LXXV 180 ff.

⁴⁹⁸ *BCH* LXXV 90 ff.

⁴⁹⁹ *REG* LXIII 254; cf. LXIV 183.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ann Plovdiv*, II 57; cf. *REG* LXIV 146.

⁵⁰¹ *Jdl* LVIII 99, 102 f.

⁵⁰² *Études de numismatique grecque*, 179 ff.

⁵⁰³ *Riv Fil* LXXXVIII 142 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 183.

⁵⁰⁴ *SO Suppl.* XIII (Oslo, 1950); cf. *REG* LXIV 127,

183 ff., *CR* II (1952) 41.

⁵⁰⁵ For references see Index, pp. 76 f.

⁵⁰⁶ *AE* 1948–9, 6px. xp. 18 ff. ⁵⁰⁷ *Κρητ. Χρον.* IV 75 ff.

⁵⁰⁸ *Κρητ. Χρον.* III 595; cf. *PAE* 1945–8, 126.

⁵⁰⁹ *JHS* LXIX 34 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 183 f.

⁵¹⁰ *Inscriptiones Creticae*, IV. *Tituli Gortynii*, Rome, 1950; cf. *Epigraphica*, XII 153 f., *REG* LXV 169 f.

as *vetustiores* (nos. 1-159) and *recentiores* (nos. 160-582), together with *testimonia* concerning Gortynian topography, history, institutions, cults, etc., and indexes of personal, divine and geographical names and of *notabilia*. L. H. Jeffery publishes a fragment of ca. 550 B.C. and a Hellenistic epitaph from Cnosus⁵¹¹ and an epitaph⁵¹² of Roman date from Lyttus, and among recent finds on this site is a boustrophedon inscription⁵¹³ containing two decrees. H. van Effenterre's examination of the forts on the frontiers of Olus and Lato has brought to light⁵¹⁴ a series of Greco-Roman graffiti at Oxà and stes Pinès; from the latter site come στάδια ἐκ πόλιος ΔΔΓΙΙΙ and Χορῶι καλά, from the former Νίκων διεικά[σας] τὰν ναυμαχίαν ἔθηκε, where it seems likely that νεικά[σας] has been miswritten or misread. S. Eitrem questions⁵¹⁵ Wilhelm's interpretation of a votive epigram of Olus (*I Cret* I xxii 13). At Itanus the French excavators have found⁵¹⁶ numerous inscriptions, notably a late votive poem ending στάσαντο, μάκαιρα, ὄβριμάδες κατὰ σόν, Λευκοθέα, τέμενος. E. Fraenkel's note⁵¹⁷ on 'The Pedigree of the Saturnian Metre' points out that the Hymn of the Curetes (*I Cret* III ii 2) is pure Saturnian, both in metre and in the fact that the two metrical cola coincide with two syntactical cola.

VII. ITALY AND WESTERN EUROPE

A. Ferrua's collection of inscribed gaming-boards includes⁵¹⁸ several examples in which the legend is in Greek. S. L. Agnello publishes⁵¹⁹ a votive altar of 250-200 B.C. from SYRACUSE, inscribed Διὸς Σωτήρος Ἱέρωνος, probably Hiero II, and an epitaph⁵²⁰ from Priolo Gargallo in the same district, and, with S. Calderone, the foot of a fifth-century skyphos⁵²¹ dedicated at Syracuse to Heracles. G. P. Carratelli discusses⁵²² the cult of the Παῖδες and Anna at Acrae, re-editing the six relevant inscriptions (*GDI* 5256-9, etc.), and S. Calderone publishes⁵²³ a text from Helorus, now in the Syracuse Museum, which he dates in the third century B.C. and reads [οἱ] νεα[ν]ίσκ[οι] οἱ ἐμβάσανοι; both date and text are questioned by J. and L. Robert. M. Schwabe studies⁵²⁴ a fifth-century tombstone from Agragas inscribed ἀγορασεῖα ἐνβάσεως (*CIfud* 654). Calderone also publishes⁵²⁵ eight epitaphs from Lipara, the earliest of which are of the third or second century B.C. while the latest is that of a Christian born in A.D. 409, who died in 470, and also one⁵²⁶ found N. of the Palermo-Messina road, and an archaic text⁵²⁷ in retrograde script on a cornice-block from Megara Hyblaea. From this site comes also a sixth-century *kouros*, published,⁵²⁸ by G. P. Carratelli, with a retrograde inscription, votive or sepulchral, containing the earliest epigraphical reference to a doctor. P. Mingazzini records⁵²⁹ graffiti on vases and Rhodian amphora-handles from Carales (Cagliari) in Sardinia.

We now pass to ITALY. A. Ferrua restores⁵³⁰ [συναγωγὴ τ]ῶν Ἰουδαίων in an inscription of Rhegium, and L. H. Jeffery shows⁵³¹ that an inscribed loom-weight from Siris-Heraclea supports the literary tradition of the foundation of Siris from Colophon. D. S. Marin offers⁵³² a new reading and restoration of a puzzling bilingual epigram from Lavello in Lucania (*RivFil* LV 226 f.), and a votive to Ποσειδῶν Ἀσφάλειος from Elea is reported,⁵³³ but not yet published. M. Guarducci edits two new texts from Posidonia (Paestum), (a) an archaic *cippus*⁵³⁴ bearing in retrograde script the name Χίρωνος, which she regards as attesting a cult of Chiron on this site in the sixth century B.C., and (b) an epitaph⁵³⁵ of the second or first century B.C., engraved with letters in relief, a rare, but by no means unique, phenomenon. In an epigram of Neapolis Wilhelm reads⁵³⁶ ὦ μάκαρ, ὅς in place of ὦ μάκαρος, and Guarducci examines⁵³⁷ the various readings, restorations and interpretations proposed for a retrograde inscription on a bronze disk from Cyme (Cumae), which she takes as an oracular answer, Ἡέρε οὐκ ἔστι ἐπιμαντεύεσθαι. The poem, now lost, from Ardea relating to Veleda (cf. *JHS* LXXII 47) still excites interest and discussion. A. Grenier describes⁵³⁸ the find, dated in the first or second century A.D., and suggests that Veleda may have been interned at Ardea, but thinks the extant letters 'trop incomplets pour qu' on songe à les restituer'; J. Bousquet, however, claims⁵³⁹ that we have here an oracle, not Delphic but due to a learned Roman Hellenist, couched in Hipponactean metre, restores [ρί]ν in place of [νῦ]ν in l. 7, and sees in Ῥηνοπότῃ a play on this word. Of especial value is Guarducci's re-edition,⁵⁴⁰ based on an older and better copy, prefaced by a bibliography and a résumé of previous interpretations; the oracle, of unknown source and in Phalaecian metre, was, she holds, given to Vespasian, or possibly to Titus, and she restores the two puzzling verses (ll. 5 f.) ἦν οἱ Ῥηνοπότῃ σέβουσιν, [ἔργα] φρίσσοντες χρυσῆς

⁵¹¹ *JHS* LXIX 36 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 184.

⁵¹² *JHS* LXIX 38. ⁵¹³ *BCH* LXXV 127.

⁵¹⁴ *Mél. Picard*, 1038 ff., 1044 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 182.

⁵¹⁵ *SO* XXVIII 115.

⁵¹⁶ *BCH* LXXV 194 f.; cf. *JHS* LXXI 251, *REG* LXV 170 f.

⁵¹⁷ *Eranos*, XLIX 170 f. ⁵¹⁸ *Epigraphica*, X 28 ff., 42.

⁵¹⁹ *NS* 1949, 208 f. ⁵²⁰ *Ibid.* 211.

⁵²¹ *Epigraphica*, X 143 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 215.

⁵²² *Par Pass* VI 68 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 202.

⁵²³ *Epigraphica*, X 146 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 216.

⁵²⁴ *Bull. Jew. P.E.S.* VIII 113 ff.

⁵²⁵ *Epigraphica*, XI 49 ff.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.* 59 f.

⁵²⁷ *Ann* VIII-X 66 ff.

⁵²⁸ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* XXVI 227.

⁵²⁹ *JHS* LXIX 32 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 215.

⁵³⁰ *Epigraphica*, XI 71 ff. ⁵³¹ *AJA* LV 179.

⁵³² *NS* 1948, 185 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 215.

⁵³³ *NS* 1950, 137 ff.

⁵³⁴ *SO* Suppl. XIII 27; cf. *REG* LXIV 214.

⁵³⁵ *BCAC* LXXII 129 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 201.

⁵³⁶ *CRAI* 1948, 140 f.

⁵³⁷ *REG* LXII 88 ff.; cf. LXIII 217 f.

⁵³⁸ *Rend Pont Ac* XXV-VI 75 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 201.

Κερα[σσιδεῖνης], i.e. Aphrodite. She also studies ⁵⁴¹ the influence of Pythagorean doctrine in three Ostian epigrams of the second century A.D., (a) that on a sarcophagus-lid (NS 1910, 15), (b) that on a mutilated marble slab (NS 1912, 327), and (c) that on three contiguous fragments here first published.

From ROME there is unusually little to report. A Greek inscription has come to light ⁵⁴² in the Viale Ardeatino in the suburbs, G. M. Bersanetti discusses ⁵⁴³ the salary of the Imperial official *a studiis* in the light of the *cursus* of L. Julius Vestinus, ἐπὶ τῆς παιδείας Ἀδριανοῦ (IG XIV 1085 = OGI 679), G. Gullini restores ⁵⁴⁴ Ἀριστ[οτέλης] on a statue-base in the Palazzo Spada (IG XIV 1139), rather than Ἀριστ[είδης], Ἀριστ[ίππος], or Ἀριστ[ων Χίος] as previously proposed, R. Egger comments ⁵⁴⁵ on an Orphic tablet of the second century A.D. (Olivieri, *Lamellae aureae*, p. 18), and G. Belvederi appeals ⁵⁴⁶ to some epigraphical evidence in his work *Le tombe apostoliche nell'età paleocristiana*. D. Faccenna publishes ⁵⁴⁷ a magical inscription of the second century A.D. on a gold plate from Ciciliano in the Sabine territory, and E. Ferrario ⁵⁴⁸ a Greek metrical epitaph followed by a Latin inscription from the Basilica degli Apostoli in Milan commemorating Dioscorus, an Egyptian doctor, perhaps mentioned by St. Augustine in a letter of A.D. 428 (227 Migne); this is further discussed and emended by J. and L. Robert, ⁵⁴⁹ A. Ferrua, ⁵⁵⁰ and W. Peck. ⁵⁵¹

H. Rolland finds ⁵⁵² the word ΙΧΘΥC twice scratched on wall-plaster at Glanum (St. Rémy), and C. Picard reports ⁵⁵³ the discovery of a Rhodian amphora-handle at Ensérune (Hérault). M. Guarducci offers ⁵⁵⁴ a new text of the fourth-century eucharistic inscription of Pectorius (IG XIV 2525) from Augustodunum (Autun), of which the first three couplets may come from a second-century composition, restoring in l. 7 Ἰχθὺ Ἰχθύ[βο]τ' ἄρα Λιλαιῶ, Δεσπότη Σῶτερ, where Λιλαιῶ is the mother's name. W. Vollgraff maintains ⁵⁵⁵ (cf. JHS LXXII 48) the authenticity of an inscription found at Dijon in 1598 and then lost, accepted in CIG 6798, but rejected in IG XIV 370 * and F. Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, II 179; he takes Μίθρης as genitive of the goddess Mithra (Mithre), Chyndonax as a Sarmatian devotee of Aphrodite Urania, of Bosphoran origin, and in the last line writes θυσεβ[ί]ας ἀπέχου λύσιμον οἶκον (*tombe rédemptrice*) ὁρῶ(v). In a second edition of his *Tartessos* A. Schulten re-examines ⁵⁵⁶ the engraved ring, which he dates in the sixth, or even the seventh, century B.C. T. K. Kempf records ⁵⁵⁷ a fourth-century Christian graffito from Trèves (Trier).

VIII. ASIA MINOR

Jeanne and Louis Robert continue their fruitful explorations and excavations in Asia Minor. They report ⁵⁵⁸ briefly on his journeys in 1932 and 1934 and on their joint expeditions in 1946-50, with lists of their publications, districts explored and museums studied, and outline their plans for the future; L. Robert gives a separate account ⁵⁵⁹ of his mission to Turkey, notably to Amyzon, in 1949. Some results of their work appear in *Hellenica*, VIII and IX, which relate mainly, but not exclusively, to Asia Minor. In vol. VIII (above, p. 59) he edits ⁵⁶⁰ fifteen new texts in the Carian script and language (pp. 5 ff.) and makes fifteen additions ⁵⁶¹ to his collection (cf. JHS LXXII 49) of memorials of gladiators, inscribed or sculptured (pp. 39 ff.), including unpublished epitaphs from Ancyra (no. 328) and Attalia (no. 331), a new inscribed relief from Cibyra (no. 332), and re-editions of epitaphs from Pergamum and Ephesus (nos. 335 f.), together with further comments on nos. 90, 135, 197 and 315 of the series; the volume ends with addenda to vols. II (p. 80) and VII (pp. 72 ff.) and a summary of Robert's courses at the Collège de France from 1939 to 1948/9, indicating which sections have been published and where. In *Hellenica* IX J. and L. Robert present some fruits of the expeditions of 1946, 1947 and especially 1948, reaped in the museums of Manisa, Antalya, Ankara and Istanbul, together with plans for further volumes. The first section (pp. 7 ff.) contains ⁵⁶² five inscriptions from Lydia, (a) a decree of Sardis, dating from Augustus' reign, περὶ τῆς δια[τ]άξε[ως τῶν] ἐ[ἰ]ς τὰς θυσι[α]ς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας προσεπειρημένων προσόδων, with a discussion of *Sardis*, VII (1) 55 and the cult of Pergamene Athena at Sardis; (b) the epitaph of an ἀρχίατρος τοῦ σύμπαντο[ς] ξυστοῦ at Thyatira; (c) an addendum to an epitaph of Julia Gordus published in *Hellenica*, VI 94; and two inscriptions from the district of Philadelphia copied in 1886 by G. Radet, viz. (d) honours paid in 12-11 B.C. and A.D. 166-7 (dated by the Actian era, τῆς Καίσαρος νίκης) to generous benefactors of the state and of a συμβίσις, and (e) a dedication to Asclepius from Gölde in Lydia. Next (pp. 39 ff.) come ⁵⁶³ three votive inscriptions copied at Attalia (Antalya), (a) an altar of unknown provenance, signed by the sculptor and bearing a long and interesting list of

⁵⁴¹ *Rend Pont Ac* XXIII-IV 209 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 214. In l. 9 of the third inscription I should read ἀλλ' ὁ for ἀλλ(ᾶ).

⁵⁴² *BCAC* LXXII 226.

⁵⁴³ *Epigraphica*, IX 56 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 143 f.

⁵⁴⁴ *Arch. Class.* I 190 ff.

⁵⁴⁵ *Der Grabstein von Čekančev* (Vienna, 1950) 17 f.

⁵⁴⁶ Vatican City, 1948, 69.

⁵⁴⁷ *Epigraphica*, X 62 ff.

⁵⁴⁸ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* XXVI 234 ff.

⁵⁴⁹ *Epigraphica*, XII 27 f.; cf. *REG* LXV 200.

⁵⁵⁰ *Gallia*, VI 143.

⁵⁵¹ *RA* XXXVI (1950) 167 n. 1.

⁵⁵² *Rend Pont Ac* XXIII-IV 243 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 213, *Epigraphica*, XII 152 f.

⁵⁵³ *Ant Class* XVIII 55 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 215.

⁵⁵⁴ Hamburg, 1950, 166 ff.

⁵⁵⁵ *Germania*, XXIX 51.

⁵⁵⁶ *Anadolu*, I 55 ff.

⁵⁵⁷ *CRAI* 1949, 304 ff.

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. *REG* LXIV 190.

⁵⁵⁹ Cf. *REG* LXIV 191, 195, 187, 189 f.

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. *REG* LXIV 189.

⁵⁶¹ Cf. *REG* LXIV 191, 195.

offerings dedicated to Men; (b) a dedication Ποτ[α]μῷ Τιβερίανῳ, and (c) an altar of the first or second century A.D. from Attalia inscribed Μοίρας τὸν βωμὸν Μνήμης καλοῦ Καλοκαίρου Κλήσιππος ποίησε νέω καλῶ Καλοκαίρῳ, which, with two herms from Byzantium (above, p. 72), leads to a study of the cults of seasons, winds, etc. (pp. 57 ff.). Section III (pp. 67 ff.) contains ⁵⁶⁴ inscriptions and reliefs copied at Ankara in 1948, viz. (a) a dedication Δι' Ὀλυβρί κυρίῳ, chief god of Anazarbus in Cilicia; (b) a Hellenistic dedication to Zeus Poarinos, whose cult is attested only at Abonuteichos; (c) a relief of Artemis, which Robert traces to Apollonia in Illyria, where two similar reliefs (*SGDI* 3221, Patsch, *Das Sandschak Berat*, 186) have been found, and (d) a list of victories won by the runner Zeuxis, which throws light on the athletic contests of Ionia in the first century B.C. The last section (pp. 78 ff.) deals ⁵⁶⁵ with inscriptions of the Hellespont and Propontis, including (a) a sixth-century boustrophedon building-record, said to come from the neighbourhood of Cyzicus and Lampsacus; (b) a list of the names and functions of the members of an association of fishers (*IGR* I 817) hitherto assigned to Callipolis, but regarded by Robert as 'la plus belle et la plus instructive des inscriptions de la colonie romaine de Parion' (p. 91), to which he also attributes *IGR* I 819 (p. 93), and (c) a Hellenistic dedication, here re-edited (pp. 94 ff.), set up at Cyzicus to Posidon and Aphrodite Pontia (Michel, 1225).

D. Magie's monumental work *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* ⁵⁶⁶ comprises two volumes, of which the first contains the narrative, starting from the bequest of Attalus, and the second and larger the footnotes and tables, in which epigraphical evidence plays a very important role. J. Sundwall gives ⁵⁶⁷ a supplementary list of Anatolian proper names together with an introduction to their study and some corrigenda to his standard work on Lycian names (*Klio*, Beiheft, XI), F. Steinherr examines ⁵⁶⁸ some of the Carian texts edited by L. Robert (above, p. 78), and M. P. Nilsson deals ⁵⁶⁹ with Anatolian 'pseudo-mysteries', especially those associated with the Dionysiac and Imperial cults.

The remaining material I present in geographical order, following that adopted in the *CIG*. A. Momigliano considers ⁵⁷⁰ the significance for Rhodian history of an inscription from Thyssanus in the Rhodian Peraea honouring Domitian and Domitia (*SIG* 819). An exploration of the Cnidian Peninsula by G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook has resulted ⁵⁷¹ in the location of the city and the discovery of nearly forty inscriptions. M. Gelzer discusses ⁵⁷² S. Accame's interpretation (*Il dominio romano*, 93) of the phrase ὀρκίου καὶ νόμου in a letter of M. Antonius the triumvir to Plasara and Aphrodisias (*OGI* 453. 25). In his *Greek Altars* (above, p. 62) C. G. Yavis quotes a Milesian altar-inscription (p. 156). W. Peek proposes ⁵⁷³ new readings and restorations of ll. 6, 9, 11 of the epigram from Priene extolling the wrestler Athenopolis (*Iv Priene*, 268). F. W. Schehl argues ⁵⁷⁴ that the φυτουργοὶ ἱεροὶ Ἀπόλλωνος mentioned in Darius' letter to Gadatas, found near Magnesia on the Maeander (*SIG* 22 = *GHI* 10), were directly engaged in the cult of the god. L. Robert's account ⁵⁷⁵ of the district of Tabae (Tavas) in Caria draws on still unpublished inscriptions, and he reports ⁵⁷⁶ the discovery, between Tabae and Aphrodisias, of two dedications, Διὶ Σπαλωξίῳ at Avdan and Διὶ Γονεῶς in a grotto of eastern Caria. J. Keil makes three valuable contributions to Ephesian epigraphy, (a) showing ⁵⁷⁷ that a building S.W. of the Agora must be a sanctuary of the Egyptian gods, as is indicated by a series of dedications, one of which refers to an [ἀρχ]ίστολος καὶ ν[εωκόρος], while a second contains the phrase τοῖς ἐπὶ θεοῦ μου Νείλου Σεράπιδι θύουσι, (b) accepting ⁵⁷⁸ C. Praschniker's dating ⁵⁷⁹ of the Mausoleum of Belevi in the fourth century B.C., but assigning it to Mentor of Rhodes rather than to his brother Memnon, and (c) editing ⁵⁸⁰ a puzzling Pythagorean poem of the Augustan age, found in St. John's Church, dedicated to Artemis and setting forth the 'two ways' of life. C. Picard examines ⁵⁸¹ the much debated phrase ὑπὲρ τοῦ σταθμοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ in l. 4 of a fourth-century Ephesian decree (*IBM* 449 = Oliver, *Sacred Gerusia*, no. 1), and defends (with Bengston, against Roussel, Robert, Klaffenbach and Launey) the traditional interpretation, taking the nominative as τὸ σταθμὸν τὸ ἱερόν, not ὁ σταθμὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ.⁵⁸² W. Hahland's study ⁵⁸³ of the frieze of the temple of Dionysus at Teos involves an examination of inscriptions of Teos (*SEG* II 580), Magnesia (*Iv Magn* 98, 100), Pergamum (*Iv Perg* 163) and Priene (*Iv Priene*, 207 = *SIG* 1156), and A. Wilhelm discusses ⁵⁸⁴ an epigram from Notium (*SEG* IV 573) commemorating an infant drowned in a well, and assumes the loss of a verse between vv. 10 and 11. J. Keil provisionally edits ⁵⁸⁵ thirty-six inscriptions, five of them previously published, from the Agora of Smyrna, including documents relative to the dispute between Pergamum and the publicani

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. *REG* LXIV 174, 188, 190 f.

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. *REG* LXIV 186 f.

⁵⁶⁶ Princeton, 1950; cf. *AJP* LXXII 198 ff., *Gnomon*, XXIII 260 ff., *Mus. Helv.* VIII 337, *Ant. Class.* XX 507 ff., *REG* LXIV 131, *Latomus*, XI 109 ff., *Bibl. Orient.* IX 52 f.

⁵⁶⁷ *Stud. Orient.* XVI 1; cf. *REG* LXV 137 f.

⁵⁶⁸ *Jb. Kl. Forsch.* I 328 ff.

⁵⁶⁹ *BIAB* XVI 17 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 132.

⁵⁷⁰ *JRS* XLI 150 f.

⁵⁷¹ *JHS* LXXI 247.

⁵⁷² *Gnomon*, XXI 24.

⁵⁷³ *Hermes*, LXXIX 220 f.; cf. *LXXVII* 206 ff.

⁵⁷⁴ *AJA* LIV 265.

⁵⁷⁵ *Rev. Univ. Ankara*, VI 534 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 184.

⁵⁷⁶ *REG* LXIV 122, 190.

⁵⁷⁷ * *Halil Edhem hatıra Kitabı* (Ankara, 1947) 181 ff.; cf. *REG* LXII 139.

⁵⁷⁸ *Anz. Wien*, 1949, 51 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 189.

⁵⁷⁹ *Anz. Wien*, 1948, 271 ff.

⁵⁸⁰ *BIAB* XVI 213 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 188 f.

⁵⁸¹ *RA* XXXVII (1951) 151 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 173.

⁵⁸² Cf. Robert, *Études de num. grecque*, 139.

⁵⁸³ *Öjh* XXXVIII 87, 92 ff.

⁵⁸⁴ *SO Suppl.* XIII 31 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 188.

⁵⁸⁵ *Istamb. Forsch.* XVII 54 ff.; cf. *AJA* LV 393, *REG* LXV

(no. 1), the dedication of a building to Nemesis, all gods and goddesses, and the Emperor (no. 2), an altar dedicated to Nemesis by a σιμειοφόρος (no. 7), other dedications (nos. 3-6) and honorary inscriptions for Emperors and distinguished Romans and Greeks (nos. 8-16, 22-26), among them an ἀσιάρχην ἐνδόξως φιλοτειμησάμενον ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν πέντε τοῖς ὀξέσιν (no. 16), agonistic records (nos. 17-21, of which no. 20 is specially noteworthy), and fragments relating to trade-guilds (nos. 34, 35). M. Hammond discusses⁵⁸⁶ the letter addressed by M. Aurelius to the Dionysiac σύνοδος at Smyrna (SIG 851). The foot of a seventh-century cup has come to light⁵⁸⁷ there, bearing an inscription of great epigraphical interest. A. D. Nock calls attention⁵⁸⁸ to the use of μυστήριον to denote a building in an inscription of Sardis (Sardis, VII (1) 17.6). In an article on 'The Problem of Octavia Minor and Octavia Maior' M. W. Singer deals⁵⁸⁹ with an honorary inscription from Pergamum (OGI 462 = IGR IV 323), and M. P. Nilsson maintains⁵⁹⁰ that the various gods to whom altars are dedicated in the sanctuary of Demeter are almost all closely associated with the mysteries of the Thesmophoria. A. Wilhelm studies⁵⁹¹ and emends a grave-epigram of Alexandria Troas, now in the Louvre (Kaibel, *Epigr.* 336).

C. Bosch's article⁵⁹² on the festivals celebrated at Nicaea in BITHYNIA collects and utilizes the evidence of inscriptions (pp. 80 f.) and of coins (pp. 81 ff.). J. M. R. Cormack edits⁵⁹³ a leaden *defixio* of the third or fourth century A.D., said to come from Claudionopolis, now in the Reading University Museum, laying a curse on forty-two persons, whose names indicate their menial, probably servile, status. G. Rohde publishes⁵⁹⁴ the metrical epitaph, found near the Bithynian city of Cratea (Flaviopolis), of a soldier who died at the age of twenty-two after seven years' service in the army. J. Keil studies⁵⁹⁵ a dedication of the Imperial period, now in the Vienna Museum, from Mount Dindymus in PHRYGIA, Διὶ Τροσίου, and compares the Διὶ Γρωσίου of a votive stele from Bahadinlar: L. Robert rejects⁵⁹⁶ Keil's interpretation of the relief on the latter as representing the votary, not the god. G. Klaffenbach makes⁵⁹⁷ two emendations in an honorary inscription from Apamea (IGR IV 791; cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 276). For recent discussions of the famous edict of Antiochus III from Dodurga (Eriza?) see below, pp. 83 f. Two articles in Turkish, by W. Ruben and S. Onat respectively, relating to a number of inscriptions from the district of Iconium (Konya), of which one records the dedication of a τράπεζα, στοά and μαγαζέιον to Zeus Soter by a veteran, I know only in the summary⁵⁹⁸ by J. and L. Robert.

A second edition⁵⁹⁹ of J. Gagé's useful *Res gestae Divi Augusti* has appeared. A. Lauton's study⁶⁰⁰ of the diction of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* regarded as a stylistic work of art deals exclusively with the Latin text, while F. E. Adcock discusses⁶⁰¹ the historical interpretation of ch. 34. 1. E. Mamboury publishes⁶⁰² a fragmentary text from the site of the temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra honouring a Roman Emperor, whom J. and L. Robert identify⁶⁰³ as Marcus Aurelius or Lucius Verus. A. Wilhelm deals⁶⁰⁴ with the metrical difficulties raised by the opening verse of a grave-epigram of Amasia in Pontus, and A. M. Schneider publishes⁶⁰⁵ a reliquary-inscription of the sixth or seventh century from Sebastea (Sivas), and W. Ruben transcribes⁶⁰⁶ in Latin letters twelve Greek texts, of which two are votive and the rest sepulchral, from Kirshehir in Cappadocia and its environs.

L. Moretti repeats⁶⁰⁷ the text of the long and interesting decree (cf. *JHS* LXXII 52) from Araxa in LYCIA, adds a commentary and discusses the date, which, agreeing with A. H. M. Jones and answering the objections raised by G. E. Bean, he places *ca.* 180 B.C., seeing in Moagetes the tyrant of Cibyra and Sillyum whose fortunes are recounted by Polybius and Livy. J. and L. Robert devote⁶⁰⁸ a long and valuable summary and discussion to the same document, preferring the early part of the second century to its later years and claiming that the chief interest of the inscription lies not in its date but in the detailed picture it presents of the life of S.W. Asia Minor, especially of the frontiers and the highlands, of the organization and activities of the Lycian League and of the local tyrants; Moagetes, they point out, figures as tyrant not of Cibyra, but of Bubon. R. Shafer has made a close study⁶⁰⁹ of the Lycian numeral system.

PAMPHYLIA has proved unusually productive, especially Attalia, Perga and Side. A. M. Mansel and A. Akarca publish,⁶¹⁰ in Turkish with a full English summary, a report on their work at Perga; among its fruits are thirty inscriptions (all save one in Greek) on sarcophagi and a small grave-stele, mostly of the second or third century A.D., the main interest of which, emphasized⁶¹¹ by J. and L. Robert, lies in the various terms used for the grave, formulae of ownership, provision

⁵⁸⁶ *Mem. Am. Ac.* XIX 58 ff.

⁵⁸⁷ *JHS* LXXI 249.

⁵⁸⁸ *Wien. Stud.* LXIV 107 ff.

⁵⁸⁹ *Harv. St.* LX 203.

⁵⁸⁹ *TAPA* LXXIX 268 ff.

⁵⁸⁹ *CQ* I (1951) 130 ff.

⁵⁸⁹ *REG* LXIII 200.

⁵⁹⁰ * *Hessische Blätter f. Volkskunde*, XLI 7 ff.; cf. *REG*

⁵⁹⁰ *Türk. Tarih*, V 99 ff.

⁵⁹⁰ *REG* LXIV 191.

LXIV 187, *Hellenica*, IX 60 f.

⁵⁹⁰ *SO Suppl.* XIII 44; cf. *REG* LXIV 191.

⁵⁹¹ *SO Suppl.* XIII 24 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 187 f.

⁵⁹⁰ *Byz. Zts.* XXXIX 393.

⁵⁹² *Jb. Kl. Forsch.* I 80 ff.

⁵⁹⁰ *Belleten*, XII 173 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 200.

⁵⁹³ *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XLIV 25 ff.; cf. *REG* LXV 131.

⁵⁹⁰ *Riv. Fil.* LXXVIII 326 ff.

⁵⁹⁴ *Rev. Univ. Ankara*, VII 155 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 199 f.

⁵⁹⁰ *REG* LXIII 185 ff.

⁵⁹⁵ *Anz. Wien*, 1950, 83 ff.

⁵⁹⁰ *Arch. Orientalni*, XVIII (4) 231 ff.

⁵⁹⁶ *Hellenica*, VII 57, *REG* LXIV 190.

⁵⁹⁰ *Excavations and Researches at Pergé* (Ankara, 1949), 3 ff., 43, 68; cf. *JHS* LXX 93, *REA* LII 336, *AJA* LV 213 f., *Arch. Class.* II 109 ff.

⁵⁹⁷ *Mus. Helv.* VI 220 f.; cf. *REG* LXIV 190.

⁵⁹⁰ *REG* LXIII 201 ff.

⁵⁹⁸ *REG* LXIII 200 f.

⁵⁹⁹ Paris, 1950; cf. *Bibl. Orient.* IX 26.

for κοράκωσις, and penalties for violation. G. E. Bean publishes ⁶¹² an inscription from Perga, in which the φυλή Ἡφαίστου honours Hadrian, and suggests the same provenance for a medallion of Smyrna bearing the words φυ(λῆς) Ἀθηναῖς (L. Robert, *Hellenica*, VII 196); he also emends ⁶¹³ the reading of an altar-inscription from Side (*JHS* XXVIII 190 ff.), recently revised by Wilhelm (*Stzöb. Wien*, CCXXIV (4) 59 ff.), consisting of a dedication, the words ἑρὰ Πύθια and two epigrams. H. T. Bossert examines ⁶¹⁴ the script and language of Side in view of Arrian's statement (*Anab.* I 26. 4) that the city was founded from Cyme in Aeolis, but that the colonists at once adopted a foreign tongue; he re-edits the first known bilingual and adds a second, found in 1949, a dedication θεοῖς παῶσι followed by a sculptor's signature. The epigraphical fruits of the excavations carried on at Side in 1947 are published ⁶¹⁵ provisionally by E. Bosch; of forty-three Greek texts five are here re-edited, the rest are new and include some interesting honorary inscriptions (nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9-11) and one relating to a forum ⁶¹⁶ named after the Emperor Arcadius (no. 32). L. Robert confirms ⁶¹⁷ by unpublished epigraphical evidence the location of the Pisidian town Parlais at the modern Barla, and R. Shafer examines ⁶¹⁸ the contribution made by Greek inscriptions to the study of the Anatolian languages with special reference to Pisidian. S. and R. Werner edit ⁶¹⁹ a decree of ca. 140 B.C. engraved on a stele of Parian marble found at Karatash in Cilicia (Magarsus-Antiochia), near the mouth of the Pyramus, in which that city honours Tarsus (Ἀντιόχεια πρὸς τῷ Κύνῳ). A. E. Raubitschek edits ⁶²⁰ fifteen inscriptions, of which nine are epitaphs, brought to light by H. Goldman's excavation at Tarsus; most of these are later than A.D. 350, and the most interesting is the epitaph (no. 8) of the *vicarius* of Asia, Musonius, and his staff, killed near Tarsus in A.D. 368.

To T. B. Mitford we owe three important articles on inscriptions of CYPRUS. In one of these he studies ⁶²¹ the ceramic inscriptions from Kafizin, S.E. of Nicosia (cf. *JHS* LXXII 52), largely augmented by finds made in 1949, so that we now know some 310 inscribed vessels or utensils dedicated on that site to the Nymphs, 23 in syllabic script, 268 in alphabetic and 19 in both. The great majority, perhaps all, can be dated between 225 and 217 B.C. In another ⁶²² he publishes fifty new inscriptions (four of them Latin) of the Roman period, copied by him in 1936-39 on various sites, especially Salamis, Carpasia, Cerynea, Lapethus, Soli, Paphos, Curium, Amathus and Citium; thirty-one of them are now in the Cyprus Museum. Incidentally he re-edits or corrects many published texts, among them *IGR* III 952, 961, 993 (pp. 22, 75, 33), *SEG* VI 802 (p. 13), *SCE* III 623 ff. nos. 8, 9, 13 (pp. 35, 37 f.) and *IBM* 398 (pp. 80 f.). Of the new texts, mostly honorary, votive, building or sepulchral, we may note a fragmentary will from Carpasia (no. 7), first-century aqueduct-inscriptions of Cerynea and Soli (nos. 9, 15), of which the latter gives us a new proconsul of Cyprus, an ephebic record from Lapethus (no. 12), a dedication to Aphrodite and Antoninus Pius from Soli (no. 17), an invocation to Zeus and Aphrodite from Arsinoe (no. 26), a dedication to Caligula from Paphos (no. 30), four milestones (nos. 32-34, 46), two honorary inscriptions from Curium (nos. 36, 37), and a building-inscription dated A.D. 39-40 of unknown provenance (no. 45). In a third article, ⁶²³ on which J. and L. Robert comment fully, ⁶²⁴ Mitford deals with twenty-two new inscriptions, three of them Latin, of the early Christian period, copied on various sites, among them one recalling the Jewish community at Salamis (no. 3), a series of texts relating to the aqueduct of that city (nos. 4, 5), a new fragment of Justinian's rescript (*LBW* 2770) from Cythrea (no. 7), and building-records of the walls of Lapethus and a hostelry at Soli (nos. 10, 17); in a series of appendixes (pp. 165 ff.) Mitford discusses (a) two published inscriptions (*SEG* VI 841, *BCH* XX 349 ff.), (b) the early Christian inscriptions of Cyprus in general, (c) their letter-forms, and (d) the abbreviations and sigla used in them. The discovery near Kouklia of bases bearing dedications in syllabic script is reported. ⁶²⁵ In his 'Notes on the Eteocypric Inscriptions' T. B. Jones gives ⁶²⁶ revised readings of the five major texts engraved in the Cyprian syllabic signs but in a non-Hellenic language, and states the results won by their re-examination.

IX. SYRIA AND THE EAST

A further welcome instalment of the *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, ⁶²⁷ edited by L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde (though Jalabert died in 1943), covers the Amanus region and Antioch and comprises 290 inscriptions (nos. 699-988), of which nineteen are Latin and the remainder Greek; one Latin and 83 Greek texts are here first published. The chief sites represented are Alexandria (Alexandretta), Rhosus and Antioch, and the most important single inscription is the famous dossier

⁶¹² *JHS* LXIX 75.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.* 73 ff.

⁶¹⁴ *Par Pass* V 32 ff. (an Italian version of *Belleten*, XIV 1 ff.); cf. *REG* LXIV 191 f., *Belleten* XIV 675 f.

⁶¹⁵ A. M. Mansel, E. Bosch, J. Inan, *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Side* (Ankara, 1951), 46 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 193 ff., LXV 176 ff.

⁶¹⁶ Bosch mistakenly regards τὸν φόρον in no. 32 as indicating a tax.

⁶¹⁷ *Rev. Univ. Ankara*, VI 531 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIII 201.

⁶¹⁸ *AJP* LXXI 239 ff.

⁶¹⁹ *Jb Kl Forsch* I 325 ff., pl. XXXII; cf. *REG* LXIV 195.

⁶²⁰ H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus; the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Princeton, 1950), 384 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 195.

⁶²¹ *CQ* XLIV 97 ff.; cf. *JHS* LXX 14, LXXI 259, *AJA* LIV 129, *REG* LXV 185 f.

⁶²² *Op Arch* VI 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 203 ff., *AJA* LV 392.

⁶²³ *Byz* XX 105 ff.

⁶²⁴ *REG* LXIV 203 ff.

⁶²⁵ *AJP* LXXI 401 ff.

⁶²⁶ III (1), Paris, 1950; cf. *REG* LXIV 196 ff., *AJA* LV 438, *Syria*, XXVIII 135 f., *Rev Bibl* LVIII 305 f.

⁶²⁷ *JHS* LXX 14.

from Rhosus, which is also briefly examined ⁶²⁶ by L. Wenger and plays an important part in E. Schönbauer's discussion ⁶²⁹ (with special reference to the views of Lewald and de Visscher) of double citizenship in the Roman Empire and its influence on legal development. Some of the Antiochene inscriptions are used by G. Haddad in his study ⁶³⁰ of *Aspects of Social Life in Antioch in the Hellenistic Roman Period*. H. Seyrig continues to make valuable contributions to Syrian antiquities. In one article ⁶³¹ he studies the eras of Antioch, Apamea, Epiphania, Rhosus, Damascus, Berytus, Chalcis, Doliche and other cities, mainly on the basis of coins, but with occasional aid from epigraphic evidence (pp. 20 f., 31, 35 ff., 49 f.); in another ⁶³² he deals with a number of inscribed weights from Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, Laodicea, Heraclea ad mare and Beroea; in a third ⁶³³ he publishes a dedication, probably from Damascus, dated A.D. 213-4, and thirteen inscriptions (one in Latin) from Emesa (nos. 1, 2), Jabruda (no. 3), Harran el-awamid in Damascene (no. 4), Palmyra (nos. 5, 6), el 'Al (no. 7), Heliopolis (no. 8), Berytus (no. 9) and Sidon (nos. 11-13), including dedications [Δ]ι μεγίστῳ Ἡλιοπολεῖτῃ (no. 1) and θεῷ Ἀζίζῳ (no. 2), a memorial erected in A.D. 214 φανευθέντι ὑπὸ ἐξαπτελευθέρου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγδικηθέντι (no. 4), the dedication of a statue of ἡ κυρία Νέμεσις (no. 6), the epitaph of a veteran of the first legion Παρθικῇ Σεουηρι(ανῇ) τὸν κόσμον ἐκδημήσας, ἐν δυσὶ πυγμαῖς ἀθλεύσας, probably the Parthian Wars of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (no. 7), a tomb-epigram (no. 9), and a metrical dedication Δι καρποδοτήρι, dated A.D. 232-3 (no. 13). Elsewhere he assigns ⁶³⁴ to a hitherto unattested Demetrias in Phoenicia six coins, three of them unpublished, and a leaden weight in the Beyrout Museum (*Mél Beyr* XXV 74 f.), dated 154-3, of which he gives a revised text; his revision ⁶³⁵ of other Syrian weight-inscriptions and notes on some signs and formulae common to numismatics and epigraphy I know only through the summary of J. and L. Robert. A. Reifenberg publishes ⁶³⁶ a Judaeo-Greek amulet from Syria [ὕ]περ σωτηρίας κυρᾶς Ματρῶνας. F. Halkin collects and studies ⁶³⁷ the Greek inscriptions of Phoenicia, Syria, Arabia and Palestine which are of hagiographical interest, prefacing his account by a section on 'faux martyrs et inscriptions pseudo-hagiographiques', in which he rejects the accepted reading or interpretation of many texts, including *IG XII* (2) 644, *SEG VI* 73 and *VII* 327. R. Mouterde's report on his journey in the territory of Apamea includes ⁶³⁸ a number of epitaphs and lintel-inscriptions, pagan and Christian, chiefly of the second or third century A.D., a bilingual bath-inscription (p. 23) and a fragment of an Imperial edict of the fifth or sixth century (pp. 28 ff.). G. M. A. Hanfmann studies ⁶³⁹ three inscribed mosaics of Apamea depicting Socrates and six of his disciples, which he assigns tentatively to A.D. 350-375 and regards as valuable evidence for Syrian culture in the fourth century, proving the continued popularity of Socrates among the educated pagans of that period.

Among the inscriptions of PALMYRA published by Z. Ben Hayyim is one Greek text, ⁶⁴⁰ M. Rodinson edits ⁶⁴¹ a Latin, Greek and Palmyrene trilingual dated A.D. 52, and in an article ⁶⁴² on the deity Genneas by H. Seyrig and J. Starcky special attention is paid to a stele from a rustic shrine at Khirbet-Semrin in Palmyrene (*AA* 1935, 627) bearing the name [Κά]στωρ and to one in the Louvre dedicated θεῷ Γεννέᾳ πατρῶν. The tenth fascicule of the *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*, ⁶⁴³ edited by J. Starcky, contains 146 inscriptions, 103 of which were unpublished, found in the Agora of Palmyra; an introduction (pp. 3 ff.) deals with the thirty-eight dated inscriptions ranging from A.D. 30-1 to 218, and the annotated texts comprise 69 Greek, 32 Palmyrene, 37 Greek-Palmyrene bilinguals, and eight Latin or Latin-Palmyrene documents. J. Johnson illustrates and explains ⁶⁴⁴ two horoscopes from Dura-Europus, one of which is dated July, A.D. 176.

An article of A. Poidebard and R. Mouterde on St. Sergius contains ⁶⁴⁵ a collection of inscriptions from Sergiopolis (Resafa) and elsewhere relative to his cult. J. Lauffray's account ⁶⁴⁶ of the fora and monuments of Berytus includes, in addition to Latin inscriptions, a new edition by Mouterde of the fragmentary Byzantine fiscal tariff (pp. 78 ff.; cf. 31 f.), and H. Seyrig discusses ⁶⁴⁷ the masons' marks on the stones of a portico at Beyrout. A sculptor's signature has come to light ⁶⁴⁸ at Heliopolis (Baalbek), and J. Sauvaget's article on the ancient plan of Damascus studies ⁶⁴⁹ a date-formula engraved on a column of the eastern portico of the temple of Zeus.

F. Halkin collects ⁶⁵⁰ and comments on the inscriptions of PALESTINE which name saints, including those most recently edited in *SEG VIII* 1, 119, 187, 192, 199, 228 f., 315. J. H. Iliffe publishes ⁶⁵¹ a Byzantine gold pectoral from Palestine and M. Schwabe's numerous contributions to

⁶²⁶ *Arch. Pap.* XIV 196 f.

⁶²⁹ *Anz. Wien*, 1949, 343 ff.; cf. *REG LXIV* 131.

⁶³⁰ Chicago, 1949, esp. pp. 93 ff., 104 ff.; cf. *JHS LXX* 93, *AJA LV* 436 ff., *AJP LXXIII* 109 f.

⁶³¹ *Syria*, XXVII 5 ff.; cf. *REG LXIV* 196.

⁶³² *Bull. Mus. Beyr.* VIII 37 ff.; cf. *REG LXIII* 125.

⁶³³ *Syria*, XXVII 229 ff.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.* 50 ff.; cf. *REG LXIV* 200.

⁶³⁵ * *Notes on Syrian Coins* (*Num. Notes and Monographs*, 119); cf. *REG LXIV* 124.

⁶³⁶ *Bull. Jew. P.E.S.* XII 68 ff.

⁶³⁷ *Anal. Boll.* LXVII 87 ff., LXIX 67 ff.; cf. *REG LXIV* 125 f.

⁶³⁸ *Mél Beyr* XXVIII 1 ff.; cf. *REG LXV* 178.

⁶³⁹ *Harv St LX* 205 ff.

⁶⁴⁰ *Bull. Jew. P.E.S.* XIII 142 f.

⁶⁴¹ *Syria*, XXVII 137 ff.; cf. *REG LXIV* 199.

⁶⁴² *Syria* XXVI 234 ff.; cf. *REG LXIV* 199.

⁶⁴³ *Damascus*, 1949; cf. *REG LXIV* 199, *Syria*, XXVII 141 f.

⁶⁴⁴ *Archaeology*, IV 76 ff.

⁶⁴⁵ *Anal. Boll.* LXVII 111 ff.; cf. *REG LXIV* 196.

⁶⁴⁶ *Bull. Mus. Beyr.* VII 13 ff.; cf. *CRAI* 1945, 377 ff., *REG LXIII* 210.

⁶⁴⁷ *Bull. Mus. Beyr.* VIII 155 ff.; cf. *REG LXIV* 199.

⁶⁴⁸ *Bull. Mus. Beyr.* VIII 162; cf. *AJA LV* 90.

⁶⁴⁹ *Syria*, XXVI 321.

⁶⁵⁰ *Anal. Boll.* LXIX 67 ff.; cf. *REG LXV* 180 f.

⁶⁵¹ *QDAP XIV* 97 ff.

Palestinian epigraphy include a metrical epitaph,⁶⁵² perhaps from Caesarea, of a freedman, once slave τῶν βασιλῶν, either Emperors or Herods, which the editor dates ca. A.D. 150 or a little earlier, the sarcophagus-inscription⁶⁵³ of a rabbi from Nave, and a Greek inscription⁶⁵⁴ from Ubaidiye in Upper Galilee. J. Irmischer returns⁶⁵⁵ to the problem of the famous διάταγμα Καίσαρος from Nazareth (*SEG* VIII 13), maintaining its genuineness, dating it between A.D. 50 and 100, and regarding Sebaste in Samaria as its probable provenance. A. M. Schneider's account⁶⁵⁶ of Roman and Byzantine buildings on Gerazim includes a stamped tile and several inscriptions, mostly fragmentary, among them an epitaph of A.D. 605-6 and a stone inscribed λίθος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγίου Κρανίου, i.e. Calvary. Three inscriptions from the synagogue at Caesarea are examined and restored⁶⁵⁷ by M. Schwabe, who also publishes a Jewish epitaph⁶⁵⁸ and the βούργος inscription⁶⁵⁹ from the same site.

P. B. Bagatti's * *Il Museo della Flagellazione in Gerusalemme* (Jerusalem, 1941), which includes a number of amulets, rings, stamps and Rhodian amphora-handles, I know only through a review⁶⁶⁰ by H. Seyrig. C. N. Johns publishes⁶⁶¹ a Christian fragment from the citadel of Jerusalem, S. Zeitlin comments⁶⁶² on E. Bickerman's article on the 'warning-inscription' of the Temple, and the ossuary-inscriptions from Talpiot (cf. *JHS* LXXII 54), acclaimed in some quarters as the earliest epigraphical records of Christianity, are discussed by Bagatti⁶⁶³ and by H. L. Jansen,⁶⁶⁴ who reject the Christian interpretation given to three of them by Sukenik and O. Moc. M. Schwabe comments⁶⁶⁵ on two other ossuary-inscriptions from Jerusalem. M. Avi-Yonah reports⁶⁶⁶ on excavations at Sheikh Bader, a western suburb of Jerusalem, where an invocation addressed Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θε(ὸς) τοῦ ἀγίου Γε[ωργίου]ου has come to light. Interesting discoveries of Christian graffiti have been made⁶⁶⁷ in a grotto at Bethany, dating from the fourth to the sixth century, one of which refers to the raising of Lazarus. The excavations at Khirbet en-Nitla near Jericho, described⁶⁶⁸ by J. L. Kelso, have revealed enigmatic mosaic-inscriptions in Christian places of worship, and A. Alt proposes⁶⁶⁹ to identify Borelia, named in a late epitaph from the Choziba Monastery near Jericho, with the village of Burêr, 8 km. E.N.E. of Gaza, named in literature as Βουριρῶν. N. Glueck's explorations in Eastern Palestine have resulted⁶⁷⁰ in the discovery of Greek inscriptions on various sites, but their texts are not yet published. A. Wilhelm offers⁶⁷¹ a solution of a metrical problem raised by an epitaph (Kaibel, *Epigr.* 440) from Namara in Batanaca, O. Fiebiger studies⁶⁷² anew the names Ἑρμῆνιος and Γούθθα found in an inscription of A.D. 208 in the Southern Hauran (*PUAES* III 223), and M. Dunand publishes⁶⁷³ sixty-four new inscriptions from various sites in Djebel Druze and Hauran, mostly Christian epitaphs and building-records, including a Christian adaptation of the apotropaic formula 'Ο τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ· μηδὲν εἰσὶτω κακόν (cf. *SEG* VII 812); two of them (nos. 314, 338), as well as two earlier members of the series (nos. 256, 289), are corrected⁶⁷⁴ by A. Alt. F. V. Winnett reports⁶⁷⁵ the discovery in N.E. Transjordan of 700 Safaitic, 100 Kufic and seven Greek texts, which still await publication. J. H. Iliffe describes⁶⁷⁶ a gnostic gem found in a Roman tomb at Philadelphia ('Amman), J. Saller⁶⁷⁷ an eighth-century Christian inscription from Quweisme, and P. Benoit⁶⁷⁸ an epitaph from es-Semakiyeh in the same district.

Of seven Hellenistic inscriptions found in Armavir (Armenia) I know only the account⁶⁷⁹ given by J. and L. Robert. F. Altheim studies⁶⁸⁰ mainly from the linguistic standpoint, the bilingual epitaph of Serapitis from Mcheta in Georgia (cf. *JHS* LXV 98, LXVII 126), and R. Ghirshman reports⁶⁸¹ the discovery of Rhodian and Thasian amphora-handles at Susa. A. G. Roos makes two contributions to the study of the πρόσταγμα of Antiochus III, dated 193 B.C., of which a new and complete copy has come to light at Laodicea (Nehavend) in Iran (cf. *JHS* LXXII 54); the first,⁶⁸² based on Clairmont's edition of the document, deals with its historical significance, while the second⁶⁸³ takes into account Robert's edition, but maintains his view that a line was omitted and that we must restore τόπους | (Λαοδικῇ ἡ θυγάτηρ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς βασιλίσσης) | Λαοδικῆς rather than, with Robert, τόπους | Λαοδικῆς|. A. Aymard also deals⁶⁸⁴ in detail, on the basis of Robert's text, with the historical situation revealed in the edict, especially Antiochus' repudiation of his wife Laodice in 193 or 192, the death of the younger Antiochus, and the delay in the recognition of Seleucus and his association with the king, and stresses the length of the interval between the issue

⁶⁵² *J. Jur. Pap.* IV 309 ff. ⁶⁵³ *Bull. Jew. P.E.S.* XIV 109 ff.

⁶⁵⁴ *Tarbiz*, XIX 119 ff. ⁶⁵⁵ *Zts. NT Wiss.* XLII 172 ff.

⁶⁵⁶ *Beitr. Bibl.* LXVIII 215, 228 ff.

⁶⁵⁷ *A. Marx Jubilee Volume of the Jewish Theological Seminary* (New York, 1950), 433 ff.

⁶⁵⁸ *Israel Expl. Journal*, I 49 ff.

⁶⁵⁹ *Tarbiz*, XX 273 ff. ⁶⁶⁰ *Syria*, XXVI 374.

⁶⁶¹ *QDAP* XIV 159.

⁶⁶² *Jew. Qu. Rev.* XXXVIII 111 ff.

⁶⁶³ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* XXVI 117 ff.

⁶⁶⁴ *SO* XXVIII 109 ff.; cf. J. Simons, *Ex Oriente Lux*, XI 74 ff., S. Eitrem, *SO* XXVII 144 ff.

⁶⁶⁵ *Bull. Jew. P.E.S.* XIII 32 f., XIV 9 ff.

⁶⁶⁶ *Bull. Jew. P.E.S.* XV 19 ff.; cf. *Anal. Boll.* LXIX 68.

⁶⁶⁷ F. Benoit, *CRAI* 1950, 307 f.; cf. *PEQ* 1951, 98, *AJA* LV 89.

⁶⁶⁸ *BASOR* CXXI 6 ff.

⁶⁶⁹ *Beitr. Bibl.* I 90 ff.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ann. ASOR* XXV-VIII (1), 22, 24 f., 56, 81, 114, 161.

⁶⁷¹ *SO Suppl.* XIII 44.

⁶⁷² *ZDPV* LXVI 69 ff.

⁶⁷³ *Arch. Orientali*, XVIII (3) 144 ff.

⁶⁷⁴ *Beitr. Bibl.* LXVIII 246 ff.; cf., for no. 338, F. Halkin, *Anal. Boll.* LXIX 75 n. 5.

⁶⁷⁵ *BASOR* CXXII 49 ff.

⁶⁷⁶ *QDAP* XIV 95 f.

⁶⁷⁷ *JPOS* XXI 138 ff.

⁶⁷⁸ *Rev. Bibl.* LVI 297 f.; cf. *REG* LXIII 209.

⁶⁷⁹ *REG* LXIII 211.

⁶⁸⁰ *Mél. Grégoire*, I 1 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 203, *Historia*, I 332 f.

⁶⁸¹ *CRAI* 1949, 196; cf. *REG* LXIV 124.

⁶⁸² *Mnem.* III (1950) 54 ff.

⁶⁸³ *Mnem.* IV (1951) 70 ff.

⁶⁸⁴ *REA* LI 327 ff.

of the edict and its publication at Nehavend and Dodurga. Robert gives ⁶⁸⁵ critical summaries of Roos' earlier article and that of Aymard, and elsewhere adds ⁶⁸⁶ a new fragment to the honorary inscription from Laodicea for Menedemus τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνὼ σατραπειῶν (*Hellenica*, VII 22 ff.), completing the first line and adding two letters to the second; it was Menedemus who communicated to Laodicea the royal πρόσταγμα, and the two inscriptions must therefore be roughly contemporaneous.

X. NORTH AFRICA

The Egyptian and Nubian sections of this survey, compiled by P. M. Fraser, are published in *JEA* XXXVIII 115 ff. Fraser also publishes ⁶⁸⁷ an interesting, but unhappily mutilated inscription now in the Museum of CYRENE, opening with a letter of Hadrian to Cyrene, dated 134-5, which mentions the ἀρχὼν τοῦ Πανελληνίου and the proconsul (Salvius) Carus, followed by excerpts from rescripts and edicts embodying the provisions made by the Emperor for the restoration of prosperity to the city at the close of his reign. J. H. Oliver comments ⁶⁸⁸ on this document, especially on ll. 2-12, draws up a list of names to be added to that of known Panhellenes, and deals with the publication of their official records at Athens; several points in Oliver's interpretation are questioned ⁶⁸⁹ by C. B. Welles. To Fraser's article S. Applebaum adds ⁶⁹⁰ a valuable appendix on Hadrian's work of resuscitation at Cyrene, attested by nine previously known inscriptions (five Greek, two bilingual and two Latin) and five (four Latin and one bilingual) here first published, as well as by two Greek fragments from Ptolemais mentioned below. A. N. Sherwin-White examines ⁶⁹¹ the *SC Calvinianum* (*SEG* IX 8. 83 ff.) in the course of an inquiry into the penalty imposed by the law *de rebus repetundis*, and the dossier of which this *SC* forms part (*ibid.* 8) affords valuable material for E. Schönbauer's article on double citizenship in the Roman Empire (above, p. 60). S. Ferri discusses ⁶⁹² a puzzling phrase in the 'Decretals' (*ibid.* 72. 120 f.), supporting the restoration ἐπέ[σ]σα against ἐπε[ί]σαι and believing that a ritual death is in question. E. Weiss' essay 'Zur Stadtrechtsgeschichte von Kyrene' ⁶⁹³ I know only through a review.⁶⁹⁴ S. Applebaum publishes ⁶⁹⁵ two fragments from Ptolemais (Tolmeta), which may relate to Hadrian's policy with regard to the Cyrenean gymnasia; one gives Hadrian's titles and refers to the Ἀκαδήμεια, the other mentions an Ἀκαδήμαρχος and a gymnasium or gymnasiarch. J. and G. Roux examine ⁶⁹⁶ two decrees of the πολίτευμα Ἰουδαίων at Berenice (Bengazi), dating from the first century B.C. or A.D., one (*CIG* 5361), now at Toulouse, honouring a Roman, the other (*CIG* 5362), now at Carpentras, in honour of a Jew who had adorned an ἀμφιθέατρον.

M. Guarducci publishes ⁶⁹⁷ the epitaph, found at Leptis Magna, of a Cnosian who had lived for twenty-five years ἐν πασσοφίῃ, and J. Ward Perkins' article on Tripolitania and the marble-trade records ⁶⁹⁸ many masons' marks on capitals and column-bases of Pentelic marble in the Severan forum at the same site, supporting the conclusion that 'the whole vast programme of marble working was in the hands of Greek-speaking craftsmen'. J. Ferron studies ⁶⁹⁹ three Greek epitaphs (one with a Hebrew addition) of Jews buried at Carthage, and C. Picard draws attention ⁷⁰⁰ afresh (cf. *JHS* LXVII 127) to the Rhodian amphoras found in a tomb near Cirta (Constantine).

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⁶⁸⁵ *REG* LXIV 200 ff.

⁶⁸⁶ *Hellenica*, VIII 73 ff.

⁶⁸⁷ *JRS* XL 77 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 211 f.

⁶⁸⁸ *Hesperia*, XX 31 ff.

⁶⁸⁹ *AJA* LVI 76 f.

⁶⁹⁰ *JRS* XL 87 ff.

⁶⁹¹ *Pap BSR* XVII 14 ff.

⁶⁹² *Par Pass* IV 254 f.

⁶⁹³ *Scritti in onore di G. Ferrini*, IV 232 ff.

⁶⁹⁴ *J. Jur Pap* IV 373.

⁶⁹⁵ *JRS* XL 90; cf. *REG* LXIV 212.

⁶⁹⁶ *REG* LXII 281 ff.; cf. *LXIV* 212.

⁶⁹⁷ *Epigraphica*, X 74 ff.; cf. *REG* LXIV 212 f.

⁶⁹⁸ *JRS* XLI 91 ff., 103 f.

⁶⁹⁹ *Cahiers de Byrsa*, I (Paris, 1951), 177 ff.

⁷⁰⁰ *RA* XXXVI (1950), 166 f.

NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM CAUNUS

(Continued from *JHS LXXIII*, 10-35, here quoted as Part I)

20. Two joining fragments of a stele found north of the harbour just inside the city wall. Combined height 0.16 m., combined width 0.22 m., thickness 0.05 m. The letters, cut between ruled lines, are of consistent height in each line, but vary from line to line between 10 and 14 mm. A small piece of the right edge is preserved in ll. 1-2; all other sides broken. Photograph Fig. 35.

[- - - - -] ΑΙΩΝΑ[5 or 6] - ιι
 [- - - - - ε] ὑρεθῇ ἅπαντα τὸν ὑ-
 [- - - - -] πὸ ? - - - λαμβ[ανόμενον] ἰχθύν σ[.]
 [- - - - -] πρὸς τοῦτο ἀνηκ[ον]-
 5 [- - - - -] λαμβ[ανέτω] τὸ ὀγδό[ον μέ]-
 [- - - - -] ρος ? - - - - -]ς ἀργυρίου τ[5 or 6]
 [- - - - -] τω]σαν ο[1] ἀγο[ρανόμοι]
 [- - - - -] κρινέτ[ωσαν - - -]

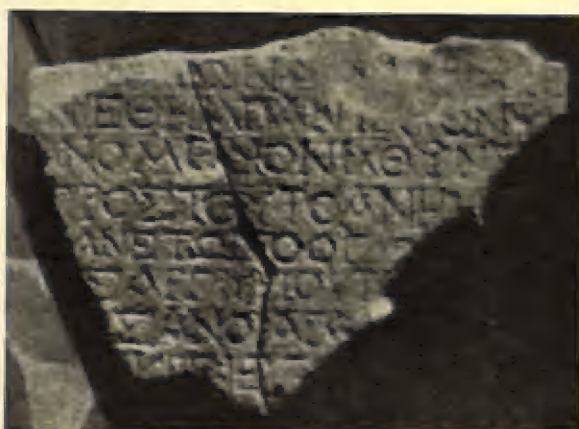


FIG. 35.—INSCRIPTION NO. 20.

L. 1 fin. Apparently Π, perhaps ΕΠ. L. 2 init. The fork of the *upsilon* is just visible. L. 6 fin. Τ or Π.

Too little remains to permit a reconstruction, but we have evidently a fragment of a regulation concerning catches of fish. (I take it that ἰχθύν in l. 3 is collective.) There can be little doubt that we have here evidence of a *dalyan* at Caunus in antiquity as to-day. (See Part I, p. 14 n. 15.) The fish are principally of two kinds, *kefal* and *levrek*, both excellent eating; in the summer and winter respectively they go up from the sea to the lake to spawn, and returning some two months later are caught in huge quantities. Wherever exactly the bed of the river may have lain in ancient times, there is no reason to suppose that the habits of the fish were any different then. For ancient fisheries in Asia Minor see Broughton, *Economic Survey* IV, 566, 799.

The date of the inscription I should suppose to be first century B.C.

21. Among the ruins close to M (see Part I, Fig. 3), now in the house of Ali Demir at Çandır, upper part of a stele with simple moulding at the top, 0.47 m. high, 0.30 m. in average width, 0.12 m. thick. Letters 13-16 mm. high, *omicron* generally small. Squeeze Fig. 36.

ἐπὶ ἱερέως Εὐνόμου
 τοῦ Λεωνίδου
 Μηνόδωρος Σωσικλέους
 Ἰμβριος
 5 ἀποσταλὲς εἰς Γρύνειον
 ἀνήνεγκεν χρησμόν.
 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων
 ἐπερωτᾷ τίνας θεῶν
 ἱλασκομένου αὐτοῦ καρπο[ι]

- 10 καλοὶ καὶ ὀνησιφόροι γίνονται.
 θεὸς ἔχρησεν
 τιμῶσιν Ἀητοῦς Φοῖβον
 καὶ Ζῆνα πατρώϊον
 ὑμῖ κλέος δεσμοῖς Ἀ[- -]
 15 *vac.* ἀραρίσκετε [- - -]
 [- - - - -]

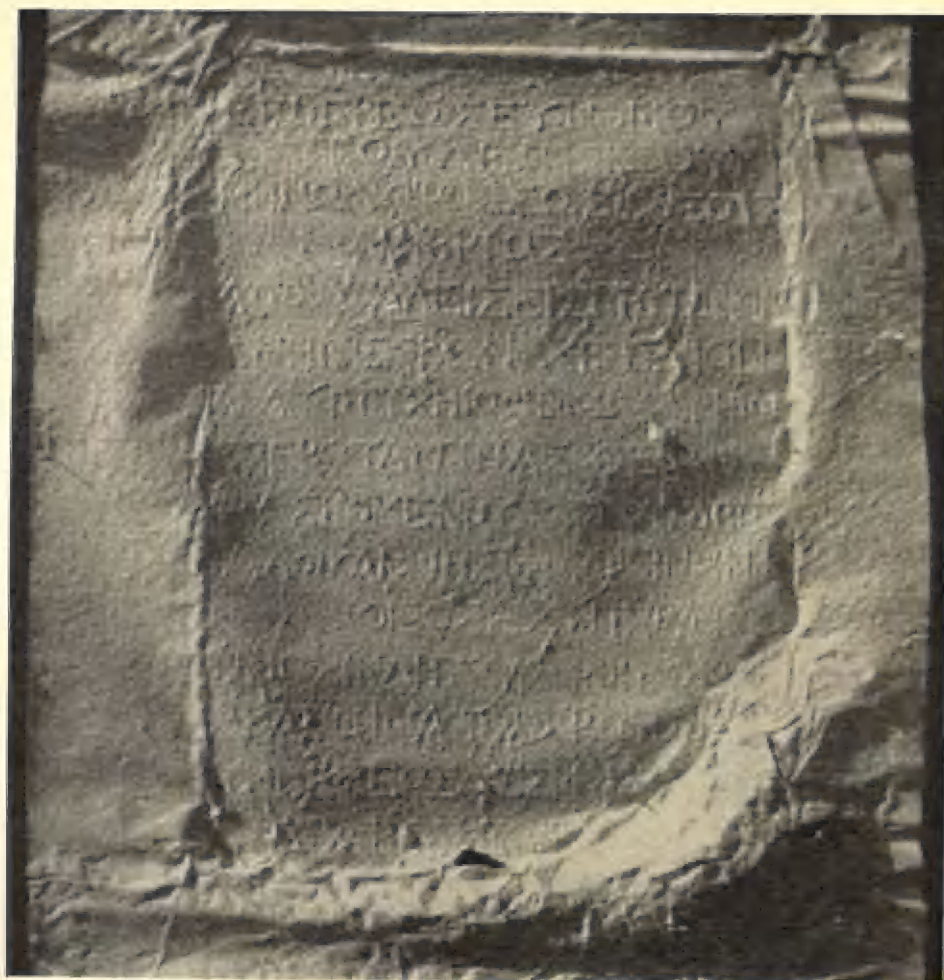


FIG. 36.—INSCRIPTION NO. 21.

For the demotic *λυβριος and for the dating by a priest see Part I, No. 5. In l. 10 the grammar of γίνονται is questionable, but the reading seems beyond doubt.

This is the first recorded response¹ of Gryneian Apollo. For the functioning of the oracle (as distinct from the temple) of Apollo at Gryneum there is in fact remarkably little evidence. Strabo XIII, 622 speaks of a μαντεῖον ἀρχαῖον, which tells us nothing of his own time; otherwise we have only Apollo's command to Aeneas to go to Italy, and the remark in Philostratus that at some unspecified time the Apolline oracles at Gryneum and elsewhere were eclipsed by the popularity of Orpheus.² On this evidence Buresch³ doubted that the oracle continued to function in later times. The present inscription is therefore welcome evidence that it was in activity at least during the Hellenistic period.

The incompleteness of the god's response is to be regretted; it seems not to have been free from a certain oracular obscurity. The Caunians ask what gods they shall propitiate to obtain fruitful harvests: even their notoriously fertile country was liable to bad seasons. The reply begins straightforwardly enough: honour Apollo and Zeus; but the reference in l. 14 to glory and fetters bears on the face of it no relation to the question asked. It seems certain that ἀραρίσκετε in l. 15 must begin a new sentence,⁴ so that a single word after δεσμοῖς, presumably a verb, must complete

¹ Apart from that given to Aeneas; see n. 2.

² Virg. *Aen.* IV, 345; Philostr. *Ap. Tyan.* IV, 14.

³ *Klaros*, 70 ff., quoted in *RE* s.v. 'Gryneion'. Non vidi.

⁴ ἀραρίσκετε (γὰρ δὲ) or the like. For ἀραρίσκω = ἀρίσκω see *LSJ* s.v.

the sense. Within these narrow limits no great variety of interpretation seems possible. Should we suppose that Apollo takes καρποί figuratively, and promises that glory will take the place of servitude? The verb might then conceivably be δ[έξαιτο].⁵ But how are we to conceive the situation? 'Servitude' is suggestive of subjection to Rhodes, always intensely unpopular at Caunus; but the language of ll. 1-7 seems clearly to imply that Caunus was independent at the time. Interpretation along these lines requires very special circumstances not easy to imagine. Alternatively, we might supply a verb in the past tense: 'by honouring Apollo and Zeus you escaped from servitude to glory, for you are pleasing to them'—therefore continue to honour them, or the like. But I cannot find a verb to meet the case. I feel that a solution ought not to be unattainable, but must leave its discovery to the ingenuity of others.

The expression Λητοῦς Φοῖβον is evidently adapted to the source of the inquiry; for the cult of Leto at and near Caunus see Part I, No. 13. The inscription dates, to judge by the style of the script, from before rather than after the period of Rhodian domination in the first century B.C.⁶

22. Near the village of Okçular, about an hour and a half from Dalyan, among a number of ancient stones in Ismail Şahin's maize-field, a block 0.95 m. high (but broken at the bottom), 0.43 m. wide, 0.48 m. thick. The writing seems originally to have covered the entire block (so far as preserved), but is completely worn away at the bottom and largely so on the right. The block is not a stela, but apparently formed part of a building. Various ruins, including a church and tombs, are reported in the vicinity; see also Nos. 53 and 54 below. Letters 8 mm. high. Squeeze Pl. I.

- [ε]δοξεν Εὐξινέ[ω]ν [τῇ] συνόδωι? ἐπειδὴ κα]-
 λῶς ἔχον ἐστὶν π[ρ]όνο[ι]αν ἐ[κ]τενῇ? ποιεῖσθαι]
 ἵνα αἱ προγον[ικ]αὶ [σύ]νοδοι καὶ θ[υ]σῖαι φυλάσ]-
 σονται, οἱ τε ὑπάρχοντες β[ω]μοὶ τῆς δεούσης?]
 5 ἐπισκευῆς τύχωσιν, [κα]ὶ ὁ ἐ[ν]? - c. 9-10 - κα]-
 λυβὸς διατηρῆται, τὰ τε [- - - - - ἐμ]-
 βαλλόμενα φυτὰ εἰς τὸν [- - - - -]
 νον τόπον διαφυλάσσηται, τῶ[ν] μὲν βωμῶν]
 τὴν ἐπισκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπ[ι]μέλειαν γενέσ]-
 10 θαι διὰ τοῦ ἱεροκέρυκος, τοῦ ἀναλώματος]
 δοθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν· [καὶ ἐπειδὴν]
 ἐπιτελέσῃ, στεφανῶσαι α[ὐ]τὸν [ἐν τῇ συνό]-
 δωὶ θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι εὐσεβείας ἐ[νε]κεν·]
 τοῦ δὲ καλυβοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν [κα]ὶ σ[τεγνο]?]-
 15 ποίαν γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν δικαστῶν, κα[ὶ] ἐ[ν] . . . ως]
 διαφυλάξαντας αὐτὸν [στ]εφαν[ω]θ[ῆ]ναι ἐν τῇ]
 συνόδω θαλλοῦ στεφάνω[ι] ἐπιμελε[ί]ας [ἐνε]-
 κεν· τῆς δὲ φυτείας, τὸν φυτ[ε]ύσαντα ἐ[πί]-
 20 καρπα φυτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσονα τῶν τριῶν καὶ δ[ι]α]-
 φυλάξαντα ἐφ' ἑτῇ [π]έντε στεφανο[ῦ]σθ[αι],]
 παρελθόντων τῶν πέντε ἐ[τῶν], ἐπ' ἄλλα ἑτῇ]
 [π]έντε κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς Κ[α]τ[α]σπορίοις]
 [θ]αλλοῦ στεφάνωι ἐπιμελε[ί]ας ἐνεκεν. *vac.*]
 [τ]οῖς τε βουλομένοις φιλοδοξε[ῖ]ν καὶ συναύ]-
 25 ξειν τὴν κώμην ὑπάρχειν τίμια· τῶ[ι] μὲν γὰρ ἐ]-
 παγγειλαμένωι μὴ ἔλασσον χ' λ' [ὑπάρξει]
 στέφανος διὰ βίου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν [ἐν τοῖς Κα]-
 τασπορίοις· τῶι δὲ ἐπ[αγ]γε[ι]λαμένωι μὴ ἐ]-
 λασσον χ' ν' ὑπάρχειν σ[τε]φανον διὰ βίου θαλ]-
 30 λοῦ καὶ ταινίαν διωβελειάν [χρυσῇν? κα]-
 τ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς Κατ[α]σπ[ο]ρίοις εὐνοί]-
 ας καὶ φιλοδοξίας [ἐνε]κεν· τῶι δὲ ἐπαγγεῖλα]-
 μένωι μὴ ἔλασσον χ' ρ', ἢ [- - - - -]
 [ἀ]ξιον χ' ρ', ὑπάρχειν σ[τε]φ[α]νῶν θαλλοῦ]
 35 στεφάνωι διὰ γένους [κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τε]
 τοῖς Κατ[α]σπορίοις καὶ [τ]οῖς [- 5 or 6 - σιείοις]
 ἀρετῆς ἐνεκεν καὶ εὐνο[ί]ας καὶ φιλοδοξίας·]

⁵ For δέχομαι intransitive, 'succeed to', see *LSJ* s.v., though nothing is quoted exactly like the present case.

⁶ Note also the addition of *iota* adscript even to the present indicative—though the same feature occurs also in No. 26, q.v.

- [τ]ῶι δὲ ἐπαγγειλαμένῳ [ι μὴ ἑλασσον ᾗ σ' ἢ δι]-
 [δ]όντι κατὰ διαθήκην [ὑπάρχειν στεφάνῳ]-
 40 σιν χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ [διὰ γένους κατ' ἑνιαυ]-
 τὸν ἐν τε τοῖς Κατασπορίοις [καὶ τοῖς - 3 or 4 -]
 [. .]σιείοις εὐσεβείας ἐν[εκεν καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ]
 [εὐ]νοίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας, δι[δοσθαι δὲ αὐτῶι]
 [κα]ὶ διμοιρίαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἀεὶ θυομέ[-
 45 [νων?]- τῶι δὲ ἐπαγγε[ι]λ[α]μένῳ ἢ διασθεμένῳ μὴ]
 [ἑλασσον ᾗ φ' ὑπ[α]ρ[χ]ε[ι]ν [- - - - -]
 [. . . .]θαι δὲ αὐτο[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]

L. 1. The name of the village (κώμην, l. 25) is very illegible. No demotic resembling Εὐξινεύς occurs in any Caunian inscription yet discovered.

L. 3. The restoration is hardly doubtful. Aristotle *EN* 1160 a, speaking of κοινωνία in general and alluding, among others, to demesmen, couples θυσῖαι and σύνοδοι: θυσῖας τε ποιοῦντες καὶ περὶ ταύτας συνόδους. The whole section is indeed a commentary on the present passage. These 'gatherings' for religious and recreational purposes are, of course, to be distinguished from ἡ σύνοδος (ll. 12-13, 16-17), the village 'assembly'.

L. 4. β[ωμοί] is restored on the strength of the allusion to sacrifices in l. 3 and the fact that the official concerned with their repair is the hieroceryx. In the first part of the decree, ending at l. 23, three tasks are provided for: (1) repair of existing altars, dealt with in ll. 8-13; (2) upkeep of a certain καλυβός, dealt with in ll. 14-17; (3) maintenance of a certain plantation, dealt with in ll. 18-23. The remainder, ll. 24-47, is a list of rewards to future donors of money, graded according to the amount subscribed.

L. 7. [ἐμ]βολλόμενα, 'planted': *IG* XII. 7. 62.

Ll. 10-11. Neither hieroceryx nor dicastae appear to occur elsewhere in village organisations.⁷ The former causes no surprise, but the duties assigned to the dicastae appear at first sight rather peculiar. They are, first (if l. 10 is correctly restored) the care of the communal treasury, and second (ll. 14-15) the repair of the καλυβός. These are strange duties for 'judges'; but evidently the dicastae here are parallel, both in function and in name, to the brabeutae known in other villages of Asia Minor.⁸

L. 14. The restoration σ[τεγνο]ποιῶν is, of course, doubtful, but I can find nothing more probable; the initial *sigma* is reasonably certain. στεγνοποιῶν, where it occurs,⁹ denotes the building of barracks or huts; here it would mean 'roofing' or 'rendering watertight'.

What the καλυβός may be is not very clear; the ordinary sense of the word, 'hut, cabin', is hardly satisfactory here. A 'sacred καλύβη' is known from a village inscription in Palestine (*CIG* 4591): τὸ κοινὸν τῆς κώμης καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἱερὰν καλύβην ἔκτισεν διὰ κτλ. There is no indication as to what this was. The present καλυβός may have been ἱερός also, but there seems no particular reason for supposing so.

L. 17. For σύνοδος of the village assembly see Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1027.

L. 18. τῆς φυτείας is assimilated in construction to τῶν μὲν βωμῶν and τοῦ δὲ καλυβοῦ above, but remains without grammatical government. I understand that anyone who plants at least three fruit-trees and maintains them in healthy condition for five years, shall thereafter for a further five years receive annually an olive-crown at the festival of the Katasporia. No festival of this name appears to occur elsewhere; but the word explains itself.

L. 24. The second part of the decree is not specifically related to the first part, but is a general appeal for subscriptions to the communal funds. It forcibly illustrates the emptiness of honorific terms even at this date:¹⁰ not only a man's rewards, but his virtues also, increase in direct ratio to the magnitude of his subscription.

L. 26. The sign for drachmae is, so far as I know, unique.

L. 30. διωβελίσια, 'of the weight of two obols', probably of gold.

Ll. 33-4. Of the *eta* only the left upright is visible; the *xi* in l. 34 is reasonably clear. Apparently an alternative gift of goods or property worth 100 drachmae is acceptable. It is evidently envisaged that cash to the value of 100 drachmae or more may not be readily available; so in the case of the larger sums below a testamentary bequest is a permitted alternative.

Ll. 36, 42. The name of the second festival is apparently irrecoverable. A harvest-festival would be appropriate, but no likely restoration suggests itself to me.

L. 44. The restoration is tentative. The reading διμοιρίαν is not doubtful.

⁷ The evidence concerning village-organisation is now conveniently collected by Magie, *Roman Rule* 1026 n. 70.

⁸ References in Magie *loc. cit.* Cagnat on *IGR* IV 1304 observes: 'pagorum . . . annui magistratus, qui sacra ritu celebranda et honores tribuendos communi pecunia curabant.' In

Ramsay, *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 321, the dating is *ἐν τῇ βραβεύσει*.

⁹ *Rev. Arch.* 1934 III 40, cf. *J. v. Pergamon* 158 = Welles *Roy. Corr.* no. 51: see Welles' note on p. 363.

¹⁰ Second century B.C., as I should judge.

23. In the ruin-field behind M, a large base badly damaged; the inscribed face is concave. The inscription is complete at top and bottom. Letters 18 mm. high. Squeeze Fig. 37.

[ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων ἐ]παιν[εῖ καὶ στεφανοῖ]
[χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ]νω, τιμᾶ [δὲ καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ, Γάι]-
[ον Σκριβ]ώνιον Γαίου υἱόν [Κουρίωνα διὰ]
[τὰς] γεγενημένας [εὐεργεσίας ὑπὸ Σκρι]-
5 [β]ωνίου Γαίου υἱοῦ Κο[υρίωνος *vac.?*]
τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

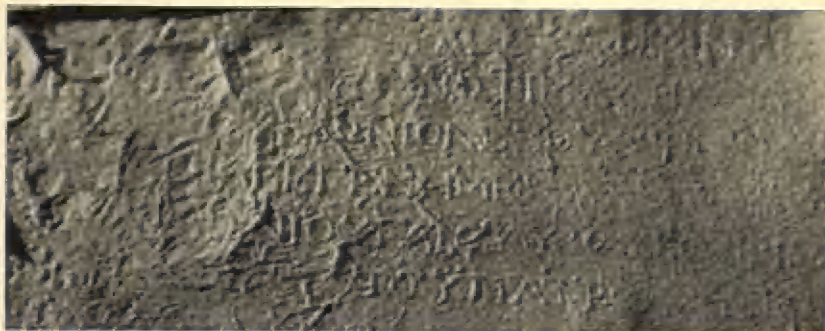


FIG. 37.—INSCRIPTION No. 23.

24. Lying beside No. 23, a similar base with concave face, broken on all sides. The inscription is complete at top and bottom. Letters 18-20 mm. high. Squeeze Fig. 38.

[ὁ δῆμος ὁ] Καυνίων ἐπαινεῖ [καὶ στεφανοῖ]
[χρυσῷ στε]φάνῳ, τιμᾶ δὲ καὶ εἰκό[νι χαλκῇ, -]
[- -]ν Γαίου Μεμμίου θυγ[ατέρα, γυναῖκα]
[δὲ Γαί]ου Σ[κ]ριβωνίου Γαίου υἱοῦ Κουρίωνος, διὰ
5 [τὰς] γεγενημένας εὐερ[γεσίας ὑπὸ Σκρι]-
[β]ωνίου Γαίου υἱοῦ τοῦ [κηδεστοῦ? αὐτῆς.]

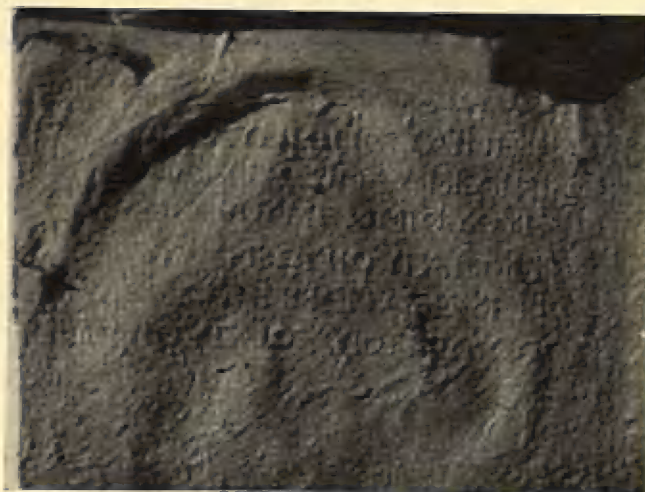


FIG. 38.—INSCRIPTION No. 24.

Nos. 23 and 24 evidently formed a pair. The Scribonii Curiones who may come in question are: (1) C. Scribonius C. f. Curio, consul in 79 B.C., proconsul of Macedonia in 78-74. His wife was daughter of L. Memmius. (2) C. Scribonius C. f. Curio, quaestor of Asia in 55-54 B.C. His wife's name was Fulvia, at least after 52 B.C. (3) C. (?) Scribonius C. f. Curio, son of (2), killed while still a young man after Actium by Octavian, as a partisan of Antony.¹¹

It appears highly likely that the Scribonius C. f. whose services are mentioned in the present inscriptions is the quaestor of Asia, (2); the honorand of No. 23 will then be his son, (3). The daughter of C. Memmius honoured in No. 24 is probably the wife of (3), honoured together with her husband for her father-in-law's services; alternatively, she may possibly be his mother,

¹¹ In dealing with these and the following inscriptions I am indebted to the friendly help and unrivalled knowledge of

Roman prosopography of Professor R. Syme.

an earlier wife of the quaestor of Asia. The C. Memmius in question may well be the *consul suffectus* of 34 B.C. or the *tribunus plebis* of 54 B.C. (if these are not one and the same man).

25. On the path close to M, a badly damaged block measuring at least 0.67 m. in height, 0.52 m. in thickness, and at least 0.70 m. in width. The inscription is apparently complete at top and bottom, worn away at both sides; but l. 5 is complete on the left. Letters 23-25 mm. high. Squeeze Fig. 39.

[ὁ δῆ]μος [ὁ Καυνίων ἐτείμησεν ?]
 [. . .]ον Μαγούλ[ιον τοῦ δεῖνος]
 [υἱ]ὸν Φαβία Νεικ[- -, 'Ρωμαῖον]
 [κ]αὶ Καύνιον, ἀνδρα [ἀγαθὸν ὄντα? ἐν]
 5 ταῖς τῆς πόλεως χρ[ε]ταῖς καὶ - -]
 [. . .]όμενον *vacat* [ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ]
 εὐνοίας τῆς [ἔχων εἰς αὐτόν]
 διατελ[εῖ].



FIG. 39.—INSCRIPTION NO. 25.

Μαγούλ[ιον] in l. 2 is hardly doubtful. It is interesting to find this old Praenestine name here. A certain M. Magulnius M. f. occurs at Delos about 100 B.C. (*CIL* III, 7213), and may have had a hand in the transmission of the *nomen* to the mainland of Asia. The *cognomen* Νεικ - - is evidently Greek.

Ll. 5-6. ? [φιλοτειμῆσ]όμενον.

26. Beside the path a short distance east of M, a statue-base partially buried in the ground; width 0.48 m., thickness 0.34 m., height at least 0.70 m. On top, two footholes 0.12 m. long. Letters 16 mm. high. Squeeze Fig. 40.

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων ἐπα[ίνει]
 καὶ στεφανοὶ Αὐλον Ἀφρ[άνι]-
 ον Λευκίου υἱὸν τὸν ἀδε[λφόν]
 τὸν Λευκίου Ἀφρανίου [Λευ]-
 5 κίου υἱοῦ τοῦ ἑατοῦ π[άτρω]-
 νος χρυσῶι στεφάνω[ι, τει]-
 μᾶι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ, δι[ὰ]
 τὰς γεγενημένας εὐεργε-
 σίας εἰς ἑατὸν ὑπὸ Λευκίο[υ]
 10 υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ α[ὐτ]οῦ.

L. Afranius L. f., for whose services his brother Aulus is here honoured, is mentioned in an inscription of Magnesia (*I. v. Magn.* no. 143); he is probably son of the Pompeian partisan L. Afranius A. f., consul in 61 B.C. The honours decreed to the younger brother date, no doubt, to the last quarter of the century, with which date the spellings Λεύκιος and ἑατόν are, of course, consistent.

The phrasing in ll. 9-10 appears faulty. Either a second Λευκίου is omitted by haplography,

or more probably $\nu\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ is added in error by a reminiscence of ll. 3-5. There is no room at the end of l. 9 even for the improbable abbreviation Λ .

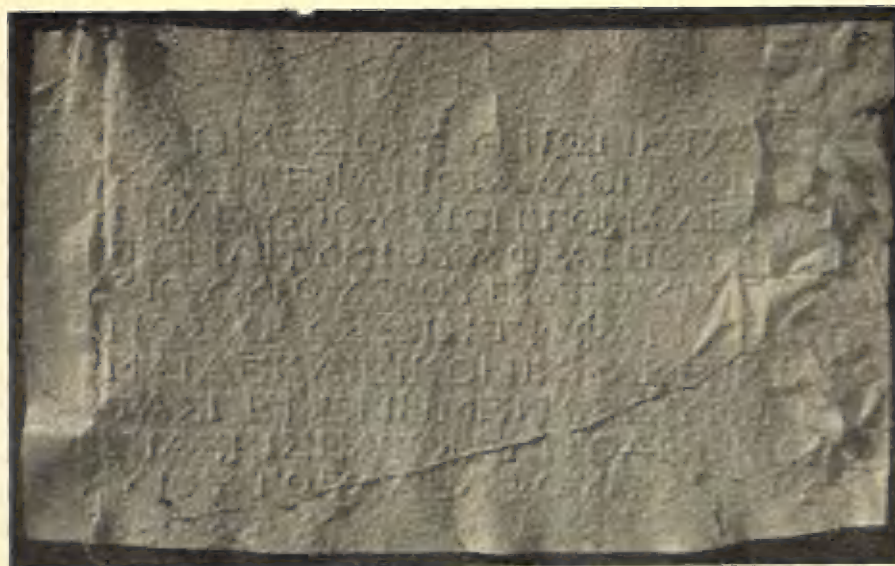


FIG. 40.—INSCRIPTION NO. 26.

27. Just above the path near M is a massive statue-base 0.94 m. high, 1.78 m. wide, 0.88 m. thick, apparently *in situ*; on top are three pairs of footholes. The inscription is indifferently well cut and a good deal worn. Letters 20-24 mm. high. Squeeze Fig. 41.

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων
ἐπαινεῖ καὶ στεφανοῖ
χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, τ[ε]ιμ]ῶ
δὲ καὶ ἰκόνι χαλκῇ,
5 Γάιον Πούφιον Γέμενον
τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα
καὶ εὐεργέτην.

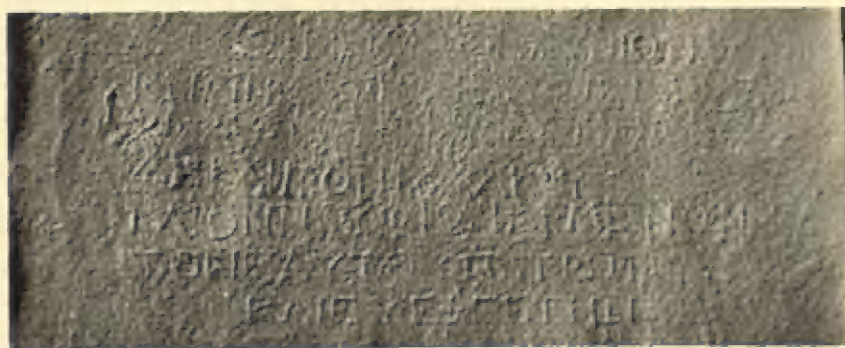


FIG. 41.—INSCRIPTION NO. 27.

Several C. Fufii Gemini are known (*Pros. Imp. Rom.*² nos. 509-511), the most familiar being the consul of A.D. 29. None of them is elsewhere mentioned in connexion with the East.¹²

Since the base originally carried three statues, it was evidently re-used for Fufius' benefit; the general appearance of the inscription, which is cut very shallow, is suggestive of an erasure. For the re-use of statue-bases at Caunus see below p. 109 n. 61.

28. In the woods just above M, a statue-base 0.65 m. high, 0.72 m. wide, 0.67 m. thick; two footholes on top. Letters 29-31 mm. high in l. 1, decreasing to 17-18 mm. in l. 6. Squeeze Fig. 42.

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων ἐπαινεῖ
καὶ στεφανοῖ χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ,

¹² Πούπιος is certainly Fufius, not Pupius. The same form occurs in a late epitaph in the Smyrna museum. On the other hand, *JGR* IV, 105 and 1077 have Φουφία.

τειμᾶ δὲ καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ,
 Πλαυτίαν Αὔλου θυγατέρα,
 5 γυναῖκα δὲ Ποπλίου Πετρωνίου
 τὸ πέμπτον ἀνθυπάτου.

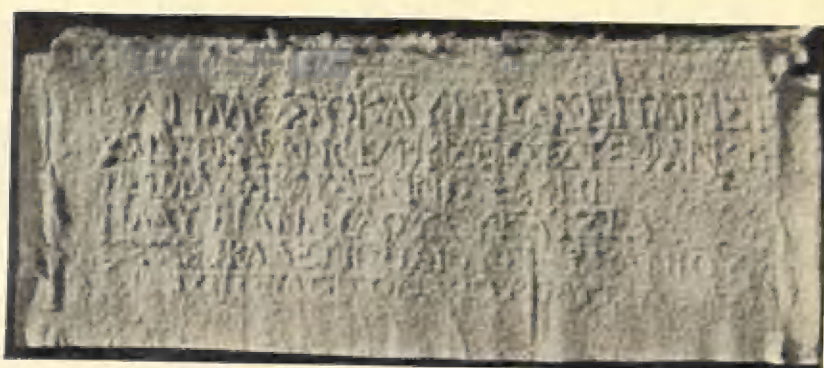


FIG. 42.—INSCRIPTION NO. 28.

P. Petronius P. f., *consul suffectus* in A.D. 19, proconsul of Asia for six years, probably from 29 to 35.¹³ His wife Plautia is mentioned in *CIL* VI, 6866: *Sempronia Q. l. Chresta et Hymenaeus Plautiae P. Petroni*. She was presumably a daughter of A. Plautius, *consul suffectus* in 1 B.C., and so sister of the A. Plautius who served as Claudius' *legatus* in Britain. The close connexion of these two families is already well known.

29. In a field across the path from M, a base with concave face, 0.98 m. wide, 0.58 m. thick, the lower part buried in the ground, the upper part broken away. Letters 30 mm. high. Squeeze Fig. 43.

[-----]ν τήν
 ἀδελφήν 'Ιουλίου Κου-
 αδράτου τοῦ δικαιοδό-
 του Καυνίων ἡ βουλὴ
 καὶ ὁ δῆμος.



FIG. 43.—INSCRIPTION NO. 29.

C. Antius A. Julius A. f. Quadratus, twice *legatus* to the proconsul of Asia, *consul suffectus* A.D. 93, *consul ordinarius* A.D. 105, proconsul of Asia ca. A.D. 106, is frequently mentioned in inscriptions.¹⁴ His sister's name, so far as I am aware, is not known.

The term *δικαιοδότης* has been examined recently by J. A. O. Larsen in *Class. Phil.* 38, 3 (1943), 188-9. Apart from exceptional or obscure cases, the word appears to have two main uses: (1) to translate the Latin *juridicus*; (2) as an informal title applied to governors of provinces. Of the latter usage Larsen observes that epigraphic examples seem confined to Lycia, and that the fact that in Lycia-Pamphylia the duties of the governor were no doubt primarily judicial, coupled with the high regard in which the Lycians held an honest judge, explains their practice of describing the governor less formally as *δικαιοδότης*. He notes further that the title is used principally on monuments to members of the governor's family rather than to the governor himself. The present

¹³ Waddington, *Fastes*, 695, no. 76, *RE* s.v. 'Petronius' no. 24, *Pros. Imp. Rom.* III, 26, no. 198.

¹⁴ Waddington *Fastes* no. 114, *RE* s.v. 'Antius' no. 10, *IGR* IV, 275, 277, 373-08.

inscription conforms satisfactorily to these observations, except that the usage is now extended from Lycia to the neighbouring part of the province of Asia.¹⁶

30. In the woods behind M, a round statue-base, apparently *in situ*, 0.86 m. high, 0.66 m. in diameter; two footholes on top. Letters 15–20 mm. high. Squeeze Fig. 44.

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων ἐπαινεῖ
καὶ στεφανοῖ χρυσῶι στε-
φάνωι, τειμᾶ δὲ καὶ εἰκόνι
χαλκῇι, Κοίντου Κασκέλλιον
5 Κοίντου υἱὸν Γέμεινον
εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα
καὶ πάτρωνα γεγονότα
τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν.

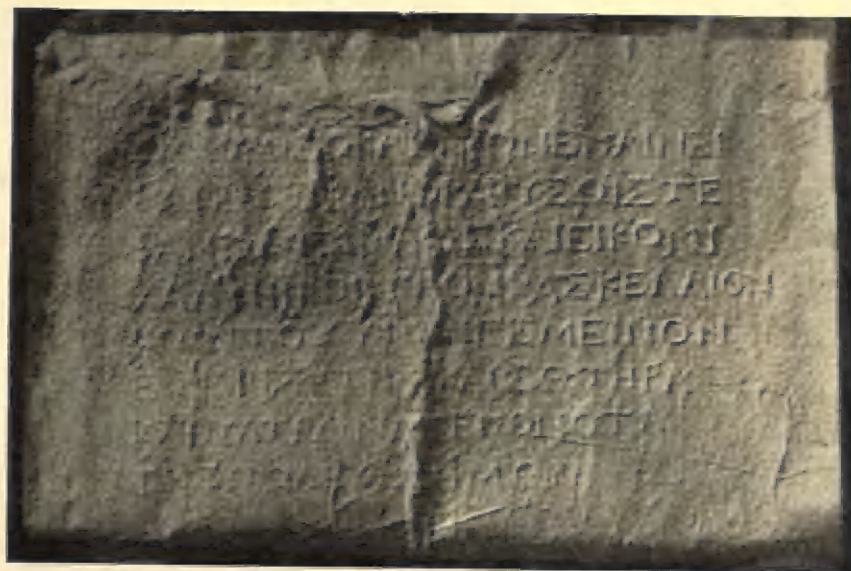


FIG. 44.—INSCRIPTION No. 30.

The man in question seems to be quite unknown. The script (apart from the form of *alpha*) is strikingly similar to that of No. 28, and a similar date appears likely.

31. In the woods behind M, a rectangular base 0.67 m. high, 0.71 m. wide, 0.57 m. thick, damaged at the top. Letters 25 mm. high, decreasing to 19 mm. at the bottom. Squeeze Fig. 45.

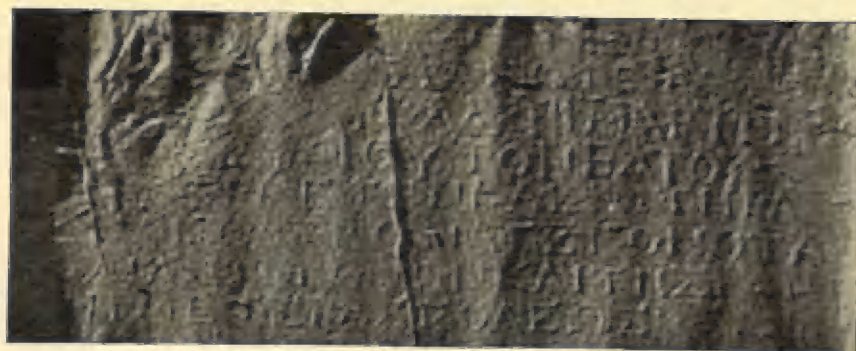


FIG. 45.—INSCRIPTION No. 31.

[ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων]
[ἐπαινεῖ καὶ στεφανοῖ]
[χρυσῶ στεφ]άνω, τει[μᾶ δὲ]
[καὶ εἰκόνι] χαλκῇι, ΜΑΡΤΙ[-]
5 [. . . .]ΙΚΙΟΥ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ

¹⁶ The expression *δικαιοδοτήσαντα τὴν ἐπαρχίαν* at Pergamum (*JGR* IV, 400, 401) may also be noted.

[εὐ]εργέτην καὶ σωτήρα
καὶ πάτρωνα γεγονότα
διὰ προγόνων καὶ τῆς
ἡμετέρας πόλεως.

I cannot recover the man's name. Not more than five letters are missing in l. 5, and hardly more than one or two at the end of l. 4, unless this line was considerably longer than the others. It seems impossible to restore more than two words, a name and a patronymic; for the date of the inscription (note χαλκῇ, ἔατοῦ) this is surprising, as the name must presumably be Roman. The man is apparently called by his *cognomen* only (Μαρτίνον or the like); the abbreviation Μ(άρκον) is very unlikely. The first preserved letter in l. 3 may be *iota* or *upsilon*.

καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως. Presumably to be coupled with ἔατοῦ.

32. In a field across the path from M, a block 0.93 m. wide, partly buried in the ground. The preserved part of the inscription begins close to the top edge. Squeeze.

ΙΟΝ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίω[ν τὸν]
ἑαυτοῦ σωτήρα καὶ εὐ[ερ]-
γέτην *vacat*

33. Buried in the path near M, a large but badly damaged block, inscribed in letters 21-26 mm. high. Squeeze.

[ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων στεφανοῖ]
[τὸν δεῖνα, εὐεργέτη]ν καὶ
[πάτρωνα γεγονότ]α τῆς
[πόλεως ἡμῶν, χ]ρυσῷ στεφάνω,
5 τειμ[ᾶ δὲ καὶ εἰκ]όνι χαλκῇ,
ἀρετῇ[ς] ἔνεκε[ν κ]αὶ εὐνοίας
ἧ[ς] ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸν
δῆμον ἡμῶν.

34. On the path near M, a large rectangular base, badly broken, 0.82 m. high, 0.56 m. thick, at least 1.00 m. wide, partly buried in the ground. The inscription is complete at the bottom, uncertain at the top, broken away at the top left, and worn away on the right. L. 6 is probably complete on the left. Letters 15-20 mm. high, widely spaced in l. 5, and especially so in l. 6. Squeeze Fig. 46.

[-----]ΥΕΝΔΗΜΟ[-----]
[---]ΕΑΝ ἀνδρα ἀγαθόν [γενόμενον καὶ ἐν]-
[δόξως] τελευτήσαντα ἀγῶ[νιζ]ό[μενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πα]-
[τρί]δος ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης. [*vac.?* ἡ δεῖνα]
5 [Ἄρ]ιστοδὴ μου ἀν[έστησεν τὸν]
αὐτῆς ἀνδ[ρα]



FIG. 46.—INSCRIPTION No. 34.

We have apparently the base of a statue erected by a wife to her husband who had died in battle abroad and received public burial; the restoration is, of course, *exempli gratia*. I scarcely know what -εαν may be in l. 2, unless it is the man's alternative name, in which case the obvious [ἔθα]ψεν δημο[σίᾳ] in l. 1 would not leave room for the three names. Probably, then, ΔΗΜΟ is the beginning of the man's name, e.g. [ὁ δῆμος ἔθα]ψεν Δημο[- τοῦ δεινός τὸν καὶ -]ἔαν, ἀνδρα ἀγαθόν κτλ. But one or more lines may be missing. The date can hardly be earlier than the first century B.C.

35. In a field across the path from M, a rectangular block 0.68 m. high, 0.65 m. wide, 0.54 m. thick; the inscription is badly worn, and appears to have continued on another block to the right. Letters 27 mm. high (34 mm. in l. 1). Squeeze.

[- -]αν Φῆσταν [- - - -]
 [- -]ΜΕΝΤΟΣΕΠΙ [- - - -]
 [- - -]ΑΣΤΟΝΠΕ [- - - -]
 [- - - -]ρα δὲ [- - - - -]
 5 [- - -]ΕΝΤΟΣ [- - - - -]
 [- - Λ]ικινίου [- - - - -]
 [- -]θυγατέρες Φ/ [- - -]
 [- - -]Ε . ΑΚΑΙΕΙ [- - - -]
 [- - - - - - - - - - -]
 10 [- - - - - - - - - - -]
 [- - ΙΙΙΚ . Ν τήν ἐα[υτ - -]
 [- -]ΙΝ

Ll. 2, 5. ? [Κλή]μεντος. Ll. 11-12. ? Τήν ἐα[υτοῦ εὐεργέτ]ιν.

36. In the ruin-field behind M are two door-posts still standing, formed of re-used epistyle blocks. On one of them, in elegant letters 24 mm. high, spaced 0.14 m. apart, reading downwards as the stone now stands, is the single word

Γαίου

On the other is an *omicron* only.

37. Horozlar, in a field just outside the village, a plain rectangular block 1.30 m. long, 0.60 m. high, 0.63 m. thick. Squeeze Pl. II(a).

(a) On the left; letters 26-28 mm. high.

[ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων ἐτείμησεν ?]
 [χρυσῶ στεφάν]ω καὶ εἰκόνι
 [χαλκῇ Διον]υσίαν Ἀγρεοφῶν-
 [τος τοῦ . . .]ότου Καυνίαν, (leaf)
 [πατρός καὶ] προγόνων στε- (leaf)
 5 [φανηφόρ]ω καὶ ἐνδόξων, ἰ-
 [ερασμένη]ν τῶν Σεβαστῶν
 [σεμνῶς καὶ] φιλοτείμως Ἀλ[ι]
 [- - 9-10 - -]νην, ἀρετῆς ἐνε-
 [κεν καὶ εὐν]οίας τῇ[ς εἰς αὐ]τόν.

L. 7. After φιλοτείμως, *alpha* rather than *lambda*; the letters after this are very faint, but a triangular letter in the second place is reasonably assured.

(b) On the right; letters 22-25 mm. high.

[ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων στεφανοῖ χρυσῶ]
 στεφάνω, τειμᾶ δὲ καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκ[ῇ],
 Ζήνωνα Ἀγρεοφῶντος τοῦ Ἀντιπ[ά]-
 τρου Καυνίου, ἀνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν
 ἐκ προγόνων καλῶν καὶ φιλοδόξων,
 5 πατρός στεφανηφόρου, στεφανηφ[ο]-
 ρήσαντα Βασιλέος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γυ-
 μνασιάρχῃσαντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ
 ἱερασάμενον τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ στ[ρ]α-
 τηγήσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίου πολιτεί-
 10 ας καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα δωρεάν πρὸς
 Αὐτοκράτορα, ἀρετῆς ἐνεκεν καὶ εὐ-
 νοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτόν· τὴν δὲ ἀνάστα-
 σιν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐποίησατο
 ἐξ ἰδίου Διονυσία Ἀγρεοφῶντος
 ἡ γυνή (leaf) αὐτοῦ.

One line appears to be missing at the beginning of both (a) and (b), and no doubt stood on the line above. A similar block to the left probably carried a third inscription and the left half of (a).

The honours recorded in both texts evidently issue from the city of Caunus; the designation of the recipients as Caunians is therefore somewhat unusual. As the same peculiarity occurs also

in No. 38, it appears that in Caunus at this period the use of the city-ethnic in the city was not abnormal.¹⁶

The stephanephorus of the god Basileus is mentioned again in No. 38, where his duties are of a purely secular character. But who was the god Basileus? It might appear natural to identify him with Zeus, who is occasionally called Basileus alone—though only, so far as I am aware, in dedications Βασιλεῖ καὶ Κούρησιν.¹⁷ A cult of Zeus Basileus in Caunus would be nothing surprising.¹⁸ But our deity is called, both here and in No. 38, Βασιλεὺς ὁ θεός, which is hardly the same thing; I am far from sure that this is an acceptable title for Zeus. A different interpretation is suggested by an inscription from Cos which has attracted less attention than perhaps it deserves. We read¹⁹: Φιλήρατος Ἀριστείδα, βασιλέως Καύνου, τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος, τὸ ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο. The editors understand that Aristeidias, King of Caunus, was 'one of the many petty kings or tyrants who flourished in the cities of the Aegean during the latter part of the fourth century B.C.', and they favour Rayet's suggestion that the god in question is Asclepius. It is in fact not impossible (see Part I, p. 18) to fit in a short-lived tyranny at Caunus between the end of Hecatomnid rule and the



FIG. 47.—CUSTOMS-HOUSE. PRESENT CONDITION.

capture of the city by Antigonos in 313 B.C. But the term used is βασιλεὺς, and this isolated appearance of a 'king' of Caunus is unquestionably surprising. I believe that this interpretation is mistaken. If the comma after Καύνου is deleted, the meaning will be 'at the behest of King Caunus the God'—the same god who appears in the present Nos. 37 and 38. We have, I believe, in these three inscriptions evidence of a cult of the legendary eponymous founder and king, Caunus the son of Miletus.²⁰ In Caunus itself his title is simply Βασιλεὺς ὁ θεός, but on foreign territory at Cos his name is very naturally added. In this case, Philēratus is not a Caunian but a Coan, as indeed the Doric form of his patronymic suggests.²¹

In (b) l. 9, the occurrence of the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας is interesting, as it confirms not only the period of Caunian independence in the first century A.D., but also its subsequent loss.²²

¹⁶ It was also normal in Lycia in the Imperial period (*TAM* II, *passim*).

¹⁷ *I. v. Priene* 186 = *Syll.*³ 599, *Hesperia* XVI (1947), 87, no. 13 (Chios) and the notes *ad loc.*

¹⁸ See Mitson's note in *Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹ Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos* 109, no. 53, after Rayet, *Inscr. de Cos*, no. 1, quoted above Part I, p. 18, n. 31.

²⁰ His story is told in a fragment of Aristocritus (*FGH* III B, no. 493, 1 = *FHG* IV 334, 2). A further story, attributed to Nicaenetus and Apollonius Rhodius (*FHG* IV, 313), gives the names of two other early kings of Caunus, Aebialus and Basilos.

²¹ I had previously considered understanding βασιλεὺς in the Coan inscription not as a king but as a religious official; on this use of the word see most recently F. K. Dörner, *Reise*

in Bithynien (*Öst. Akad. Wiss. Denkschr.* 75, 1), p. 14, no. 5. But to this explanation the addition of Καύνου is fatal: βασιλεὺς Καύνου can, it seems, only mean 'king of Caunus'.

²² When this period began is not certain (see Part I, p. 19), but if Brutus' correspondence with the Caunians (*Epistologr. Gr.*, ed. Hercher, 181 nos. XIX-XX, 183 nos. XXXI-XXXII) has any basis of historical fact, the separation from Rhodes can hardly have been later than 43 B.C. The Caunians profess goodwill (XIX: εὖνοσιν ἡμῖν πρεσβευόμενοι προσποιεσθῆναι) and have done Brutus services in the past (XXXI: τὰς ἄλλας ὑπουργίας and XXXII: τὴν παλαιὰν σπουδὴν), though he complains of their present slackness. No details whatever are given, but the contrast with the case of Rhodes is striking, and it is hard to believe that when Brutus had gone Caunus tamely slipped back into Rhodian power.

The present inscription was evidently cut not long after the loss of liberty, and should accordingly date to the latter part of the century.

38. Beside the lower path to Çandır, about a hundred yards from M in the direction of the theatre, are the ruins of a building about 8 m. long and something over 6 m. wide, constructed of large blocks, many of which are inscribed; these are now mostly thrown down. Of the inscribed blocks only E at present forms part of a standing wall, with the right-hand portion of D partially resting on it; the inscribed face is on the outer side looking towards the harbour. The existing ruins are beyond doubt those of the original building, on whose wall the inscription was cut—presumably the customs-house, for which the position, close to the ancient port, is obviously suitable. The inscribed blocks are for the most part very badly weathered and difficult to read; I give here photographs, from squeezes, only of the two most legible, B and C. Fig. 47 shows the present condition of the building.

A. On a block now lying 40 yards up the path towards the theatre, 1.51 m. long, 0.38 m. high, 0.43 m. thick; the writing appears to cover the entire block, but is now illegible at the top and on the right. Letters 23–24 mm. high. Squeeze.

(4 lines illegible)

5 [--- τ]οῦ Ἑσπαιο[υ] Καύνιο[ς] καὶ Μενέστρα[το]ς τρεῖς Μι[---]
[---]ους β' τοῦ Ἑσπαιοῦ Καύνιος καὶ κατὰ ΤΟΝΕΝΤΑ[. . .]ΟΝ[---]
[---]ήσ]φαλισμένα καὶ κατὰ τήνδε τ[ή]ν διαγρ[αφήν] ---
[---]ημένων [. . .] ἀρχόντος τοῦ χρόνου ---
[---]μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ἔτους Α[---]
10 [---]αγομένων πάντων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν [---]
[---]νομένων ἐν τῷ δημοσιωνικῷ νόμῳ εἰκοστήν τῆς τειμῆς[ος - c. 7 - -]

B. The text was on three blocks. That on the left is lost; that in the middle is 0.93 m. long, 0.46 m. high, 0.43 m. thick, and is now lying in front of E outside the building. The ends of the lines are on the left end of the block which carries F. Letters 21–24 mm. high. Squeeze (middle portion) Pl. II(δ).

[---]ΟΜΕΝΩΝ[. . .]ΟΥΔΗΜΟΤΗΤΟΥ[. . .]ΛΥ[.]ΙΚΟ[. . .]
[---]Ἀγρε]οφώντος v. τοῦ Μηνοφάνους β' τοῦ Ἑσπαιοῦ Καύνιον
[---]ου Ἀγρεο[φ]ώντος τοῦ Μηνοφάνους β' τοῦ Ἑσπαιοῦ Καύ-
[---]ΙΟΥ[. . .] δεδωκέναι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἰσαγομένων ἀτελεί-
5 [---]ΑΝΓΕΛΩΣ δηλοῦτοι ἀργυρίου * ἑξακισμῦρια ΚΛΟ[. . .]ΕΖΑ
[---]ἐνὴν ἀπαγομένων ἐντεῦθεν δουλικῶν σωμάτων λήμψονται
[---]ον δίδοσθαι κατὰ τὸν δημοσιωνικὸν νόμον. vac. ἡ δὲ ἰσαγωγή
[---]μεμισθωμένον τὴν ἀλικὴν ὠνήν κατὰ τὰ προὔποκέμ[ε]να. vac.
[---]ενοι οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἀκολουθίαν ἢ χρήσεως ἕνεκεν κατὰ τὸν δημο-
10 [---]ων. vac. ἔστω δὲ ἐπάνανκες τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις ἀφ' ἧς ἂν
[---]άγουσιν φόρτια ἐπὶ τῷ πάλιν αὐτὰ εὐθέως ἑξαγαγεῖν ἀπο
[---]αυθήμερον ἢ τῇ ἐχομένη ὑπὲρ μόνον τούτων ὧν ἂν ἔχω-
[---]ν καὶ ἐὰν διὰ τῆς γῆς παραγωγίμων φόρτιον ἔχωσιν, καὶ ταυ-
[---]ἀπ]ογραφῆς. vac. τῶν δὲ οὕτως ὑπὸ τινων καθὼς προγ[έ]γραπται εἰ-
15 [---]ων ἢ μὴ καταπωλουμένων ἐνθάδε καὶ μὴ ἀπογραφ[ομένων] κα-
[---]μόνων τῶν φορτίων στέρεσις ἔστω τῷ τελώνῃ [κατὰ τὸν]

For the restoration see the discussion below.

C. The text is on two blocks. The left-hand portion is on the right end of a block, otherwise uninscribed, 0.97 m. long, 0.545 m. high, 0.435 m. thick, the inscribed part of the surface sunk 0.02 m. below the rest. There is a similar sinking on the back of the block, so that the uninscribed part is 0.47 m. thick. The right-hand portion almost entirely covers a block 1.50 m. long, 0.55 m. high, thickness not now ascertainable, lying behind E inside the building. Letters 22–24 mm. high. Squeeze (right-hand portion) Pl. II(ε).

δημοσιωνικ[όν] νόμον. vacat?
πάντες δὲ οἱ ἰσάγοντες ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς ξένης[ς . . .]ΟΥ[. . .]ΤΑΠ[. . .] κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἐὰν τε χρώνται
αὐτοὶ ἢ τιπράσκω-
σίν τι ἐνθάδε, χωρ[ί]ς μόνων τῶν ὠρισμένων εἶναι ὑποτελῶν, μηδενὶ ὑποκεισθῶσαν τέ-
λαι ἰς τὸ ἐλλιμένιον ΠΟ[. . .], μὴ ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν τῶν τῷ ἐλλιμένιον μεμισθωμένων
5 μήτε ἀργύριον πράσσειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰσαγομένων καθὼς ἐπ' εἰδους δεδιήλωται, μήτε ἀ-
π' αὐτῶν τῶν ἰσαγομένων λαβεῖν τι τέλους ἢ φιλανθρώπου ὀνόματι εἰς Ἀφροδείτην
μηδ' εἰς ἡντιναοῦν ἀπογραφῆν. vacat
οἱ δὲ προσπλέοντες ξένοι καὶ πωλοῦντές τι, ἔχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν τῆς ἀτελεί-
ας ὧν ἰσάγουσιν ἀνέσιν μετὰ τὸ καταπλεῦσαι, ὅσα ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰσνευχθέντων
10 ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἰς τὴν γῆν τεθέντων μείνη αὐτοῖς ἀπράτα, ἐντιθέμενοι πόλιν
αὐτὰ ἰς τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἑξάγοντες αὐτοὶ ἐν ἄλλαις ἡμέραις εἰκοσι, vac. καὶ οἱ διὰ γῆς
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δὲ ἰσκομίσαντες τι ξενοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πωλῆσαι τι, ὅσα ἂν αὐτοῖς μείνη ἄπρατα ἐξά-
γοντες αὐτὰ αὐ[τ]οὶ πάλιν διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ὧν εἰσήγαγον ὄρων ἐν ἄλλαις ἡμέ-
ραις τριάκοντα, οὐχ ὑποκείσονται τῷ τοῦ ἐξαγωγίου τέλει ἢ φιλανθρώπου τι-
15 νὸς ἢ Ἀφροδείτης ὀνόματι. *vac.* ἀπογράφονται δὲ οὗτοι τ(ῇ)ν ἡμέραν μόνον διὰ τῶν
ἀρχείων καὶ τὸν τόπον δι' οὗ ἰσθήγαγον ἐπὶ τοῦ στεφανηφόρου Βασιλέως τοῦ θεοῦ
ἡμε[τ]ὰ τ[τ]ὸ [κ]αταγα[εῖ]ν ἐν ἄλλαις ἡμέραις τρισίν, προσγράφοντες καὶ τὸν ἐπηγγελμένον

D. The text was on two blocks. That on the left is broken, and the left half is missing; the remaining portion is 0.69 m. long, 0.615 m. high, 0.43 m. thick, and is wholly covered with writing, of which only the right-hand part is legible. The ends of the lines are on a separate block, otherwise uninscribed, 2.01 m. long, 0.615 m. high, 0.43 m. thick, now lying half-tilted back with its left end resting on the right end of E. Letters 23-24 mm. high. Squeeze.

	[-----]	ΔΟΝ[.]
	[-----]	ΦΩ[.] ΔΟΙΛΑ
	[----- οὐχ ὑ]ποκείσονται	[ι] τ[ῶ] τ[ῆ]λει οὐ-
	δὲ ----- οὐδὲ ἀ]πογραφῇ τι	<i>vacat</i>
5	[-----] νέων ὑπὸ ξένων κα[ι] μ[ε]τοί-	
	κων -----] καὶ ταῦτα Π[.] ΔΕ[.]	
	[-----] ἦναι τὴν πανήγυριν	
	[-----] διὰ γῆς ἢ διὰ θαλάσσης	
10	[-----] ὑ]ποκείσθωσαν περὶ	
	[-----] τῷ τοῦ ἐξαγωγίου τέ-	
	λει -----] ἀ]πογραφῆς ὀνόματι	
	[-----] πανήγυρι]ν διαγον-	
	[-----] καὶ πάλιν οἱ ἀπὸ ταυ-	
15	[-----] εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χρῆσιν	ΡΟΔΙ
	[-----] ΕΠ[.] Α	

(3 lines illegible)

E. The text is contained on a single block 2.01 m. long, 0.62 m. high, 0.43 m. thick, still in position in the wall. Letters 23-24 mm. high. Squeeze.

[-----] ΛΕ[.]
[-----] ΑΜΟΝΟΥ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑλλει-
!![.]!!ΛΙ[-----] ἀπογράφονται] καὶ τειμήσονται ἐπὶ
[τοῦ] τότε [στεφ]ανηφό[ρ]ου [Βασιλέως τοῦ] θεοῦ τὴν ποσότητα καὶ τὰ εἶδη
5 τῶν φορτίων [μ]όνων ὅσα μὴ [ὑ]ποκ[ε]ίμενα] τῶν μονοπωλίων κωλύεται· καὶ
πωλήσου[σ]ιν ἀ[πὸ] τῶν οὕτω τετιμημένων?] οὐκ ἔλασσον τοῦ τρίτου μέρους·
τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ φόρ[τ]ια ἂν βούλωνται ἐξάγειν αὐτοί, ἀπογραφόμενοι διὰ τῶν ἀρ-
χείων καὶ τειμώμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τότε [σ]τεφανηφόρου, οὐχ ὑποκείσον-
ται οὐδὲ αὐ[τ]οὶ περὶ τῶν υπολοίπων φορτίων οὐδὲ τῷ τοῦ ἐ[ξ]αγωγίου τέλει
10 οὐδὲ φιλανθρώπου τινὸς ἢ Ἀφροδείτης ὀνόματι οὐδ' ἠτινιοῦν παρευρέσει κα-
τ' οὐδένα τρόπον. ἔάν τις ξένος βουλευθεὶς πωλῆσαι φορτίων τὰ τρίτα
μὴ δυνηθῇ τὴν διάπρασιν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ δηλώσει διὰ τῆς
δευτέρας ἀπογρα]φῆς καὶ τειμήσεως, οὗτος ὑπὲρ ὅσων ἂν ἐξάγῃ φορτίων πε-
ρισσῶν ἐκ τῆς δε[υ]τέρας ἀπογραφῆς δώσει μόνον τὸ τοῦ ἐξαγωγίου τέλος.
15 οὐ λήψου[ν]ται δὲ] τέλος οὔτε παρὰ πολειτῶν οὔτε μετοίκων ἢ ξένων τῶν
κατοικούντων καὶ] π[ρ]αγματευομένων ἐν Καύνω ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν κατασκευά-
σωσιν πλοί[ων] ἢ εἰσαγάγωσιν ἢ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀγοράσωσιν, χωρὶς ἔάν μὴ
ὑπὸ τινος [.....] α[π]ιπράσκηται. *vac.* οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ξενικῶν δὲ πάν-
των πλοίων τῶν ἀποκλ[ε]ιμόντων ἢ θε[ρ]απτευομένων τι ἢ τῶν παραχειμαζόντων καὶ
20 τῶν μεθαρ[μ]οζόντων τι ἢ τῶν ἐπισκ[ευ]αζομένων τι ἢ ἀντισοδιαζόντων τι ἢ καὶ τῶν λοι-
πων ΤΙΣΚ[.....]ΙΟΥΟΝΤΩΝ ἀχρήστων ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν λει[π]όντων αὐτοῖς σὺν ἢ ἂν ἕκαστον

F. The text is on a single block 1.53 m. long, 0.46 m. high, 0.42 m. thick, which carries also the ends of the lines of B. It is broken into two parts, now lying in front of the building; both parts, but especially the left-hand portion, are broken away at the bottom. Squeeze.

α[ὐ]τῶν ἐχ[η] Ν[.] ΙΛΗ[.] ΗΣ[.] ἢ κατ' ἐ[ξ]αρτεία[ν]
ὡς πρὸς πλοῦν, ἢ κατασ[κ]ευαζομένης ὁπουδηποτεοῦν σκα-
φῆς, οὐδὲν πρὰ[ξ]ουσιν ο[ὐ]δ' εἰς λόγον τινὸς [φ]ιλανθρώπου οὐδ' ἡ-
τινιοῦν παρευρέσει κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον. *vac.* πράξονται δὲ τέ-

- 5 [λος] τῆς πίσεως [καί] ῥητείνης [ΣΗ[.]Α[.]ΚΑΙ[.]...]ΑΣ[.] τοῦ μὲν κεραμίου[ν]
 τῆς πίσεως καὶ τῆς ῥητείνης [ἑ]κάστου κεραμίου εἰσαγώγιον τὸ ἀνὰ
 λόγον ὡς τῶν [δ]εκαδύ[ο κ]εραμίων ν. καὶ ἐξαγώγιον τὸ ἀνὰ λό-
 γον ὡς τῶν [δ]εκαδύ[ο κ]εραμίων [.]Α[.]... τοῦ] δὲ βώλου τῆς πί-
 σης καὶ τῆς ῥη[τ]είνης εἰ[σ]αγώγιον [βώλου ἐκάσ]του καὶ ἐξαγώγιον
 10 τὸ ἀνὰ λόγον ὡς [---]ΝΤΗΣΣ[---] c. 17-18 ---]Α ν. πράξονται
 δὲ τέλος καὶ [---]ΟΥ[.]ΩΝ[.]ΝΙ[.] τὴν πίσσαν καὶ τὴν ῥητείνη[ν]
 [σκομιζο[---] ἐάν τε αὐτ[ὰ ὁ π]αν[τ]οπώλης ἰσφέρη ἐάν τε
 [---]Α ἀγοράσῃ [.] ὁμοίως ἐνγράφουσιν τὰ
 [---] πεπτοιημένων καὶ οἱ παρα
 15 [---]ΣΤΗΝΕΙ[.]ΕΚ[---] c. 11 ---] τὰ φόρτια Εἰ
 [---] τῶν φορτί[ων]

G. Block lying in front of the building, 1.32 m. long, 0.545 m. high, 0.43 m. thick. The block appears to be almost entirely covered with writing, but this is now almost completely effaced; I read only ΑΟΓ at the beginning of the second line.

It is, I think, possible to determine the original relative positions of the blocks in the wall with a high degree of certainty. E is still in position in the wall, and the blocks below and to the right of it are uninscribed; the column of writing is 1.76 m. wide (with slight variations). The block carrying the ends of the lines of D is now standing tilted backwards with its left end resting on the right end of E; it can hardly have come into this position unless it stood there originally, so that

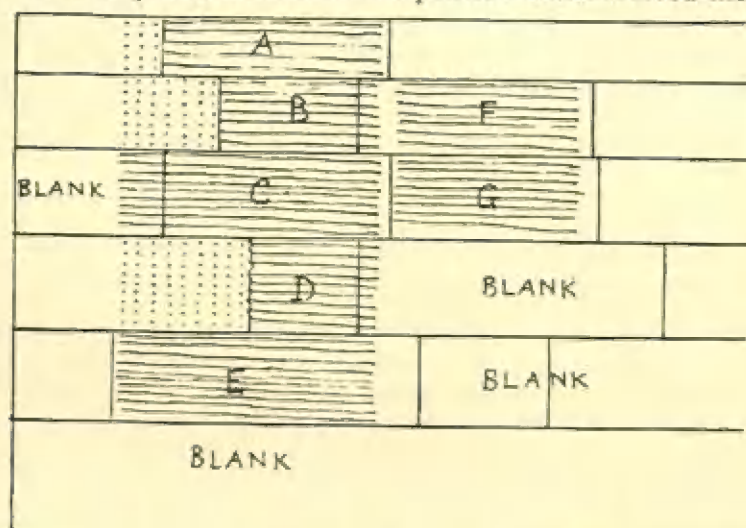


FIG. 48.—ORIGINAL ARRANGEMENT OF BLOCKS IN CUSTOMS-HOUSE WALL. THE DOTTED PARTS ARE NOW MISSING.

D must have stood immediately above E. In C the column of writing is also 1.76 m. wide (0.43 + 1.33, again with slight variations), so that C no doubt stood higher up in the same column; almost certainly it stood immediately above D, since the opening lines of D, fragmentary though they are, seem well suited to complete the unfinished sentence at the end of C. In B the width of the column is uncertain, since the left-hand portion is missing; but from the continuity of the texts there can be no doubt that it stood immediately above C: before δημοσιωνικὸν νόμον in C1 we expect κατὰ τὸν, and these words will neatly fill the gap at the end of B. Of A, now lying some distance away, the left-hand portion is again missing; but since the proper names in A 5-6 occupy exactly the same relative positions on the stone as the same names in B 2-3, the length of line was no doubt identical in the two cases, and A belongs also to this same column. Further, we know that there was no column of writing to the left of this column, because the block carrying the left-hand portion of C is otherwise blank; ²³ it follows that A is in all probability the beginning of the entire document. Its contents, so far as they are intelligible, seem quite appropriate to this position. F, we know, stood immediately to the right of B in a second column, of which the width is 1.23 m.—considerably narrower than the other. G is of the same height as C, so presumably stood in the same horizontal course, that is immediately below F. This is confirmed by the only legible syllable ΑΟΓ in l. 2, which recalls the phrase ἀνὰ λόγον in F. The space to the right of D and E is known to have been blank, so that the document ended on block G.²⁴ One question remains. Is F the direct con-

²³ Nor is there room for a column of writing between E and the apparent corner of the building.

²⁴ The possibility that it continued in a third column on

the right, of which no trace remains, seems altogether too remote.

tinuation of E, or did the inscription continue on the intermediate block above F and to the right of A? It might seem more natural that the two columns should begin at the same level on the wall, but in fact the preserved text appears to be continuous; not only is the subject-matter similar, but F 1-4 supplies grammatically just what is needed to complete the sentence beginning in E 18. I believe, therefore, that ABCDEFG, in that order, present a continuous text, complete at beginning and end, and stood originally in the wall as shown in Fig. 48.

This remarkable document calls for more exhaustive treatment than it can receive here. Its unique nature combines with the incompleteness and illegibility of the text to render many points obscure. First and foremost, I take it as certain that we have to deal with a decree of the city of Caunus concerning her own municipal taxes, not with any regulations issued by Rome in connexion with the Imperial *portorium*. This appears not only from the use of ἐντεῦθεν, ἐνθάδε, ἐν Καύνῳ, but also from the inclusion of goods imported by land into the city; such goods would not be crossing a frontier of the Empire, and would not naturally be subject to the *portorium*.²⁵ Caunus must accordingly be added to the small number of *civitates liberae* which are known to have levied their own dues under the Empire.²⁶ The date of the inscription will fall in the period when Caunus was a free city as recorded by Pliny (see above on No. 37); this is confirmed by the style of the lettering, which may well be of the first century A.D. The fact that in A and B the persons mentioned are designated by the city-ethnic Καύνιος need not be taken to imply that the document, or this part of it, emanates from outside Caunus, in view of the similar use of the ethnic in No. 37. In the second place, the present decree is obviously quite distinct from the city customs-law, ὁ δημοσιωνικός νόμος, to which it alludes a number of times; it is, on the contrary, almost entirely concerned (in its intelligible parts) not with the imposition but with the relaxation or remission of taxation. Before discussing further its general bearing, I take the individual sections separately.

A + B 1-5. This I take to be the beginning of the whole document, including probably a decree of the city of Caunus in honour of two citizens, descendants of one Hestiacus,²⁷ who had presented a sum of 60,000 denaria for the remission of taxation on imported and exported goods.²⁸ In A 8-9 we have an allusion to a period of time commencing (apparently) from a certain month of the current year; on the question whether this is the period for which the new regulations are to be valid, see below pp. 104-5. The reference in A 11 to the εἰκοστή is interesting; in the fragmentary state of the context it is impossible to be sure whether this was the rate of tax imposed by the Caunian δημοσιωνικός νόμος, but this appears likely; if so, it is noticeable that this is double the Roman *quadragesima Asiae*. The new regulations are apparently described in A 7 by the term διαγραφή, a wholly appropriate word. [ἡ]σφαλισμένα in the same line would naturally denote goods seized or impounded, but how this fits into the context is not clear.

B 6-C 1. The new regulations begin, if I understand rightly, by enumerating (ll. 6-10) certain respects in which the existing regulations are to remain unaffected, or even to become more strict; namely, tax on slaves and salt shall continue to be paid in accordance with the δημοσιωνικός νόμος,²⁹ and in the case of foreigners there shall be no exemption even (οὐδέ) for personal attendants (πρὸς ἀκολουθίαν) and goods intended for personal use (χρήσεος ἕνεκεν). The following represents the general sense of the passage as I understand it:³⁰

[- - ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἰς τὴν ξ]ένην ἀπαγομένων ἐντεῦθεν δουλικῶν σωμάτων λήμψονται [τὰ εἰθισμένα, ὥστε τὸ ἐξαγωγή]ον διδοσθαι κατὰ τὸν δημοσιωνικὸν νόμον. ἡ δὲ ἰσαγωγή [τῶν ἀλῶν ὑποτελῆς ἔσται ἰς τὸν] μεμισθωμένον τὴν ἀλικὴν ὠνὴν κατὰ τὰ προϋποκείμενα. [ἀτέλειαν δὲ οὐχ ἔξουσιν οἱ ξ]ένοι οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἀκολουθίαν ἢ χρήσεος ἕνεκεν κατὰ τὸν δημο- [σιωνικὸν νόμον εἰσαγομέν]ων.

Exemption in favour of personal property was normal in ancient as in modern times,³¹ but it caused endless trouble, and for this reason no doubt is abolished here. Similarly, in C 2 no distinction is made between personal effects and goods for sale. Caunian salt (*sal Caunites*) is mentioned by Pliny, *NH XXXI*, 99, where it is said to be especially useful for mixing with eye-salves. Broughton 799 observes that 'salt pans were probably a source of state rather than municipal revenue'; as is indicated by the situation at Priene (*I. v. Priene*, No. 111); our present passage shows that this was

²⁵ For the *portorium* and cognate matters I have consulted R. Cagnat, *Les impôts indirects chez les Romains* (1882), T. R. S. Broughton, *Roman Asia Minor (Economic Survey of Ancient Rome IV, 1938)*, and S. J. de Laet, *Portorium* (1949); these three works I quote by the author's name alone. I have also discussed the inscription with Professor A. H. M. Jones, to whom I am deeply grateful for his kind advice. He first suggested the probable connexion between C and E.

²⁶ Cagnat 144, Broughton 799, and especially de Laet 351-61.

²⁷ And just possibly a third person: I considered reading in B1 something like Μίμων[ος τ]ῆς ἀποστολῆς [Κ]αύν[ου], but this is exceedingly dubious.

²⁸ B2-4, [ἐπιτάξιον] τὸν δῆλον καὶ Μένιστρον . . . [ἐνεκεν] τοῦ

[ἐπι]δοσθῆναι κτλ, or the like. Similar benefactions are not unknown, notably at Xanthus (*TAM II*, 291 = *IGR III*, 634): κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἀπολιπόντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀπείρας λόγον ἀργυρίου δημόσια τρισμύρια; and something of a similar nature at Assus (*IGR IV*, 259): αὐτὸς ἀναδεχόμενος τὴν τῶν πολιτικῶν πρακτικῶν πρᾶξιν. The service of an unknown benefactor at Lampsacus (*IGR IV*, 181) seems to have been of a different kind.

²⁹ κατὰ τὰ προϋποκείμενα in l. 8 has evidently a similar sense, according to the regulations previously in force.

³⁰ To bring the length of line to 1.76 m. (see above), some 23-25 letters must be supplied on the left.

³¹ Cagnat 105, de Laet 428.

not always the case. If, as seems likely, fish was exported from Caunus in antiquity (see on No. 20 above), salt may have been of exceptional importance there. There are no saltpans at Daiyan to-day.

The incomplete state of ll. 10-16 is much to be regretted, owing to the mention of goods intended for immediate re-export (l. 11) and not for sale in Caunus (l. 15)—that is, goods in transit. The expression here used, παραγωγίμον φόρτιον, appears to be unexampled, but its general meaning is hardly doubtful. It is certain that in ancient times, contrary to modern practice, customs were commonly levied on goods in transit both at entrance and at exit, and no clear evidence of any exemption has hitherto appeared.³² This was undoubtedly felt as a hardship by itinerant merchant-captains, and in the case of Roman Asia the matter was brought to an issue in 59 B.C. under the governorship of Quintus Cicero, who referred the question to the Senate. The latter's decision is most unfortunately not known, but Marcus Cicero gave it as his opinion, *re consulta et explorata*, that no tax ought to be paid.³³ For the normal treatment of goods in transit by such free cities as levied municipal customs there is no evidence, and one would much wish to know what was done at Caunus; but so much is missing that restoration must be largely tentative.

The present passage must naturally be considered in connexion with the provisions of C-E below. From C 8-9, ἔχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν τῆς ἀτελείας ἀνεσιν μετὰ τὸ καταπλεῦσαι, it appears that the exemption begins only after berthing, and the following clauses relate to remission of taxation on re-export. Import duty was therefore presumably payable, and it seems likely that it was dealt with in B 10-14. It is further clear from [ἀπ]ογραφῆς in l. 14 and ἀπογραφ[ομέν]ων in l. 16 that the question of registration (declaration) also arises. Since ἔστω δὲ ἐπάνανκες in l. 10 indicates a positive obligation rather than a concession, I take it that registration and payment of import duty are, at least in some cases, compulsory. The next point concerns [ισ]άγουσιν in l. 11. This must surely be a dative participle; but with the clause ἀφ' ἧς ἂν κτλ. intervening, it is awkward to join it directly with τοῖς ναυκλήροις. I therefore believe that the participial clause denotes an exception, and that we must read [εἰ μὴ (πλήν) τοῖς [ισ]άγουσιν. The intervening phrase can hardly be other than ἀφ' ἧς ἂν κα[ταπλέωσιν ἡμέρας] or the equivalent, to be joined with αὐθήμερον ἢ τῇ ἐχομένῃ. At the end of l. 11, ἀπο- is no doubt the beginning of some form of ἀπογράφεσθαι. The mention of the [ισ]αγωγίον will come in l. 13; it is to be paid only on a certain class of goods. The key-word defining this class is lost, but nothing seems more likely than 'goods for sale': ὑπὲρ μόνον τούτων ὧν ἂν ἔχω[σιν] πρατῶν (πρασίμων)]; these are the same as the goods [ς] τὴν γῆν τεθέντων in C 10. Goods which remain on board ship are not liable to duty. If I have understood the situation more or less correctly, the passage may be restored somewhat after this fashion:

ἔστω δὲ ἐπάνανκες τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις ἀφ' ἧς ἂν κα-
[ταπλέωσιν ἡμέρας, εἰ μὴ τοῖς [ισ]άγουσιν φόρτια ἐπὶ τῷ πάλιν αὐτὰ εὐθέως ἐξαγαγεῖν, ἀπο-
[γραψιμένοις διὰ τῶν ἀρχείων] αὐθήμερον ἢ τῇ ἐχομένῃ, ὑπὲρ μόνον τούτων ὧν ἂν ἔχω-
[σιν] πρατῶν δοῦναι τὸ [ισ]αγώγιον.

In the following clause, ll. 13-14, καὶ ἐὰν appears to answer to τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις in l. 10. This coupling of the clauses suggests that similar rules applied also to the παραγωγίμον φόρτιον. My first idea was that the two clauses referred respectively to goods imported by sea (τοῖς ναυκλήροις) and by land (διὰ τῆς γῆς), but I now believe this is not so. In the first place, the subject of ἔχωσιν would be unsatisfactorily vague: it ought surely to be the ship-captains. Secondly, in C 11, where the meaning is 'by land', διὰ γῆς is written without the article in the natural way. διὰ τῆς γῆς παραγωγίμον φόρτιον means, I believe, goods imported by sea but intended for an inland destination beyond the limits of Caunian territory: 'cargoes for conveyance through our land'. These also were, as I understand it, required to be registered but not to pay import duty. The genitive [ἀπ]ογραφῆς seems most naturally explained as following χωρὶς or πλήν: the text may be something like:

καὶ ἐὰν διὰ τῆς γῆς παραγωγίμον φόρτιον ἔχωσιν, καὶ ταῦ-
[τα μηδενὶ ὑποκείσθω χωρὶς ἀπ]ογραφῆς.

In the final clause ll. 14-16, the significant word is στέρεσις, which is technical for 'confiscation'. I take it that the right of confiscation applies to goods not duly registered as required above, whether these are intended for sale in Caunus or not. Confiscation of goods not duly declared was standard practice.³⁴ The restoration will be approximately:

τῶν δὲ οὕτως ὑπὸ τινων καθὼς προγέγραπται εἰ-
[τε ἐπὶ τῷ πωλεῖσθαι [ισ]αγομέν]ων ἢ μὴ καταπωλουμένων ἐνθάδε, καὶ μὴ ἀπογραφ[ομέν]ων κα-
[τὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα, τούτων] μόνων τῶν φορτίων στέρεσις ἔστω τῷ τελώνῃ [κατὰ τὸν]

C 1 δημοσιωνικὸν νόμον.

³² Cagnat 151-2, de Laet 452.

³³ Cic. Att. II 16, 4, de portorio circumvectionis. Cf. Cagnat 152, de Laet 109-10.

³⁴ Quintilian declam. 341: quod quis professus non est apud publicanos, pro commissio tenetur. Cf. ib. 359, Digest XXXIX, 4, 16 (quoted by Cagnat 129, de Laet 438).

If the above interpretation is anywhere near the mark, goods in transit at Caunus were divided into three categories. (1) Cargoes brought into Caunus and 'immediately' ³⁵ taken out again pay no duty and are not even registered. (2) Cargoes which stay at Caunus beyond the second day but do not leave the ship must be registered but pay no import duty. (3) Similarly, goods put on shore for transmission to an ulterior destination must be registered but do not pay import duty. In the last two cases, failure to register renders the goods liable to confiscation.

The form of expression *στέρεσις ἔστω τῷ τελώνῃ κατὰ τὸν δημοσιωνικὸν νόμον* shows that the proper distinction between *δημοσιωνής*, the Roman *publicanus*, and *τελώνης*, the municipal tax-farmer, is here neglected—as it is also, for example, in the Palmyra tariff.³⁶ The phrasing further confirms the opinion expressed by de Laet 440, that confiscated goods went to the tax-farmer himself, not to the state.

C 2-7. Regulations concerning importation, whether by citizens or by foreign merchants. *Persons importing [chattels] from abroad by sea, whether for personal use or for sale in Caunus, shall not be liable to any payment of tax to the harbour [- - -], except upon such goods as have been specifically declared dutiable: the tax-farmers shall have no authority to exact any money payment upon the goods imported as shown in the official tariff, nor to seize any part of the goods themselves either as tax or as 'perquisite' in the name of Aphrodite or as any kind of 'declaration fee'.*

I can neither read nor guess the word or words after *ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης* in l. 2. Some quite general term is wanted, as is clear from the language of ll. 2-3; *φόρτια* is hardly reconcilable with the traces, nor does it seem an appropriate word: we appear to be dealing here with goods and chattels of whatever kind which may have occasion to pass through the customs. The excepted categories, *τὰ ὠρισμένα εἶναι ὑποτελεῖν*, I take to be those mentioned in B above, namely salt and all goods imported for sale by foreign merchants. These pay the *εἰσagώγιον*, but apart from this nothing whatever shall be exacted by the tax-farmers in connexion with any imported article.³⁷ *εἶδος* in l. 5 is, as I understand it, the schedule of charges attached to the *δημοσιωνικός νόμος*: this is now superseded by the new regulations. The normal distinction between goods for sale and for personal use is abolished; see on B 9 above.

Ll. 6-7 are specially directed against the various extra charges and 'perquisites' (*φιλόανθρωπα*) which the tax-farmers were notoriously so ingenious in devising.³⁸ Two of these are specifically mentioned here. The first is the charge made 'in the name of Aphrodite'. This goddess's connexion with the sea, from her birth onwards, is, of course, familiar; and the cult of Aphrodite Euploia is especially common in Asia-Minor.³⁹ Nor is this her only appearance in connexion with the customs; in the *τελώνιον* at Halicarnassus there was a shrine of Aphrodite.⁴⁰ Presumably there was something similar at Caunus, and its upkeep was made a pretext for levying charges on imports and exports.⁴¹ The second *exactio illicita* is made *εἰς ἀπογραφὴν*. This I take to be something in the nature of a clerk's fee, demanded perhaps for transcribing the contents of the ship's manifest at the time of declaration.⁴² We have another mention of it in D 11, and probably also in D 4.

C 8-17. Regulations for re-export of merchandise by foreign merchants.

*Foreign merchant-captains who call at Caunus and offer goods for sale shall also enjoy the privilege of exemption after berthing; and any of the wares imported and put ashore by them which remain unsold may be put back on board and re-exported by the merchants themselves within twenty days, without payment of export duty or any charge under the head of 'perquisite' or in the name of Aphrodite. Similarly, merchants who import goods by land with the object of selling them may re-export personally their unsold wares within thirty days by the same route by which they came in, without payment of any charge. These latter (that is, importers by land) shall be required merely to register with the authorities, within three days after entering Caunus, the date and place of entry; this shall be done in the office of the *stephanephorus* of the god Basileus.*

This part of the document is almost free from difficulty. Its provisions are remarkably generous. Foreign merchants, once they have berthed (that is, after import duty has been paid on goods for sale), are entirely free from any further dealings with the customs, provided they leave within twenty days. Importers by land are even more generously treated. Nothing at all is required of them for three days;⁴³ if they stay longer, they are still not required to declare their wares, but only the date and place of entry, and re-export is free within thirty days. They must, however—

³⁵ *εὐθὺς* evidently means 'on the same or the following day'. A shipmaster who leaves within this period is entirely unmolested; if he intends to stay longer, he must register before the end of the second day.

³⁶ OGI 629 = IGR III 1056, Sections I and IIIb.

³⁷ I cannot recover the word after *ἀλλυμένον* in l. 4. I had thought at one time of *ῥόβ(ν)*, to be explained by the allusion to Aphrodite below, but I am now convinced that this is wrong.

³⁸ Tac. Ann. XIII, 51, with reference to Nero's reform of the *portorium*: *quae alia exactionibus illicitis nomina publicani invenerant*. Cf. Cagnat 88, de Laet 382.

³⁹ E.g. in the neighbourhood of Caunus, at Cnidus and Mylasa. Note also Aphrodite Limenia at Hermione (Paus. 2,

34, 11).

⁴⁰ In P. Cair. Zen. 59015, 40 and (7) 10, a customs charge in the port of Alexandria is recorded under the heading *εὐπλοίας*. Edgar *ad loc.* suggests a tax for the upkeep of the Alexandrian lighthouse; in view of our present passage, it seems not impossible that the charge was made there also in the name of Aphrodite Euploia.

⁴¹ An exaction of a similar kind was apparently devised by Verres for his own benefit: *scribae nomine de tota pecunia binas quinquagesimas detrahabantur* (Cic. Verr. III 78 (181)). Compare the *cerarium*, mentioned with contempt by Cicero in the same passage.

⁴² As compared with two days in the case of merchants entering by sea (B 12).

and this is significant—re-export at the same point on the Caunian frontier by which they came in. They must, in effect, take their unsold wares home again. The new regulation is clearly not designed to provide a tax-free *circumvectio* by land, nor to offer in Caunus a free port for the export by sea of the produce of the interior; the purpose seems rather to encourage the manufacturers and farmers of inland Caria and Lycia to bring their merchandise to Caunus. The benefit would naturally be felt in the city in the shape of lower prices.

τὴν τῆς ἀτελείας ἀνεσίαν, 'the relief afforded by the exemption': the expression is a little unusual. καταγαγεῖν, corresponding to καταπλεῦσαι in l. 9, is strictly 'bring their wares down to the coast'. For the stephanephorus of the god Basileus see above on No. 37. ἐπὶ, 'before, in the office of' a magistrate, as often.⁴⁴

C 17–D 4. (*Importers by land*) shall register also the name of the man who has undertaken [---] they shall not be liable to (export) tax nor to [---] nor to any 'declaration-fee'.

There can be little doubt of the continuity between C and D (see above p. 99), but in the fragmentary state of D it is uncertain whether the sentence beginning in C 15 continues down to D 4, although this seems probable. I can offer no suggestion for completing the phrase after ἐπηγγεμένον.

D 5–12. A new clause evidently begins in D 5. Too little is preserved to permit an adequate understanding of it; the significant point is the repeated mention of a panegyris. It is natural to suppose that special concessions were made to merchants for the occasion of the festival; if these were additional to those of C, they can hardly have been less than the total abolition of all taxation. Such immunity during festivals is in fact well attested.⁴⁵

D 13–E 3. I can make nothing at all of this passage. It seems unlikely that οἱ ἀπὸ ταύ- in D 13 is the grammatical subject of τεμῆσονται in E 3, since the intervening mention of goods for personal use is inappropriate to the subject-matter of E. I take it that a new clause began in the lost lines from D 15 to E 2; but the remnants at the end of E 2 are particularly baffling.

E 3–14. Further regulations for re-export by foreign merchants.
--- they shall declare for valuation before the stephanephorus of the god Basileus in office at the time the quantity and nature of such of their wares only as are not prohibited under the monopolies. They shall offer for sale not less than one-third [of the goods so declared?]; if they desire to re-export the remainder personally, they shall re-declare and re-value it before the stephanephorus in office at the time, and they too shall not be liable upon this remainder either ⁴⁶ to export duty or to any charge as 'perquisite' or in the name of Aphrodite on any pretext or in any manner whatsoever. And if a foreign merchant, having tried to sell the third part of his wares, is unable to do so (and this fact will be automatically clear from the second declaration and valuation), he shall pay only the export duty on such goods as he exports in excess of two-thirds, as shall appear from the second declaration.

These regulations relate to the same class of persons, namely foreign merchants, as those in C 8 ff., but the provisions are different. The natural explanation is that they apply to those who overstay the limit of twenty or thirty days. There is nothing to show that they concern only sea-borne or only land-borne merchandise, and I take it that they apply to both.

The regulation, though expressed at some length, says in effect no more than that after the expiry of the twenty or thirty days only two-thirds of a merchant's wares may be re-exported duty-free. Export duty only ⁴⁷ shall be paid on the excess over two-thirds according to a simple mathematical calculation of the difference between the second valuation (made at the time of leaving) and two-thirds of the first valuation (made after twenty or thirty days). I take δηλώσει in l. 12 to be intransitive, 'this will be clear of itself', not an error for δηλώσει. In l. 9, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ means, of course, 'any more than those who leave within the time-limit'.

The reference to the monopolies in l. 5 is interesting, but we have unfortunately no details whatever concerning them. The reading of this line gave me much trouble, but I believe it to be right; ὑποκεισθαι normally has the dative, as elsewhere in this document, but the genitive is not unparalleled,⁴⁸ and ὑποκείμενα fits the traces on the squeeze.

E 15–18. No tax shall be exacted either from citizens or from metics or from foreigners who reside and do business in Caunus upon any vessels which they may build or import or buy and sell among themselves, except where [---] are sold by anyone.

πλοίων in l. 17 is far from clearly legible, but seems unquestionably right; the same may be said of πιπράσκηται in l. 18. ἀγοράσωσιν in l. 17 seems to have the general meaning 'deal in': I know of no case where this verb means 'to sell'. Non-resident foreigners are quite naturally excluded from the benefits of this clause. The allusion to a sales-tax (ἐπώνιον) on the purchase of ships is interesting, but in no way surprising; the tax on the construction of ships, on the other

⁴⁴ ἀπογράφειν πρὸς is perhaps commoner in this sense; but there can be no question here of ἐπὶ denoting a date, since the official is not named; ἐπὶ τοῦ τότε στεφανηφόρου as a future date would be especially futile. Moreover, the eponymous official at Caunus was a priest; see on Part I, No. 5.

⁴⁵ E.g. at Sparta (*IG* V. 1. 18), Cyzicus (*IGR* IV 144), Attaleia (*IGR* III, 785, cf. Wilhelm, *Sitzb. Akad. Wien* 224 (1),

22–3) and Amorgos (*IG* XII. 5. 38, found on Naxos).

⁴⁶ I translate as if οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ had the sense of οὐτε . . . οὐτε. This is, I think, probable, though only as an error due to the two preceding negatives.

⁴⁷ μόνον, l. 14—that is, no 'perquisites' or other charges.

⁴⁸ See *LSJ* s.v. The difference of construction perhaps corresponds to the difference of meaning: 'lie under the ban of', as opposed to 'be liable to pay'.

hand, is remarkable and, so far as I know, unique.⁴⁹ It is likely that a good deal of shipbuilding went on in the νεώρια at Caunus,⁵⁰ with the pine-timber of Caria so conveniently at hand. I can offer no suggestion for filling the gap before πιπράσκηται in l. 18.

E 18-F 4. Remission of charges to foreign vessels using the port of Caunus for various purposes other than commerce.

Nor shall any tax be levied or any charge made as 'perquisite' upon any pretext or in any manner whatsoever on foreign vessels in general which are driven to shelter in Caunus, or undergo repairs, or winter here, or make alterations (?), or refit, or [---] become disabled [---] together with the merchandise (?) that each may have [---] in preparation for sailing, or upon any light craft wheresoever constructed.

On the continuity of this passage see above p. 99-100. ἀποκλείνόντων I take to mean 'turn off their course' under stress of weather or owing to breakdown of any kind. μεθαρμοζόντων in l. 20 seems a probable reading, but is not, of course, assured. ἀντισοδιαζόντων (i.e. ἀντεισοδιαζόντων) I do not understand at all, but the reading seems beyond doubt. τῶν λειπόντων αὐτοῖς, if right, means presumably 'the things they lack'; is the meaning perhaps that no tax shall be charged on materials supplied in the Caunian dockyards for refitting or repairs? The third word in F 1 might perhaps be [ἐ]ν[προ]ίξ, that is, the immunity shall apply to the ships 'together with any merchandise they may carry'—though such a clause, taken in connexion with the other provisions of the decree, would appear likely to lead to abuses and difficulties in application. κατ' ἐξαρτίαν ὥς πρὸς πλοῦν (the reading seems assured) means apparently 'in preparation for leaving Caunus' after calling there for any of the above purposes. σκαφή is any light craft, here no doubt a ship's boat; if the refitting includes such an item, no tax is to be charged, whether the boat is built at Caunus or elsewhere: that is, in this particular respect the provisions of E 15-17 are extended to non-resident foreigners also.

F 4-G. Regulations concerning import and export duty on pitch and resin.

In the illegible state of the text a good deal remains doubtful. A distinction is probably made between pitch and resin imported by sea (ll. 5-10) and that imported by land (ll. 10 ff.)—at least if εἰσκομίζειν in l. 12 is used in the same way as in C 12.⁵¹ A further distinction appears to be made between liquid pitch and resin measured by the jar (κεράμιον) and the solid substances measured by the lump (βῶλος).⁵²

The substance denoted by πίσσα, Latin *pix*, is not mineral pitch (ἀσφαλτος), but was obtained by burning certain of the thicker kinds of resin.⁵³ The division into solid and liquid pitch is well attested,⁵⁴ and accounts here for the distinction between the jar and the lump. Measurement of pitch by the κεράμιον is normal,⁵⁵ but βῶλος as a unit of measurement appears to be new.⁵⁶

The nature of the provision made in ll. 5-8 is not very obvious; presumably it took the form of a reduction of taxation. I can only suggest that there was in the δημοσιωνικός νόμος a reduced rate chargeable on twelve or more jars, and that this is here made applicable to smaller quantities also. The provisions made for solid pitch and resin in ll. 8-10, and for pitch and resin imported by land in ll. 11 ff., seem to be irrecoverable, but the mention of a 'general merchant' (παντοπωλῆς, assuming this reading to be right) is at least consistent with the suggestion that the legislators had small quantities in mind.

The unique nature of this document makes it somewhat difficult to form an estimate of its general significance. For example, are the new tax concessions intended to be permanent or only for a limited period? General probability would suggest they should be permanent: they were, after all, engraved on the wall of the customs-house, and were never erased. On this supposition, may we safely infer that the interest on 60,000 denaria was sufficient to reimburse the city for the loss of these revenues? It is not easy to calculate what the cost of these concessions would be to the Caunian budget in a year, but the interest on 60,000 denaria at 12% would be 7200 denaria.⁵⁷ Might the customs yield at Caunus be as low as this? There seems no reliable basis for answering

⁴⁹ It is natural to suppose that these taxes had previously been actually in force at Caunus; in any case, they are evidently regarded as a possibility.

⁵⁰ Strabo XIV, 651; Broughton 836.

⁵¹ I considered reading ἐντὶ τῷ ὅλῳ[σεν] in l. 5 and [διὰ] ὑπ[ε]ρ in l. 11, but re-examination of the squeeze does not confirm this.

⁵² The reading βῶλων in l. 8 is virtually certain. The only alternative would be πόλων, which seems meaningless.

⁵³ Plin. *NH* XXIII, 46, *pice[m] meminisse debemus non aliud esse quam combustae resinae fluxum*. Methods of burning, *πισσοκαυρίν*, are described in detail by Theophrastus, *HP* IX, 3; they are remarkably similar to the methods still used for charcoal-burning. See also Edgar's note on *P. Cair. Zen.* 59481, 8: analysis of a black substance used to coat the inside of wine-jars (evidently the *πίσσα* mentioned in the text) showed it to be 'a true resin . . . neither pitch [i.e. mineral pitch] nor bitumen'.

⁵⁴ *Dac.* 1, 72, ξηρά and ὑγρά; Plin. *NH* XXIV, 37, *pix* . . .

et ejus duo genera, spissum liquidumque; cf. XIV, 122, (pice[m] liquidam et tantum resina[m], crassiorem ad pices faciendas. In Polyb. 5, 89, 6 pitch is measured by the talent, raw pitch (i.e. the resin before burning) by the metretres.

⁵⁵ E.g. *Syll.* 2 587, and in the accounts of the Delian hieropoei, *IG* XI. 2. 145, 154. In the later accounts (*ib.* 158 (282 B.C.), 161, 203 etc.) the apparently synonymous μετρητής is substituted.

⁵⁶ Strabo XVI, 743, quoting Eratosthenes, says that Babylonian ἀσφαλτος was of two kinds, ὑγρά and ξηρά, and speaks of βῶλοι μεγάλοι πρὸς τὰς οἰκοδομὰς ἐπιτήδεον, but βῶλος here is evidently not an actual measure.

⁵⁷ Twelve per cent is commonly considered by scholars as the normal rate of interest, but in fact this estimate is probably generous. It appears from Pliny (*ad Traj.* 54) that municipalities were not always able at that time to lend their money even at 9 per cent (*duodenis assibus*, not 12 per cent, see Larsen, *Class. Phil.* XLVII (1952), 236), when this rate could be obtained from private lenders, and Trajan in fact authorised a lower rate.

this question,⁵⁸ and it depends on too many unknown factors; but the figure does seem surprisingly small. It is to be noted also that we have in A 8-9 mention of what appears to be a limited period, which may possibly be that for which the concessions were (at least in the first place) to run. I therefore leave this interesting question open for the attention of economists.

It is hardly necessary to look for any special motive for the present benefaction, which could not fail to have a most stimulating effect on Caunian trade and result in lower prices in the city; it is not easy to see how a benefactor could bestow a more useful gift. Moreover, ancient economic policy⁵⁹ was normally directed to securing adequate imports. Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that Caunian trade was in fact at this time in need of a stimulus. The silting-up process, as at so many places on this coast, was constantly in progress; the harbour was perhaps becoming difficult of access, and merchant captains may have begun to show signs of avoiding it; and the shipbuilding industry would suffer too. But these speculations are incapable of proof.

39. Marble block 0.22 m. high, 0.36 m. wide, 0.18 m. thick, said to have been found among the ruins of Caunus; later transported to the *karakol* at Dalyan. Letters 13 mm. high. Photograph.

Δημητρία Διοκλέους
χρηστή χαίρει

40. Block 0.63 m. high, 0.41 m. square, with plain moulding at the bottom, the top broken away, now lying some 20 yards to the south-west of the building shown in Part I, Fig. 9. Letters 19-20 mm. high. Squeeze.

[Α]ρτεμισία Νεοπτολέμου
[χρη]στή χαίρει

As this is no place for a tomb, the block has evidently been re-used, like the column-drums and other blocks in the platform under the building. The lettering is very similar to that of No. 15.

41. At the south-east foot of the hill on which the long wall ends beside the lake is a built tomb of late date, now completely ruined. The inscription is on two blocks which, from the cuttings on them, evidently formed respectively the lintel and part of the right-hand upright of the door. (a), broken on the left, is 0.41 m. high, now 0.81 m. long, 0.48 m. thick; (b) is 0.46 m. high, 0.36 m. wide, 0.46 m. thick. Letters 30 mm. high, except in (a) 2-4, where they vary from 36 to 40 mm. Photograph Fig. 49.

- (a) [Μ. Αὐρ]η(λίου) Ἐπιγόνου τάφος
τοῦτο τὸ μνη-
(leaf) μείον Κλαυδίου (leaf)
Δείου
[μετὰ δὲ] τὴν τελευτὴ μου μηδένα ἐξόν εἶναι
[τεθῆναι] εἰ μὴ τὴν σύνβιον μου Ἀρτεμισίαν
[κὲ Ἐπίγο]νον τὸν υἱόν μου· αἰὼν δὲ τις μετὰ τοῦς
[γεγραμμ]ένους βιάσῃτ· αἱ *vocal*
(b) θεῖναι, δώσι
τῇ πόλει
✕ Φ'

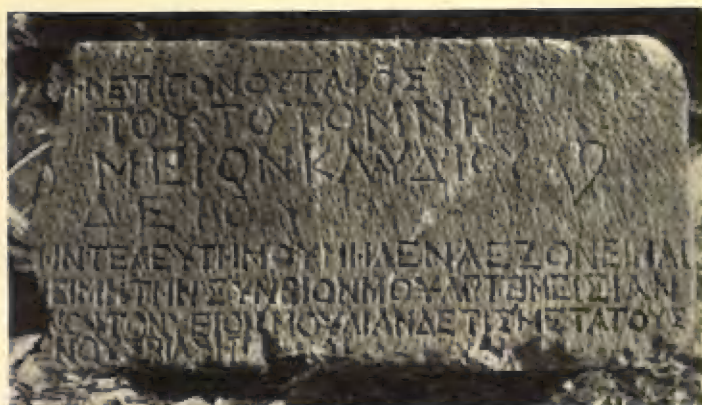


FIG. 49(a).—INSCRIPTION NO. 41(a).



FIG. 49(b).—INSCRIPTION NO. 41(b).

The epitaph of Epigonus, though in much the better script, seems to have been written round that of Claudius Deius, and must presumably be the later.

⁵⁸ For example, de Laet 114, 448 refuses to attempt any estimate, even approximate, for the total yield of the Imperial

portorium in Asia Minor.

⁵⁹ As Professor Jones pointed out to me.

42. At Yankı, in the yard of a house near the foot of the hill on the side towards Kōyceğiz, is the broken block shown in Fig. 50; its original provenance is not known. Letters ca. 30 mm. high in l. 1, decreasing to 20 mm. below.

τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον [ν κατεσκεύ]-
 ασεν Μενεκράτης Ἱατρο[κλέους τοῦ]
 Μενεκράτους, ὁ κτήτωρ τ[οῦ χωρίου, ἐ]-
 αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτ[οῦ *nomen*]
 5 καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν Ἱατ[ροκλεῖ καὶ ?]
 Μενεκράτει *vac.* Φαν[- - c. 9 - -]
 Ἀγρεοφῶντι μόνοι[ς. ἐὰν δέ τις]
 ἕτερον θάψῃ χωρὶς τ[ῶν προγεγραμ]-
 μένων *vac.* ἔνοχος [ἔσται ὁ θάψας]
 10 τῷ τῆς τυμβωρυχί[ας νόμῳ *vac.?*]
 καὶ διατά[γ]μασιν [οῖς *vac.?*]
 Μενεκράτης *vac.* [Ἱατροκλέους ?]
 διατάξαι[ο]



FIG. 50.—INSCRIPTION NO. 42.

The restoration in ll. 10–12 is awkward, as more space is available than the text appears to require.

L. 11. The stone has ΔΙΑΤΑΞΜΑCΙΝ. Menecrates is content to refer to the penalties prescribed in his testament and registered in the city archives, instead of inscribing them in the usual way on the tomb. On διατάσσεσθαι see Judeich, *Alt. von Hierapolis*, no. 119.

43. Caunus, over the door of a re-used rock-tomb at the west end of the series, close to ground level; the inscription is blackened by soot and partially illegible. Copy.

Θήρωνος δις τοῦ ΑΝΔΟΕΟΥΙΟΥ
 ΟΥ

The copy is obviously defective on the right.

44. Among the ruins of a built tomb on the path 50 yards south-west of No. 41, on a block 0.18 m. high, 0.59 m. wide, 0.42 m. thick, broken on the right. Late script of poor quality, letters varying in height from 17 to 28 mm. Photograph.

τοῦτο τὸ ἥροϊον [τοῦ δεινός τοῦ δεινός]
 καὶ γυναικός αὐτοῦ [. . .] ΕΤ[- - -]
 καὶ τέκνων αὐτῶν· ὅς ἂν δέ [ἕτερόν τινα]
 θῇ, δώσι τῇ γερουσίᾳ * πεν[τακόσια]

L. 4. 500 denaria, no doubt, as in No. 41, rather than 5000.

45. Fragment built into a well not far from the shore of Alagöl, half under water when I saw it, and very awkward to read. Copy.

[τ]οὔτο τὸ μνημεῖον ὕ[- -]
[.]οἰοῦει[- - - -]
ΕΜΟΙΚΑ[- - - - -]

Apparently εἰς ὃ θ[- - οἱ] ἐμοὶ κλ[ηρονόμοι].

46. In the woods behind M, lying under a good-sized tree on the slope below the ridge on which are the church and baths, a block of yellow stone 0.40 m. high, 0.58 m. wide, 0.175 m. thick, broken on all sides except the top. Photograph Fig. 51.

The text may perhaps be understood somewhat after the following fashion:

[- - -]κης τῆς κα[ι - - -, γυναι]-
[κὸς Ἀπολλ]ωνιανοῦ Ε[- - - -, θυ]-
[γατρὸς δ]᾽ ἐ Καικιλί[ου - - - -]

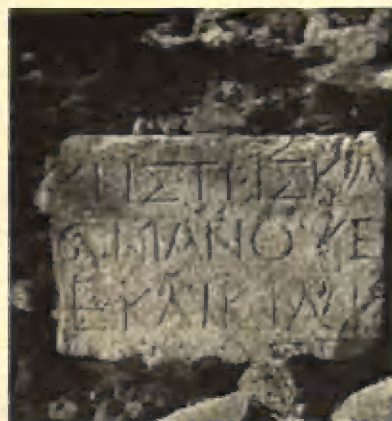


FIG. 51.—INSCRIPTION No. 46.



FIG. 52.—INSCRIPTION No. 47.

Traces of a fourth line are visible.

47. Lying with No. 46, a block of grey-black limestone 0.295 m. high, 0.46 m. wide, 0.17 m. thick, broken on all sides except the top, carelessly and irregularly inscribed. Photograph Fig. 52.

[- -]ΗΣΚΑΙΝ[- - -]
[- -]ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ[- - -]
[- - -]ΕΚ[- - -]

This text, whether by coincidence or otherwise, partially repeats that of No. 46.

48. Found near the ancient reservoir mentioned in Part I, p. 14, a fragment 0.18 m. high, 0.11 m. wide; letters 12-14 mm. high, fine and neatly written, with apices; complete at top and bottom. Squeeze.

[- - -]ΔΗΜΗ[- - -]
[- - -]ΚΑΙΔΗ[- - -]
[- - -]ΣΤΟΝΚ[- - -]
[- - -]ΠΤΟΥΑΔ[- - -]

49. In the same field as No. 32 is a row of assorted blocks, half-buried, not *in situ*; on one of these, reading upwards, I read

[- - -]ΟΣ
[- - -]ΗΒΟΥΛΗ

Apparently one of the comparatively few references to the *boule* at Caunus.

50. Near the north-east shore of Sülüklü Gölü, among the ruins of a monument buried in a thicket, on a fragment of an epistyle block in letters 0.04 m. high. Copy.

[Αὐτοκράτορ]α Νέρου[αν - -]

Nerva or Trajan.

51. At Çandır, built into a barn close above No. 8, the lower part of a base broken on all sides except the bottom. Above the moulding, in well-cut letters 0.022 m. high:

[- - τ]ὸ ἔργον vac.

52. At Çandır, in a wall of the house of Mustafa Şahin, a fragment 0.22 m. high, 0.12 m. wide; left edge preserved. Letters 18–20 mm. high. Copy.

ἐὰ[ν δὲ]
τις [τοῦ]-
μήσ[η, ἄ]-
ποτ[είσ]-
5 εἰ τῷ ἰ[ε]-
ρωτά[τω]
ταμε[ίω]
✱ -

L. 8. The figure must apparently be τ' (not σ', which has its lunate form). ε would be surprisingly high.

53. Okçular, at the house of Durduoğlu Mehmet, a broken block of limestone 0.30 m. high, 0.29 m. wide, 0.24 m. thick, complete on the right and at the bottom. Letters 24–28 mm. high (12 mm. in l. 3). Photograph.

[ὁ δεῖνα - -]άνδρου
[- - - -]κην
(in a crown) Νέμεα

In l. 2, possibly νικήσας followed by a type of contest ending -ικήν. No formula ending with [νί]κην occurs to me.

54. Kemaliye, near Okçular, at the house of Ali Yılmaz, a limestone fragment broken on all sides, 0.23 m. high, 0.31 m. wide, 0.28 m. thick; no edge is preserved. Letters 45–50 mm. high. Photograph Fig. 53.



FIG. 53.—INSCRIPTION NO. 54.

We have evidently part of a *cursus honorum*. In l. 2, apparently [πρεσβευτήν ἀντιστράτη]χον Κίλι[κίας], and in l. 3, [ἐπίτρ]οπον τῷ[ν Σεβαστῶν]. In l. 4 the last letter seems to be *sigma*.

55–57. Amphora stamps, found among the ruins of Caunus, now at the house of Ali Demir at Çandır. The stamps are on the wall of the jar, not on the handle.

55. Fragment 0.04 m. wide, 0.03 m. high; stamp on the convex face.

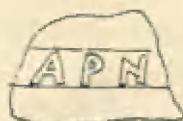


FIG. 54.—AMPHORA STAMP NO. 55.

56. Fragment 0.12 m. high, 0.21 m. wide; stamp on the convex face in a cartouche 0.06 m. long.

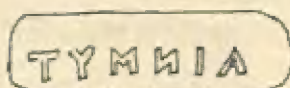


FIG. 55.—AMPHORA STAMP NO. 56.

Τυμνία recalls Tymnus in the Rhodian Peraea.

57. Fragment 0.39 m. high, 0.34 m. wide; rectangular stamp 0.05 m. high, 0.09 m. wide, on the concave face.

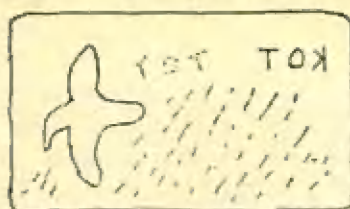


FIG. 56.—AMPHORA STAMP No. 57.

Probably Κότ[ε]υ[ς], a name found on Rhodian amphorae at Pergamum (*I. v. Perg.* 470, nos. 1110–1111).

58. Okçular, in a private house, not seen by me; squeeze and measurements kindly sent me by Muharrem Türköz. Round altar *ca.* 0.85 m. high, *ca.* 0.30 m. in diameter, brought from the island of Rhodes. Letters late and indifferently well cut, 22–25 mm. high; worn away at the top left.

[- - 5-6 - -]δος Κώ-
[ας και 'Α]φροδει-
σις[υ Κ]ώου και
τῶν παιδείων
αὐτῶν

It is important to note that the inscription does not belong to Caunus, where foreigners from large cities are hitherto unknown.

L. 2. I have supposed that we have a husband and wife, but the placing of the wife's name first is unusual, and it is not impossible that Κώ[ου] should be read; -δος may be the end of some name like 'Αγαθόποδος or 'Αρτίποδος, but it is more suggestive of a feminine name.

V. CONCLUSION.

It remains to consider the bearing of the new information now available, and to see what kind of a picture we are able to form of the city of Caunus in antiquity. It goes without saying that fresh discoveries may at any time cause opinions to be revised; we have still barely sixty inscriptions in all.

In the middle of the fourth century B.C. Caunus was still reckoned a non-Greek city. But from this time onwards, beginning probably with the cultural policy of the Hecatomnids, Hellenism clearly took a very firm hold, and in the following centuries the city is to all appearance thoroughly Hellenised. Politically Caunus has the normal features of a Greek city, and the personal names are exclusively Greek: not a single Caunian is yet known to have had an Anatolian name. The judges' decrees Nos. 7 and 8 at least vouch for the city's respectability in the second century. Nevertheless, my own feeling is that all was not well with Caunus' reputation; the impression is received of a city of doubtful status striving hard to be accepted as an equal of the Greek cities of the coast. Caunus, we know, was unhealthy, and this may account for a good deal; all the same, the total absence of honorific decrees for Greeks of other cities, and indeed of foreigners from any large or distant city in any capacity at all, is very striking. And conversely, honorific decrees for Caunians in other cities, or indeed any mentions whatever of Caunians, are scarce almost to vanishing point.⁶⁰ Dio Chrysostom in the first century A.D. asked (XXXI, 125): τίς γὰρ παρὰ Καυνίοις γέγονε γενναῖος ἀνὴρ; ἢ τίς πώποτε ἐκεῖνους ἀγαθὸν τι πεποιήκεν; and for the Hellenistic era at least the facts do not contradict him.⁶¹ The Romans, on the other hand, apparently accepted Caunus at her own valuation; statues of patrons and benefactors with their families (Nos. 23–33) now become as common as previously they were scarce. The Caunians were evidently eager to make the most of such social successes as came their way.

There can be no doubt that the Caunians shared with the Lycians a passionate love of freedom. The periods of subjection to Rhodes were fiercely resented, and traces of Rhodian influence in the inscriptions are very few. In particular, we have no example of a dedication to a Rhodian governor or magistrate (στραταγός, ἀγεμὼν or ἐπιστάτας), of the type found on other subject Rhodian territory,⁶² nor indeed to any Rhodian at all. It was no doubt this eagerness for liberty that led

⁶⁰ *CIG* 2673 b is a proxeny decree of Iasus for the Caunian Hestiaeus son of Boiscus (date early Hellenistic?). A few—very few—mentions occur in Rhodian inscriptions; there is a single epitaph at Athens (*JG* II² 9004); otherwise (apart from Zeno) one has to look far for a Caunian.

⁶¹ Dio's other references to the Caunians are equally uncomplimentary. XXXI, 50: τοὺς καταβούλους τοὺτους Καυνίους; *ib.* 124: εἰ τις ὕμῃς Καυνίους ἢ Μυνδίοις ὁμοίους εἶναι λέγει, σφόδρα

ὀργισθεῖς; *ib.* 125: εἰ ὑπερβολὴν ἀνίας καὶ μαχθηρίας ἐπλήην αὐτοῖς τὴν δουλείαν κατασκευάσαντες; XXXII, 92: ἀλλὰ Καυνίους μόνον (οὐ) παρέληψε (sc. πυρετός), κἀκεῖνον ἐστὶ τὸ θυμὸς, εἰ πάντες αὐτὸ πάσχουσιν. In XXXI, 125 he implies that the Caunians were in the habit of re-using statues with a fresh inscription; of this practice I have noticed only one clear example, No. 27.

⁶² Fraser-Bean, *Rhodian Peraea*, 82, 83, 86.

to the savage massacre of Romans at Caunus in the Mithridatic War. In the event, this action produced the result it was desired to avoid; but this lesson seems to have been sufficient, and henceforth the Caunians realised that freedom, if it was to be won at all, must be won by favour of the Romans.

On the economic side, we learn something (especially from the customs inscription No. 38) of the chief branches of commercial activity at Caunus. There is nothing surprising in the new information. Caunian salt was already known from Pliny, and slaves are a familiar item of exportation from Caria. The importance of ship-building, and of pitch and resin, is readily explained by the Carian pine-forests which are still a prominent feature of the country. The existence of a fishery at Caunus in antiquity (see No. 26) is an interesting piece of fresh knowledge; combined with the presence of saltpans it has the makings of a profitable industry.⁶³ The importance of salted fish as an article of commerce in antiquity needs no emphasising.

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⁶³ It is tempting to suggest that the development of this industry may help to explain the startling increase of Caunian tribute from half a talent to ten talents in 425 B.C. (see Part I, p. 18).

GROUPS OF APULIAN RED-FIGURED VASES DECORATED WITH HEADS OF WOMEN OR OF NIKE¹

THE material here discussed is far from being exhaustive, since it seems to me that a careful study would yield further groups of vases of this class. I use the word 'groups' for safety; I am not sure that some of the pieces which I put together were not produced by a single painter.

Some of the vases are attributed according to the style of only a part of their decoration. Thus London F285 is attributed to the Stoke-on-Trent group because of the reverse, which has no stylistic connexion with the obverse and the head of Nike on the neck.

When I mention proveniences I rely on second-hand information, but I notice that vases which I put under the same heading because of their common style are often cited as having been found in the same area. In my classification of the vases according to shapes, when possible I follow Beazley in *ARV*.

I do not find it easy to decide on the date of these groups in the absence of external evidence or any information on the conditions in which they were found. Stylistically none of them could be earlier than 350 B.C., and as the extensive use of white-gold colour and the clumsiness of the drawing could hardly have appeared earlier than the Darius painter,² I should be inclined to place them late in the fourth century.

For a few general remarks on the representation of human heads by themselves in the last phase of Attic, Campanian, Apulian, and Etruscan red-figured vases see Beazley, *EVP*, p. 10.

THE STOKE-ON-TRENT GROUP³

My list includes twenty-two vases:⁴

Column-kraters

1. Copenhagen inv. Chr. VIII 60. From Bari. *CV* VI, pl. 252, 3. A, head of woman; B, the like.
2. Vatican V 57. Trendall, *Vasi Ital.* II, pl. xxxvi, a and b. A, head of woman; B, the like.

Rhyton (the plastic part represents a boar's head)⁵

- Carlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B88. *CV* II, pl. 73, 6. Head of Nike.

Volute-krater

- London F285. **Figs. 1-2 and Pl. III, a.** A, youth in aedicula (on the neck, head of Nike); B, head of woman.

*Hydriai*⁶

1. London F365. From Bari. **Pl. III, b.** Head of woman.
2. Aberdeen, Marischal College, The Anthropological Museum 697. **Pl. III, c.** Head of woman.
3. Vatican Y15. Trendall, *Vasi Ital.* II, pl. xlii, c. Head of woman.

*Stemless Cups*⁷

1. London F454. D'Hancarville, IV, pl. 98, whence Inghirami, *Mon. Etr.*, V, pl. 22. **Figs. 3-4.** I, flying Eros; A, head of woman; B, the like.
2. London F456. D'Hancarville, IV, pl. 69, whence Inghirami, *Mon. Etr.*, V, pl. 23, 1. I, seated Eros; A, head of woman; B, the like.

¹ This article is part of a wider work on Greek South Italian vases which I carried out as a research student of University College, London. Some of the vases here discussed belong to Museums outside London, and I should not have been able to study them without the assistance of the Central Research Fund of the University of London.

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Professor A. D. Trendall kindly sent me photographs of vases, which he is publishing in the forthcoming second volume of his *Vasi Italiani ed Etruschi a Figure Rosse* in the series *Vasi Antichi Dipinti del Vaticano*, and allowed me to mention those that are relevant here.

I am very grateful to Professor T. B. L. Webster and Professor C. M. Robertson, who helped my work by reading my manuscript and discussing various problems with me.

Professor Sir John Beazley generously put his notes at my disposal, read my manuscript and saved me from many errors. I came to know the vases in Dublin and Melbourne from photographs in his collection.

² On the Darius painter see *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum*, 2nd Edition, pp. 325-6 (Trendall).

³ So named from the plate in that town.

⁴ Since I wrote this article I added three other vases to the Stoke-on-Trent group: the Kantharoi shape A2 London F445 and London Old Cat. 1661, and the cinochoe shape 1 London 1928, 1-17, 69. About a vase in Paris, the plate Louvre 178 (N2891), I know only from Mrs. A. D. Ure, who kindly writes to me that it is very much like the Stoke-on-Trent plate.

⁵ Dr. Garscha kindly informs me that the tusks, which are not clear in the *Corpus Vasorum* reproduction, are painted in white colour.

⁶ The three hydriai are of the standard Apulian shape, which originates from the Attic red-figured hydria; an unusual variant with a very short, upright foot in two degrees is the small vase Lecce 978, *CV* II, pl. 41, 10.

⁷ The fragmentary handles of London F454 are modern; the handles of London F456 are missing.

This, so far as I know, is the only existing type of stemless cup in Apulian red-figure, and must be derived from such Attic stemless cups of the early fourth century B.C. as those in Bonn and London by the Yena painter (*ARV*, 882, 45-46), that in Salonica (inv. 8. 152, Robinson, *Olynthus* V, 261, pl. 118), and those in Archena, which exist only in fragments (Beazley, *Quaderns de Historia Primitiva*, 1948, no. 1, pp. 45-8, 4-6).



FIG. 1.—LONDON F285.



FIG. 2.—LONDON F285.



FIG. 3.—LONDON F454.



FIG. 4.—LONDON F454.

*Dishes, Shape 1*⁸

1. Copenhagen inv. Chr. VIII 99. From Bari. CV VI, pl. 268, 2. I, head of woman.
2. Toronto 461. Robinson and Harcum, pl. LXXXIII. I, head of woman.

*Plates, Standard Type*⁹

1. Stoke-on-Trent, Hanley Museum and Art Gallery 241P35. **Pl. III, d.** I, head of woman.
2. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Museum. Scribner, pl. XLI, 3. I, head of woman.¹⁰

*Deep Askoi, Type A*¹¹

1. Oxford 485. **Pl. IV, a.** Head of Nike.
2. Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology 16. Head of woman.

*Lekane Lids*¹²

1. Reading, University Museum 49. VIII. 2. CV I, pl. 30, 3. Two heads of women.
2. London 1951. 2-4. 2. **Pl. IV, b.** Two heads of women.

*Pyxis Lid*¹³

London 1949. 9-10. 1. **Pl. IV, c.** Head of Nike.

Skyphos, Corinthian Type

London 59. 2-16. 83. **Pl. IV, d.** A, head of woman; B, the like.

*Oinochoai, Shape 1*¹⁴

1. Once Karlsruhe, Vogell Collection, *Sammlung Vogell*, pl. V, 14. Head of woman.
2. Once Karlsruhe, Vogell Collection, *Sammlung Vogell*, pl. V, 16. Head of woman.

*Kantharos, Shape A2*¹⁵

Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B108. CV II, pl. 72, 5. A, head of woman; B, the like.

The vases London F285, F454, and F456 bear, in addition to the usual heads, other representations of different style and technique. The aedicula on the obverse of London F285 is partly reserved, partly painted in white colour directly applied on the clay surface; the youth and the drapery are also painted in white colour applied in the same way. Some details of the head of Nike on the neck of the vase are treated in relief line, and so are some details of the figure-work on the inside surface of London F454 and F456.

The heads wear kekryphaloi decorated with openwork embroidery, white or gold horizontal stripes, and, occasionally, one or several rows of dots.

Characteristic are the faces. The mouth and the eye are indicated in thinned glaze. The eyelids and the brow are usually treated in wavy lines, and the two lines of the upper eyelid tend, in some cases, to be assimilated into one.¹⁶ On the corner of the mouth there is often a vertical thick line, which sometimes looks like a blob. Dots in groups of three are occasionally used as filling ornament.

⁸ I have been able to distinguish two different shapes of Apulian red-figured dishes:

Shape 1 includes vases like Brussels R384, CV IV Db, pl. 5 (Belg. 86). 4; Copenhagen inv. Chr. VIII 34, CV VI, pl. 268, 1; Lecce 836, CV II, pl. 58, 1-2; London F464 and London F460. The handles of the last two vases show that the type is certainly derived from metal dishes like Naples no. 73731, Pernice, *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji IV*, p. 11, figs. 11-12. These vases resemble the metal layers represented on the Patroclus volute-krater in Naples and the Medea volute-krater in Munich (see also the laver from Locri NSc. 1913, sup. p. 28, fig. 34, 3), with the difference that the latter have three legs instead of the usual one-piece foot of the former. The similarity would make us think that the clay and metal dishes were, at least in certain cases, used as laviers.

Shape 2 includes vases like Würzburg 869, Langlotz, pl. 244, and is certainly derived from metal dishes like Berlin, Pernice, *op. cit.* p. 13, fig. 17. The handles recall those of the column-krater.

⁹ There are many other types of Apulian red-figured plates, which I find difficult to classify with certitude. Here are some examples:

(a) Taranto, CV I, IV dr, pl. 7, 1 and Taranto, CV I, IV dr, pl. 7, 3 (with this type cf. Catania, Libertini, *Museo Biscari* 803, pl. LXXXVII and Lecce 1709, CV II, IV dr, pl. 56, 15).

(b) The fish-plates Lecce 808-11, CV II, IV Dr, pl. 59, 3-6. This shape is very common. Unusual, if Apulian at all, is the fish-plate Bologna, Pellegrini *PU* 488, CV III, IV Er, pl. 6, 18, which resembles shape f.

(c) Lecce 653, CV II, IV Dr, pl. 57, 1.

(d) Toronto 460. Robinson and Harcum, pl. LXXXIV and Bologna, Pellegrini *PU* '696-704', CV III, IV Dr, pl. 34, 6.

(e) Würzburg 870, Langlotz, pl. 245 (see the plate Bologna, Pellegrini *VF* 570, fig. 141).

(f) Toronto 458, Robinson and Harcum, pl. LXXXIII (see the Attic plate Salonica inv. 38. 448, Robinson, *Olynthus XIII*, 72, pl. 91).

¹⁰ Scribner saw that this vase and the dish in Toronto are alike in style of drawing.

¹¹ On the shape see Beazley, *EVP*, p. 272 also Robinson, *Olynthus V*, pp. 30-1, pl. 28, and XIII, p. 255, pl. 170-1. This, so far as I know, is the only existing shape of Apulian red-figured askos, with the exception of the interesting variant Lecce 825, CV II, IV Dr, pl. 42, 9.

¹² The shape of the Apulian red-figured lekane seems to be essentially always the same; some lekaneai have projections on either side of their handles imitating metal technique (cf. Michigan 2611, CV, pl. XXIX, 3 with Wilno, CV III, pl. 2 (Poland 125), 3). The elaborate knob of the lekane Amsterdam, CV, Scheurleer IV Db, pl. 6 (Pays-Bas 92), 4 is unusual and requires further examination.

¹³ The standard shape of the Apulian red-figured pyxis is that of London 1951. 2-4. 1 (**Pl. IV, b**). It is spherical, with a characteristic foot and a knob on the lid. Notice, however, that the handle of the pyxis lid Villa Giulia 17615, CV I, IV Dr, pl. 2, 1, is different. The Apulian red-figured lid Oxford 1930. 258 must belong to a vase which corresponds to the Attic pyxis, type D (Beazley, *ARV*, p. IX); variants of this shape are two pyxides in Taranto, one representing a youth, the other the head of a woman, which I know only from the notes of Sir John Beazley.

¹⁴ For the shape see p. 116, n. 30.

¹⁵ For the shape see p. 116, n. 29.

¹⁶ See for example the heads on London F285, the Stoke-on-Trent plate or the cup London F456.



FIG. 5.—LONDON F340.



FIG. 6.—MANCHESTER MUSEUM IV C2.



FIG. 7.—LEYDEN, RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN G.N.V. 109.

THE GROUP OF LONDON F339¹⁷*Panathenaic Amphorae*¹⁸

1. Lecce 860. From Ruvo. CV II, IV Dr, pl. 45, 5. A, head of woman (on the neck, the like); B, the like.
2. Lecce 865. From Ruvo. CV II, IV Dr, pl. 46, 2. A, head of woman (on the neck, the like); B, the like.
3. London F339. PL V, a. A, head of woman (on the neck, the like); B, the like.

*Barrel-amphora*¹⁹

London F340. From Apulia. PL V, b. A, Fig. 5, seated Eros; B, head of woman.

*Mug (Oinochoe, Shape VIII B)*²⁰

Lecce 864. From Ruvo. CV II, IV Dr, pl. 54, 10. Head of Nike.

*Kantharoid Skyphos*²¹

Würzburg 863. Langlotz, pl. 245. A, head of woman; B, the like.

The amphorae are perforated, and the subsidiary decoration of those of panathenaic type is strikingly alike. All have a moulded ring round the neck,²² which divides it into two areas. The lower area on the obverse has a white-gold tongue-pattern and a small head of woman growing out of rich plants and resembling the big heads on the obverse of the body.²³ Round the mouth the three panathenaics have a laurel wreath. The floral ornaments are alike, and consist of palmettes flanked by tendrils and by small incomplete palmettes. The heads are exceptionally clumsy. The line indicating the brow is usually curved, and the eye occasionally takes the shape of a right-angled triangle²⁴ with the hypotenuse—the lower line of the upper eyelid—slightly curved and often extending outside the triangle. The upper line of the upper eyelid is indicated only twice,²⁵ and the dot indicating the pupil occasionally touches the apex of the right angle.²⁶ The mouth is no more than a wavy line, and the nostril is omitted on most of the vases.²⁷

THE KANTHAROS GROUP²⁸*Kantharoi, Shape A2*²⁹

1. London F447. A, head of woman; B, the like.
2. London F445. From Anzi. PL V, d. A, head of woman; B, the like.
3. Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology 71. PL VI, a. A, head of woman; B, the like.
4. Cambridge (G. 252). From Canosa. CV I, IV DE, pl. XLVI, 6. A, head of woman; B, the like.
5. Lecce 942. From Egnazia. CV II, IV Dr, pl. 54, 1. A, head of woman; B, the like.
6. Lecce 941. From Egnazia. CV II, IV Dr, pl. 54, 5. A, head of woman; B, the like.
7. Brussels A272. CV IV Db, pl. 7 (Belg. 88), 3. A, head of woman; B, the like.
8. Formerly Treben, Leesen. Kat. Leesen, pl. 4, 50. A, head of woman; B, the like.
9. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B73. CV II, pl. 72, 6. A, head of woman; B, the like.
10. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B72. CV II, pl. 72, 7. A, head of woman; B, the like.

Mugs (Oinochoai, Shape VIII B)

1. Copenhagen inv. 8760. CV VI, pl. 265, 3. Head of woman.
2. Manchester Museum IV C2. Fig. 6. Head of Nike.
3. Manchester Museum IV C3. Head of Nike.
4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden, G.N.V. 109. Fig. 7. Head of Nike (one wing only).
5. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire 12126. Head of Nike.
6. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B79. CV II, pl. 72, 12. Head of Nike.

*Oinochoai, Shape 1*³⁰

1. Lecce 869. From Egnazia. CV II, IV Dr, pl. 49, 1. Head of woman.
2. Lecce 870. From Egnazia. CV II, IV Dr, pl. 48, 2. Head of woman.
3. Toronto 398. Robinson and Harcum, pl. LXXI. Head of woman.

¹⁷ So named from the panathenaic amphora no 3.

¹⁸ I know only two types of Apulian red-figured amphora: the panathenaic and the barrel-amphora.

¹⁹ Since I wrote this article I added to the group of London F339 the barrel-amphora Geneva 15023 (PL V, c), which I know from a photograph kindly sent to me by Miss Gustel Bruckner (A, woman's head; B, the like).

²⁰ On the shapes of Apulian red-figured mugs see BSR XIX, p. 40, note 4.

²¹ Langlotz calls this shape a kantharos, but it seems to me that it is rather connected with the Attic shape that Beazley calls a kantharoid [ARV, p. X; see Poznan, Wielkopolskie Museum inv. 1903. 703, CV III, pl. 4 (Pol. 120), 1 or Cracow University inv. 305, CV II, pl. 10 (Pol. 83), 6]. Sévres inv. 196, CV, pl. 46 (Fr. 575), 14 and 29 is also connected.

²² On the barrel-amphora London F340, this is double.

²³ The plants are omitted on Lecce 865. On the obverse of London F340 this area is decorated with a white-gold palmette and a tongue-pattern.

²⁴ See, for example, London F340 and Würzburg 863 or even Lecce 860.

²⁵ See Lecce 860 and Lecce 865.

²⁶ See Lecce 865, London F340, and Würzburg 863.

²⁷ The nostril is not omitted on Würzburg 863 and on the reverse of London F339; on the latter it is merely a dot.

²⁸ I call the group so because many of the vases attributed to it are kantharoi.

²⁹ For the shape see Caskey and Beazley, *Boston*, pp. 14–15, fig. 13; Caskey, *Geometry*, 164; ARV, p. IX. Most of the kantharoi in my list have plastic leaves at the bottom of the handles.

³⁰ Apart from the mugs I know six other different shapes of Apulian red-figured oinochoe, which seem to be derived from Attic prototypes. I call them after Beazley's numbers of corresponding Attic shapes:

(a) *Oinochoe, shape 1*: Bologna, Pellegrini PU 616, CV III, Dr, pl. 32, 12; CV Lecce II, IV Dr, pl. 47 and 48.

(b) *Oinochoe, shape 2*: Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B785, CV II, pl. 81, 3.

(c) *Oinochoe, shape 3*: Taranto CV II, IV Dr, pl. 33, 1; Bologna, Pellegrini PU 611, CV III, IV Dr, pl. 32, 7; Brunswick AT309, CV, pl. 40, 1.

(d) *Oinochoe, shape 5a*: Bologna, Pellegrini PU 609.

4. Harrow School. **Pl. VI, b.** Head of woman.
5. Paris, Musée Rodin inv. TC 953. *CV*, pl. 35, 4. Head of woman.
6. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Museum. Scribner, pl. XL, 10. Head of woman.
7. Formerly Treben, Leesen. *Kat. Leesen*, pl. 4, 87. Head of woman.
8. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B12. *CV II*, pl. 70, 2. Head of woman.
9. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B65. *CV II*, pl. 70, 3. Head of woman.³¹
10. Vatican Y6. Trendall, *Vasi Ital.* II, pl. xliii, c. Head of woman.

*Pyxides, Standard Type*³²

1. Brussels R252 bis. *CV IV Db*, pl. 8 (Belg. 89), 5. Head of woman.
2. London 59. 2-16. 82. **Pl. VI, c.** Head of woman.
3. London 1951. 2-4. 1. Two heads of women.
4. Villa Giulia 17615. *CV I, IV Dr*, pl. 2, 1. Two heads of women. (The body of the vase is missing.)
5. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria 1795 (?). On the body, head of woman. (The lid does not belong.)
6. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B251. *CV II*, pl. 74, 1. Head of woman.
7. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B991. *CV II*, pl. 74, 2. Head of woman.³³



FIG. 8.—GENEVA 15021.

*Thymiateria, Shape A*³⁴

1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College. **Pl. VI, d.** Head of woman; Eros.
2. Cambridge (G. 250). From Bari. Gardner, pl. XXXVI. *CV I, IV DE*, pl. XLVI, 7. Head of woman; Eros.

Lekane Lids

1. Michigan 2707. 'Presumably from Pozzuoli or Cumae.' *CV IV D*, pl. XXIX, 4. Two heads of women.
2. Oslo, Kunsthindustrimuseet O.K. 6226. **Pl. VII, b.** Two heads of women.³⁵

Plates, Standard Type

1. Formerly Treben, Leesen. *Kat. Leesen*, pl. 6, 106. Head of woman.
2. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B230. *CV II*, pl. 73, 9. 1, head of woman.
3. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B231. *CV II*, pl. 73, 10. 1, head of woman.³⁶

CV III, IV Dr, pl. 32, 15; Sèvres 67, *CV, IV Db*, pl. 35, 2; Copenhagen inv. 325, *CV VI, IV D*, pl. 270, 2.

(e) *Oinochoe shape 6*: Geneva 15021 (Fig. 8).

(f) *Oinochoe shape 10a*: Bologna, Pellegrini *PU* 617, *CV III, IV Dr*, pl. 32, 11; Toronto 386, Robinson and Harcum, pl. LXXI (a variant of this is Lecce 672, *CV II, IV Dr*, pl. 51, 1).

(g) *Oinochoe shape 10b*: Bologna, Pellegrini *PU* 618, *CV III, IV Dr*, pl. 32, 14; Lecce 794, *CV II, IV Dr*, pl. 51, 7.

³¹ Hafner associated the two Karlsruhe oinochoai.

³² Unless otherwise stated the heads are drawn on the lid.

³³ Hafner associated the two Karlsruhe pyxides.

³⁴ *Thymiateria, shape A* seems to be most frequent in Apulian red-figure, and should be distinguished from the type of

Manchester Museum M.W. 1. 6952 (on loan from the Whitworth Art Gallery), which I call *thymiaterion, shape B* (see p. 118, **Pl. VII, c**). The former was rightly connected by Miss Lamb (Cambridge *CV I, IV DE*, pl. XLVI, 7, text) with the Canosan *thymiateria* Mayer, *Apulien*, p. 306, pll. 39, 1-2 and 40, 4-5. The latter must be derived from such Attic *thymiateria* as Athens N.M. inv. 2241 (*Kourouniotis in Class. St. Capps*, p. 212, fig. 19, a).

On *thymiateria* in general see Mayer, *Apulien*, p. 306, pll. 39, 1-2 and 40, 3-5; Wigand, *BjB*. 122, pp. 1-97; *Kourouniotis in Class. Studies presented to Edward Capps*, pp. 204-16; Vanderpool, *Hesp.* 15, pp. 326-7; J. M. Cook, *BCH* 1946, p. 100, note 5.

³⁵ I came to know this lid through Professor T. B. L. Webster.

³⁶ Hafner saw the connexion between the two Karlsruhe plates.

The subsidiary decoration of the kantharoi differs little from vase to vase: the heads are often flanked on either side by a cross-like object, which may represent a torch, while fillets and incomplete palmettes are used in the field as filling ornaments.³⁷ The mugs have often a laurel wreath round the neck and occasionally a wave-pattern below the figure-work. The oinochoai are usually decorated with a double horizontal line round the neck, a tongue-pattern below it, and a wave-pattern on the shoulder. The pyxides have often a laurel wreath or a wave-pattern round the upper part of the body.

In the treatment of heads the eyes are noteworthy. The lower eyelid and the pupil are usually represented by a single curved line,³⁸ which joins the single or double line of the upper eyelid near the inner end.³⁹ The scalloped reserved edge of the forelock is characteristic. The mouth is usually indicated by a dot, and two curls fall down the neck and cover the ear.

With the vases of the Kantharos group compare the following:

Kantharoi, Shape A2

1. Lecce 940. From Egnazia. *CV* II, IV Dr, pl. 54, 7. A, head of woman; B, the like.
2. Formerly Berlin, Baurat Schiller Collection. Zahn 416, pl. 33. A, head of woman; B, the like.

Mugs (Oinochoai, Shape VIII B)

1. Lecce 861. From Ruvo. *CV* II, IV Dr, pl. 54, 8. Head of Nike.
2. Toronto 470. Robinson and Harcum, pl. LXXXIV. Head of Nike.
3. Cracow, Czartoryski Museum inv. 1454. *CV* II, pl. 16 (Pol. 70), 2. Head of Nike. (The lid does not belong.)
4. Paris, Musée Rodin inv. TC 547. *CV*, pl. 35, 7 and 9. Head of woman.

Pyxis, Standard Type 40

- Würzburg 868. Langlotz, pl. 245. A, Head of Nike; B, head of woman. (The lid is missing.)

Dish, Shape 1

- Lecce 863. From Ruvo. *CV* II, IV Dr, pl. 58, 3. I, head of Nike.

Deep Askos, Type A

- Lecce 970. From Ruvo. *CV* II, IV Dr, pl. 42, 8. Head of Nike.

Connected with the Kantharos group are the group of Bologna 1366, the Brunswick group, and the group of Reading 51.7.13:

THE GROUP OF BOLOGNA 1366

I include the Manchester thymiaterion because of the head of Nike. The two heads of women are of different style.

Oinochoe, Shape 1

- Bologna, Pellegrini *PU* 616. *CV* III, IV Dr, pl. 32, 12. Head of woman.

Thymiaterion, Shape A

- Brunswick AT 287. *CV*, pl. 40, 13. Head of Nike.

Thymiaterion, Shape B

- Manchester Museum M.W. 1. 6952 (on loan from the Whitworth Art Gallery). **Pl. VII, c.** Two heads of women; head of Nike.

THE BRUNSWICK GROUP

Oinochoai, Shape 1

1. Brunswick AT307. *CV*, pl. 40, 7 and 11. Head of woman.
2. Brunswick AT308. *CV*, pl. 40, 8 and 12. Head of woman.

Greifenhagen associated the two vases, but wrongly connected them with Bologna 1366, Lecce 870 and 869, two oinochoai formerly in the Vogell Collection (*Sammlung Vogell*, pl. V, 14 and 16), and Lecce 826.⁴¹ Of these I attribute Bologna 1366 to the group of Bologna 1366; Lecce 870 and 869 to the Kantharos group; and the two Vogell oinochoai to the Stoke-on-Trent group. Lecce 826 seems to me entirely different from the other groups and from the Brunswick oinochoai with which Greifenhagen also connected it.

³⁷ See Lecce 942 and the vase in Brussels.

³⁸ See the Manchester mugs.

³⁹ On Lecce 942 the line of the lower eyelid joins the line of the upper eyelid at both ends.

⁴⁰ Langlotz saw the stylistic connexion of this vase with

Lecce 970, 861, and 863, but was wrong in connecting it with Lecce 864, which I attribute to the group of London F339.

⁴¹ See Brunswick AT307 and AT308, *CV*, pl. 40, 7 and 11, pl. 40, 8 and 12, and text.

THE GROUP OF READING 51.7.13

Panathenaic Amphorae

1. Reading, University Museum 51.7.13. **Pl. VII, a.** A, head of woman; B, the like.
2. Truro, the Cornwall County Museum. **Fig. 9.** Head of woman.



FIG. 9.—TRURO, CORNWALL COUNTY MUSEUM.



FIG. 10.—DUBLIN, TRINITY COLLEGE.

With these compare the following:

Mug (Oinochoe Shape VIII N⁴²)

Carlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B80. *CV* II, pl. 72, 10. Head of woman.

THE TORONTO GROUP

Stemless Cup

Brunswick AT314. *CV*, pl. 41, 3-4. I, Eros; A, head of woman; B, the like.

Lekane Lid

Toronto 449. Robinson and Harcum, pl. LXXXII. Two heads of women.

Panathenaic Amphora

Toronto 395. Robinson and Harcum, pl. LXXII. A, head of woman; B, the like.

The line indicating the eyebrow is almost straight, the upper eyelid is parallel to it, and the pupil is indicated by a line concave to the eye. The treatment of chin and mouth is peculiar and the nose is very pointed.

THE GROUP OF TARANTO 2996

This and the next group go together.

Panathenaic Amphorae

1. Taranto 2996. *CV* I, IV Dr, pl. 11, 6. From Ceglie del Campo. A, head of woman; B, the like.
2. Lecce 840. *CV* II, IV Dr, pl. 44, 1 and 4. From Rugge. A, woman in naiskos; B, head of woman.
3. Bologna, Pellegrini *PU* 522-4. *CV* III, IV Dr, pl. 4, 6. Head of woman; B, the like.
4. Dzików, Count Zdzisław Tarnowski. Poland *CV* III, pl. 128, 6. A, head of woman; B, the like.

Plate, Standard Type

Taranto 3008. *CV* I, IV Dr, pl. 11, 5. From Ceglie del Campo. I, head of woman.

Oinochoe Shape 3

Brunswick AT310. *CV*, pl. 40, 2 and 10. Head of woman.

Column-kraters

1. Reading, University Museum 87.35.32. *CV* I, pl. 30, 1. A, head of woman; B, the like.
2. Vatican Z26. Trendall, *Vasi Ital.* II, pl. xxxvi, g and h. A, head of woman; B, the like.

The upper line of the upper eyelid is short and touches neither the lower line nor the eyebrow. Nostril and mouth are usually indicated. The earrings are mostly circular.

With the group of Taranto 2996 compare the following vases. Greifenhagen attributed the first to the painter of the Brunswick oinochoe:

⁴² For the shape see *BSR* XIX, p. 40, note 4.

Oinochoe, Shape 3

Bologna, Pellegrini *PU* 611. *CV* III, Dr, pl. 32, 7. Head of woman.

Column-krater

Compiègne. *CV*, pl. 25, 4 and 6. A, woman and youth; B, head of woman.

THE AMPHORAE GROUP ⁴³

Greifenhagen connected the Brunswick panathenaic with the panathenaics reproduced in the Lecce *Corpus Vasorum* II, pll. 44 and 45, of which I attribute only one to the Amphorae group. He further connected the Brunswick panathenaic with a few others, none of which seems to belong here. Greifenhagen rightly connected the Brunswick oinochoe with Lecce 979, which I include in my list, and with Bologna Pellegrini *PU* 613, which I place near it.

Panathenaic Amphorae

1. Lecce 842. *CV* II, IV Dr, pl. 44, 2-3 and 5. From Ruvo. A, woman in naiskos; B, head of woman.
2. Brunswick AT290. *CV*, pl. 39, 4-6. A, head of woman; B, the like.

Column-kraters

1. Bologna, Pellegrini *PU* 582. *CV* III, IV Dr, pl. 16, 3-4. A, satyr and maenad; B, head of woman.
2. Once Treben, Leesen. *Kat. Leesen*, pl. 1, 42. A, head of woman; B, the like.

Oinochoai, Shape 3

1. Brunswick AT309. *CV*, pl. 40, 1 and 9. Head of woman.
2. Lecce 979. *CV* II, IV Dr, pl. 41, 1. From Ruvo. Head of woman.
3. Carlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B66. *CV* II, pl. 70, 7. Head of woman.

Stemless Cup

Dublin, Trinity College. **Fig. 10**, seated woman; A, head of woman; B, the like.

The heads resemble those on the vases of the group of Taranto 2996; the eyes, however, are treated differently. The upper and lower lines of the upper eyelid join and form an angle with the apex near the continuous line, which shows forehead and nose slightly convex to the face. The eyebrow is arched, and in one case touches the upper eyelid. The nostrils are mostly omitted and the mouth usually forms an obtuse angle.

With the vases of the Amphorae group compare the following:

Oinochoe, Shape 3

Bologna, Pellegrini *PU* 613. *CV* III, IV Dr, pl. 32, 8. Head of woman.

Column-krater

Vatican V59. Trendall, *Vasi Ital.* II, pl. xxxvi, c and d. A, head of woman; B, the like.

THE COPENHAGEN GROUP

Five of the vases in my list are in the National Museum in Copenhagen. Four of them are said to come from Bari.

Panathenaic Amphorae

1. Copenhagen inv. Chr. VIII 107. *CV* VI, pl. 259, 4. From Bari. A, head of woman; B, the like.
2. Copenhagen inv. Chr. VIII 16. *CV* VI, pl. 259, 3. From Bari. A, head of woman; B, the like.
3. Vatican V65. Trendall, *Vasi Ital.* II, pl. xxxvii, h. A, head of woman; B, woman in aedicula. (Handles missing.)
4. Vatican V48. Trendall, *Vasi Ital.* II, pl. xxxvii, g. A, head of woman; B, woman in aedicula.

Hydria

Copenhagen inv. Chr. VIII 111. *CV* VI, pl. 259, 1. From Bari. Head of woman.

Stemless Cup

Copenhagen inv. Chr. VIII 19. *CV* VI, pl. 267, 6 a-b. From Basilicata. I, woman; A, head of woman; B, the like.

Dish, Shape 1

Copenhagen inv. Chr. VIII 26. *CV* VI, pl. 268, 3. From Bari. I, head of woman.

Volute-krater

Vatican V56. Trendall, *Vasi Ital.* II, pl. xxxvii, f. A, youth in aedicula (on the neck, head of Nike); B, head of woman.

⁴³ So named from the shape of the first two vases of my list.

In shape, and in the decoration of neck and mouth, the two parathenaic amphorae are alike. Compare the patterns on the neck of the hydria with those on the lower part of the neck of the amphora no. 1 in my list.

The style of the heads of women drawn on these vases is easily distinguishable. The eye is drawn oblique, and the two lines of the upper eyelid join at the inner ends. The lower eyelid is short and does not meet the upper eyelid. The pupil is a thick vertical stroke pointed below, or just a dot touching the upper eyelid only. The treatment of the forehead, nose, and nostril is typical. For the mouth see especially the dish and the amphora no. 2 in my list.

The palmettes in the field and the floral ornament are usually decorated with rows of white-gold dots and lines.

THE GROUP OF LECCE 866

This contains two vases associated by Romanelli:

Panathenaic Amphorae ⁴⁴

1. Lecce 866. From Ruvo. CV II, IV Dr, pl. 45, 4. A, head of woman; B, the like.
2. Lecce 867. From Ruvo. CV II, IV Dr, pl. 45, 6. A, head of woman; B, the like.

The two vases are perforated and have similar subsidiary decoration. Notice especially the treatment of eyes. The two lines of the upper eyelid form an angle, while the pupil and the lower eyelid are indicated by a single curved line.

This study has sought to establish a basis for the classification of Apulian red-figured vases decorated with heads of women or of Nike. The style, if poor, is nevertheless interesting, since it represents the last phase of development in a school, which, though colonial, started with such competent artists as the Sisyphos painter and the painter of the Birth of Dionysos,⁴⁵ yet rapidly deteriorated to the point of producing vases like those here attributed to the Stoke-on-Trent group or the group of London F339.

Moreover, the vases of the above groups are interesting for their shapes, which often originate from Attic red-figured prototypes, and it is satisfactory to find that some of them, for example the skyphos of Corinthian type and the mug, retain part of their fifth century precision. The kantharoi often have plastic leaves at the bottom of the handles and the pyxides are spherical; the thymiaterion, shape A, seems to be derived from native prototypes, and the dishes, no doubt, can be connected with metal vases.⁴⁶ I do not know of any Attic parallel to the Apulian barrel-amphora, which, like the late Apulian red-figured volute-krater, is unpleasantly overcharged.

One would be tempted to interpret the heads of women as representations of the birth of Aphrodite,⁴⁷ but this theory, attractive as it is, seems to me highly improbable and I am inclined to believe that they are merely abbreviations of female figures. Noteworthy is the fact that heads of men are rarely represented on vases of this class; ⁴⁸ this I find difficult to interpret.

It is evident from the title of this article and the description of the vases in the text that I interpret the heads between two wings as abbreviations of a Nike,⁴⁹ but the feminine features of these heads cannot be decisive in the matter, and the possibility that they may be abbreviated representations of Erotes of the hermaphrodite type, so frequent in this period, cannot be excluded altogether.

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⁴⁴ The lids seem to belong.

⁴⁵ See Trendall, *Frühitaliotische Vasen*.

⁴⁶ See p. 114, note 8.

⁴⁷ On the subject of the rising of Goddesses see Buschor, *Feldmäuse in Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie* 1937; Rumpf, *Anadyomene*, *Jb.* 1950-51; and my forthcoming article

'Three Attic Vases in the Museum of Valletta' in *JHS* 1955.

⁴⁸ See for example the oinochoe Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B106, CV II, pl. 70, 6.

⁴⁹ Cf. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B779, CV II, pl. 70, 1; with Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B79, CV II, pl. 72, 12.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE *ILIAD*, ILLUSTRATED BY THE SPEECHES

IN a recent paper (*JHS* LXXII 1 ff.) is set out the distribution of speeches in the *Odyssey*, and the principles of their arrangement within its principal episodes. It is an obvious and necessary counterpart, to apply the same method of study to the *Iliad*. Though much has been done by Sir John Sheppard in *The Pattern of the Iliad* (1932), he has not made express use of the grouping of the speeches; and the present paper is designed to supplement his analysis of their contents by the special examination of their positions in the general design. I am still acutely aware of my debt to *The Pattern of the Iliad*; and it seems to me only possible to set out my own suggestions in full, at the cost of some repetition from a work so closely linked in its general theme.

Speeches in the *Iliad* (over 670) are more numerous than in the *Odyssey* (629 + 8 in Demodocus' second lay), but their distribution is similar:

Books with 15 speeches or less	<i>Iliad</i> 1	<i>Odyssey</i> 2
" 20	" 4	" 4
" 25	" 4	" 5
" 30	" 7	" 5
" 35	" 3	" 5
" 40	" 3	" 2
" 41 or more	" 2	" 1

The largest number, fifty, is in *Odyssey* XVII; forty-five are in *Iliad* XXIV.

As in the *Odyssey*, more than twenty episodes in the *Iliad* are devoid of speeches; mostly bouts of fighting, with mere lists of names, sometimes introduced by an invocation (XIV. 508, XVI. 112). The significance of these must be examined later, as they frequently interrupt the schemes of speeches.

Like the *Similes*, of which such valuable use was made in *The Pattern of the Iliad*, every speech is necessarily a distinct act of composition, interrupting the action. Sometimes it is interpolated into it, replacing a speech-word such as sometimes remains in our text, and ranks as a speech in the structure of the episode. Such speech-words are more frequent in the *Odyssey* (*JHS* LXXII 10/1). The most remarkable sequence of them is in the Laestrygonian episode (*Od.* X. 105-28), five speech-words. Examples in the *Iliad* are:

- IV. 515. Athena ὄρσε (of 541-2) between Apollo's speech (509-13) and a bout of fighting (519-44) which resumes the fighting which precedes Apollo's intervention. What seems to be intended is a pair of exhortations to the two armies, like XV. 717-41 (Hector and Aias); XX. 354-72 (Achilles and Hector).
- V. 899. Zeus ἀνώγειν.
- X. 139. Nestor φθεγξάμενος.
- X. 522. Hippocöon ὀνόμησεν ἑταῖρον.
- XIV. 275-80. Hera ὄμνυε.
- XV. 377. Thunder.
- XVIII. 35. Achilles ὠμῶσεν.

But in XXII. 294 where Hector ἐκάλει to Deiphobus, this is not reckoned as a speech in the structure. Nor are the occasional invocations so reckoned; to the Muses (XI. 218; XIV. 508; XVI. 112); to Menelaus (IV. 127); to Hector (XI. 299), and to Patroclus (XVI. 692): they are usually followed by mere lists of names, the unfulfilled programmes of bouts of fighting, like VIII. 273-4; and sometimes interrupt such fighting.

These and similar speech-words give the impression that, in some instances, speeches have been engrafted on narratives originally 'speechless', not always symmetrically; e.g. XI. 248-63 (where Cöon wounds Agamemnon without speaking) is the counterpart of 138-42 in the composition.

Sometimes a gesture or other act may take the place of a speech. In I. 503-28 the structure is

Thetis-(Zeus is silent)-Thetis-Zeus-(Zeus nods and thunders)

and as this passage is followed by another quatrain (540-67)

Hera-Zeus-Hera-Zeus

the thunder of Zeus is the centre-piece of a sequence of nine. Compare VII. 446-79:

Poseidon-Zeus-(Zeus thunders)

There are very few single speeches: Nestor (XV. 661-66) and Patroclus (XVI. 556-61) followed by bouts of fighting: Zeus (XVI. 667-75) ordering the burial of Sarpedon, preceded by long narrative, and the setting of the scales (658) which may be its counterpart in this long, irregular section (422-683). An anonymous speech (π15, IV. 82-4), on Athena's descent from Olympus, may be the initial item in the composition which follows; if so, the centre-point is Menelaus' first speech (184-7) reassuring Agamemnon. Other examples in IV are Iris and Idaeus, and Hector in VIII. 497-541.

The length of the speeches varies greatly, even when there is not a formal digression, as in those of Nestor. But this does not seem to affect their significance. An example is the episode IV. 127-219 above quoted, where Menelaus replies in four lines to Agamemnon's twenty-eight. It may be inferred that the sequence of speeches was planned first, and its framework filled afterwards, and perhaps by degrees.

Sometimes the later speeches in a composition are shorter than their leading counterparts. This has the effect of hastening the action, and compensating digressions (e.g. IX. 656-713). But in XI. 671-821 Nestor's story is in the latter half of the centre-piece, and his welcome to Patroclus (645-6) had been silent, following the description of his cup.

Speeches in Groups. But nearly all the speeches, as in the *Odyssey*, occur in groups. The simplest kind of composition is the couplet—question and answer, challenge and reply, pairs of exhortations (XIV. 470-85: XV. 718-41), and so forth (XX. 354-72). But this is rare, except as an element in a larger composition, where it may be balanced by another couplet.

Far more frequent is the triplet, ABA, ABB, or ABC. It is the central speech that is significant, while the third deals with a consequence. This arrangement, which I have described elsewhere as 'pedimental', may be compared with the 'heraldic' designs of gems, vase paintings, and temple-sculptures.

Based on the triplet are the still more elaborate compositions with five, seven, nine, or even eleven items, similarly grouped about a centre-piece, and elaborating its preliminaries and sequel.

These are examples of the double couplet or 'quatrain' ABAB, or ABBA, and here it is the counter-couplet BA that is significant, or the couplet BB with some antithesis—in effect a twin centre-piece. IV. 155-97 (ABAA), V. 787-834 (ABCB). Both groupings are frequent in vase-painting.

In the very frequent group of five—or 'pentad'—the initial and final couplets may be counterparts. In the *Quarrel-debate*, I. 59-244, such a centre-piece of five is enclosed between triplets which are counterparts, and enframed between contrasted single speeches from Achilles as vassal and as rebel.

In I. 540-94 a 'sextet' has the pattern AB . AB . CA.

In II. 8-440 the scheme is

AB : CDC : EFG : G : HGI : GDC : GD,

where the lateral triplets enframe the long speeches of Nestor (D) and the second speech of Odysseus (G) is the turning point in the whole episode, between the goddesses (EF) who inspire Odysseus, and Thersites (H) his opponent condemned by the Common Man (I).

Occasionally a group of speeches is interpolated into a larger composition: in VI. 123-231 a triplet—Diomedes—Glaucus—Diomedes—interrupts the first half of the long episode of the *Suppliant Women*, where the centre-piece is Theano's prayer (305-11). A major insert may interrupt a balanced composition: in III. 250-323 the actual duel (324-34) follows the centre-piece (π15—Priam—π15: 298-323), whereas in XXII the fatal blow (325) precedes Achilles' speech 331-6. In VII. 242-72 the fighting interrupts the second half of the construction as the first half is broken by Nestor's story (124-60). In XVII. 789-817 Apollo's disarmament of Patroclus follows the central speech of Patroclus, and is partially compensated by the silent fight with Cebriones (725-30). In combat, word and blow were in fact simultaneous, and such dislocation was inevitable; but it reveals a certain incoherence, which we may find to be of some importance later.

Almost all these groups of speeches lie within one of the traditional books: an exception is the sequence XXI. 531-89—XXII. 8-20, where the speeches are: Priam—Agenor—(583-89)—||—Apollo (8-13)—Achilles. The larger compositions are also usually contained within a book; but the *Deception of Zeus* runs on from XIV. 190 to XV. 217, and XIV. 1-146 is in structure a prelude to this. And the *Fight by the River* in XXI is structurally included in the *Battle of the Gods* (XX. 1-514), of which XXI. 394-513 is the epilogue. On the other hand, a traditional 'book' usually includes two or more schemes of speeches, and sometimes a prologue which lies outside them all.

Date of the Speeches. At what stage in the growth of the Epic were speeches—and especially the groups of speeches—introduced? Limiting factors are as follows:

(1) The frequent bouts of silent fighting, which sometimes occur within a composition, and sometimes interrupt it,¹ are clearly drawn from a store of mere narrative, which must be assumed

¹ Examples are:—XII. 329-42; 370-407; XIII. 352 ff.; 487 ff.; XIV. 489 ff.; XV. 301-43; 583-660; 673-725; XVI. 275-419; 569-607; XX. 393-418; 455-503.

to be prior, if not primitive, though continuously supplemented from local and personal sources.

(2) On the other hand, the most elaborate constructions are in the essential episodes of the poems—e.g. Books I. IX. XVIII. XXII. XXIV. Note, however, the sequence of ten in the *Fight by the River* (XX. 214-380).

(3) But much of the structure of the *Iliad* is on a rather small scale, in comparison with the *Odyssey*, where the larger composition of the whole poem is itself pedimental. The *Deception of Zeus* in XIV and its sequel in XV, contain nothing larger than pentads, and the *Battle of the Gods* in XX consists of loosely linked triplets and couplets, whereas the human interlude 354-504 contains seven speeches, including an irregular pentad (376-454).

(4) That the larger structure of the *Iliad* is of the same general type, has been already indicated in *JHS* LII. 280 (fig. 7); that some of its more tangled episodes have symmetry, in p. 278 (fig. 6); and that Book I, commonly supposed to be 'early', and Book XXIV, reputed to be 'late', are most intimately balanced, in p. 256 (fig. 8): both exhibit elaborate structure among their very numerous speeches—I has 36, XXIV has 45.

(5) The *Lay of Dolon* (X), sometimes considered (like XXIV) to be 'late', is fully provided with speeches, both in the night-adventure itself and in its elaborate prelude; yet at the end, Dolon's arms are dedicated to Athena silently (X. 570-3).

(6) The *Destruction of the Wall* (XII. 1-33) is outside the construction, and adjacent to much silent fighting (XII. 80-161, 173-210, 255-64, 278-90). The *Building of the Wall* only appears in an epilogue (VII. 446-63). Yet the long *Battle at the Wall* includes many structural episodes, as well as bouts of silent fighting.

(7) Only in XXIV. 334-467 is there the artifice of 'change-of-lead' between question and answer, which is characteristic of the pedimental *stichomythia* of Aeschylus. This may mark a terminal phase of development within the Epic.

(8) But at present the only conclusion to be drawn from the study of the speeches, is that *Iliad* and *Odyssey* stand rather close together in the handling of this class of material; and that in some parts of the *Iliad*, especially between XI and XIX, there is greater use of unschematised narrative, and less mastery of pedimental composition than in others, and than in the *Odyssey*. In the *Odyssey*, nevertheless, there are whole episodes devoid of speeches; and the Laestrygonian story is built on a structure of five speech-words.

This homogeneity of literary form, and this powerful instrument for articulation and memorisation, offer a fresh argument in favour of single authorship for the poems essentially as we have them. Though it is unlikely that early recitals of great deeds were without rhetorical and dramatic element, especially when they formed part of religious ceremonies—like the precursors of Attic tragedy—it may be that this artifice as a systematic structure may be one of those 'novelties', to which Miss Lorimer has lately drawn attention¹ as characteristic of the latest phase of epic composition, which is another way of referring to a 'personal Homer'. And the more ambitious construction of the *Odyssey* as a whole, in any event, appears as a further and presumably subsequent development in that 'personal Homer's' art.

That in both poems there should be passages to which this rhetorical and schematic artifice has not been applied—or only partially applied—is, moreover, only what should be expected in so gigantic an enterprise.

DETAILED STRUCTURE AND ANALYSIS OF *ILIAD* I-XXIV

In what follows, the speeches in the *Iliad* are set out in their structural relations, by the names of the speakers. Usually these triads or pentads do not occupy more than one line of print: where they do, the centre-piece (always in italic type) is printed lower than the ends. A few of the more impressive compositions, however, are set out more fully, as in the previous paper on the *Odyssey* (*JHS* LXXII).

In Book I there are two main episodes, the *Quarrel* (54-224), preceded by a prologue (1-42) and followed by an epilogue (252-303); and the *Counsel of Zeus* (321-594), a single composition, with brief prologue and epilogue (321-44, 573-94); but interrupted by the brief *Visit to Chryse* with a single couplet (442-56).

BOOK I (a). THE QUARREL

Prologue

17-21 Chryses to Agamemnon

[Chryses to Apollo 37-42

26-32

Agamemnon to Chryses

¹ *Homer and the Monuments*, Oxford, 1950.

The Debate

- 59-67 Achilles (as vassal) to Agamemnon
- 74-80 Calchas to Achilles (asks for protection) }
 85-91 Achilles to Calchas (protection granted) }
 93-100 Calchas to Agamemnon (restore Chryseis) }
- 106-20 Agamemnon to Calchas (he will restore Chryseis)
 122-29 Achilles to Agamemnon (reparation later)
 131-47 Agamemnon to Achilles (reparation now)
 149-71 Achilles to Agamemnon (he will go home)
 173-87 Agamemnon to Achilles (he will take Briseis)
- 202-5 Achilles to Athena (threatens violence) }
 207-14 Athena to Achilles (dissuades) }
 216-8 Achilles to Athena (consents) }
- 225-44 Achilles (renounces allegiance) to Agamemnon

Epilogue

- 254-84 Nestor [digression 259-74] to Agamemnon 275 and Achilles 277
 286-91 Agamemnon to Nestor
 293-303 Achilles to Nestor (warning)

The *Quarrel* is one of the most elaborate constructions in the *Iliad*. The Prologue (17-42) is exactly balanced by the Epilogue (254-303), in which Agamemnon again makes appeasement impossible, and Achilles, like Chryses, can only appeal elsewhere. The centre-piece (106-87) states the issue; Agamemnon must have reparation *now*, and at the expense of Achilles, whose proposal is rejected. This stands between the appeal of Calchas for protection from violence, granted by Achilles (85-91) and the threat of violence by Achilles himself; averted by Athena (207-14): all enframed by the contrast of Achilles as vassal (59-67) and as rebel (225-44).

BOOK I (b). THE COUNSEL OF ZEUS

- 322-5 Agamemnon to Talthylus }
 334-44 Achilles to Heralds (surrenders Briseis) }
- 352-6 Achilles to Thetis
 362-3 Thetis to Achilles }
 365-412 Achilles to Thetis (long speech) }
 414-27 Thetis to Achilles }
- 442-5 [[Odysseus to Chryses: 451-6 Chryses to Apollo]]
- 503-10 Thetis to Zeus
 (Zeus is silent)
 514-6 → Thetis to Zeus (central)
 518-27 Zeus to Thetis
 (Zeus nods and thunders)
- 540-3 Hera to Zeus (asks for information)
 545-50 Zeus to Hera (refuses) }
 551-9 Hera to Zeus (Thetis has been here) }
 561-7 Zeus to Hera (warning) }
- 573-83 Hephaestus to Hera (be patient) } balances 321-44
 587-94 Hephaestus to Hera (warning) }

The *Counsel of Zeus* (322-594) is a single large composition, between a prologue (321-44) and an epilogue (573-94) comparing the position on earth and in Olympus. The centre-piece, the converse of Thetis with Zeus (505-27), stands between her visit to Achilles (352-437) and the altercation of Hera with Zeus (540-67) which stresses the significance of Thetis in the whole story. This broad scheme, however, is interrupted by the *Mission to Chryse*, with two speeches (442-56) a far echo of the *Prelude* (17-42) binding the two halves of Book I together. Its precise position announces to Achaean and Olympus alike that the *Plague* is over and the *Quarrel* has begun: it also fills the interval till the return of the gods from Ocean (425, 493-6).

BOOK II. THE DREAM OF AGAMEMNON

Prologue

8-15.	Zeus to the Dream	}
23-34	Dream to Agamemnon	
56-75	Agamemnon to Chiefs	
79-83	Nestor (the army assembles)	
110-41	Agamemnon to the army	
157-65	Hera to Athena	
173-81	Athena to Odysseus	}
190-7	Odysseus (praise)	
200-6	→ Odysseus (blame)	
225-42	Thersites	}
246-64	Odysseus to Thersites	
272-7	τις about Thersites	
284-332	Odysseus to Agamemnon (speech of Calchas 323-9)	
337-68	Nestor	
370-93	Agamemnon to Chiefs	

Epilogue

412-18	Agamemnon to Zeus (reply to Dream's message)	}
434-40	Nestor to Agamemnon	
441 f.	The Army assembles:—no speeches	

This is a single composition, and regular. Around the crucial speech of Odysseus, blaming the army, stand the power of good, Hera and Athena, and the power for evil, Thersites and the fickle multitude. Nestor's speeches (79-83, 337-68) are counterparts, like those of Agamemnon (56-75, 371-93); and the final speeches of Agamemnon and Nestor respond to those of Zeus and the Dream (8-34).

BOOK III. THE OATHS: THE REVIEW FROM THE WALL: THE DUEL OF PARIS AND MENELAUS

Prologue

39-57	Hector to Paris	}
59-75	Paris to Hector (proposes duel)	
82-3	Agamemnon (stays the battle)	
86-94	Hector (proposes truce)	
97-110	Menelaus (agrees to fight Paris)	
130-8	Iris to Helen	
156-60	The Old Men on the Wall	
172-80	Helen to Priam	
182-90	Priam (on Agamemnon)	
192-8	Priam (on Odysseus)	
200-2	Helen (on Odysseus)	
204-24	Antenor (on Odysseus and Menelaus)	
226-7	Priam (on Aias)	
229-40	Helen (on Aias)	
250-8	Idaeus to Priam (summons)	
276-91	Agamemnon to Zeus (sacrifice)	
298-301	τις (confirming oaths)	
304-9	Priam (farewell)	
320-3	τις (prayer to Zeus)	
	<the duel begins 340>	
351-4	Menelaus to Zeus (states his complaint)	
365-8	Menelaus to Zeus (his broken sword)	

Epilogue

390-4	Aphrodite to Helen <374 Aphrodite saves Paris>	}
399-412	Helen to Aphrodite	
414-17	Aphrodite to Helen	
428-36	Helen to Paris	
438-46	Paris to Helen	
456-61	Agamemnon (resumes the battle), cf. 82-3	

The structure is symmetrical. Between the prelude, in which the truce is arranged, and the epilogue, where Paris and Helen are reunited (each of five speeches), stand Helen's visit to the Wall (seven speeches, of which the three central are about Odysseus—between Agamemnon and Aias), and the oaths and duel, before and after the farewell of Priam (304-9) flanked by two anonymous comments (298-301, 320-3). The second speech of Menelaus, followed by the rescue of Paris by Aphrodite, is the counterpart of the summons of Idaeus, though this summons also

balances the summons of Iris to Helen. These three speeches may perhaps be regarded as statical punctuations, of which there are other examples.

The speech of Agamemnon at the end (456-61) belongs properly to Book III, and is the statical counterpart of 82-3 in the prelude. Menelaus has already reappeared, seeking for Paris (449-54).

BOOK IV (a). PANDARUS BREAKS THE TRUCE

- 7-19 Zeus to Hera and Athena
 25-9 Hera to Zeus
 31-49 Zeus to Hera and Athena
 51-67 Hera to Zeus
 70-2 Zeus to Athena
 82-4 $\pi\iota\varsigma$ (trouble is brewing) *outside the composition*
 93-103 Athena to Pandarus (Menelaus is wounded 127-47)
 155-82 Agamemnon to Menelaus
 184-7 Menelaus to Agamemnon
 189-91 Agamemnon to Menelaus
 193-7 Agamemnon to Talthibius
 204-7 Talthibius to Machaon (Menelaus is tended 218-19)

This double composition (7-72, 93-207) is bonded by the anonymous foreboding, when Athena descends like a star; a statical punctuation (82-4).

BOOK IV (b). AGAMEMNON'S REVIEW

Prologue

- 234-9 Agamemnon (praise)
 242-9 Agamemnon (blame)
 257-64 (a) to Idomeneus
 266-71 Idomeneus replies
 285-91 to Aias, Telamonius and Oileus
 303-9 (b) Nestor to his men
 313-16 Agamemnon to Nestor
 318-25 Nestor to Agamemnon
 338-48 (c) to Menestheus
 350-5 Odysseus replies
 358-63 to Odysseus
 370-400 (d) to Diomedes (long story)
 404-10 Sthenelus
 412-18 Diomedes
 422-508 (fighting: no speeches)

Epilogue

- 509-13 Apollo to Trojans
 514-16 (Athena to Achaeans: reported)
 517-44 (fighting: no speeches)

Between *Prologue* (234-49) and *Epilogue* (509-544) are four episodes of three speeches each, some composite. In the *Epilogue* one of the two speeches is only reported (514-16); and there are long bouts of silent fighting (422-508, 527-44). There is a general impression of lax and inferior construction, eked out with stock combat-episodes.

BOOK V (a). THE PROWESS OF DIOMEDES

- 31-34 Athena to Ares
 <35-83 fighting without speeches
 <95-100 wounds Diomedes
 102-5 Pandarus to Trojans
 109-10 Diomedes to Sthenelus
 115-20 Diomedes to Athena
 124-32 Athena to Diomedes
 171-8 Aeneas to Pandarus
 180-216 Pandarus to Aeneas
 218-28 Aeneas to Pandarus
 230-8 Pandarus to Aeneas
 243-50 Sthenelus to Diomedes
 252-73 Diomedes to Sthenelus
 277-9 Pandarus to Diomedes
 284-5 Pandarus to Diomedes
 287-9 Diomedes to Pandarus (Pandarus killed 290-6
 <287 Aeneas rescued by Aphrodite who is wounded 330
 <319-327 Sthenelus captures Aeneas' horses.

BOOK V (b)

348-51	Diomedes to Aphrodite	
359-62	Aphrodite to Ares (353, cf. 720)	
373-4	Dione to Aphrodite	}
376-80	Aphrodite to Dione	
382-415	Dione to Aphrodite (long story)	
421-5	Athena to Zeus	
428-30	Zeus to Aphrodite	

BOOK V (c)

440-2	Apollo to Diomedes (warning)	
455-9	Apollo to Ares (to avenge Aphrodite)	}
464-9	Ares to Trojans	
		<461 Ares (= Akamas) enters battle

472-92	Sarpedon to Hector	
529-32	Agamemnon to Achaeans	
541-60	Diomedes	<541-60 Aeneas is fighting
601-6		
608		<608-32 Hector is fighting
633-46	Tlepolemus to Sarpedon	
648-54	Sarpedon to Tlepolemus	
684-8	Sarpedon to Hector	
	<711 Hector and Ares arrive	

BOOK V (d)

714-18	Hera to Athena	
		<arming and chariot
757-63	Hera to Zeus (asks leave to enter battle)	}
765-6	Zeus to Hera (gives leave: against Ares)	
787-91	Hera (as Stentor) to Achaeans	
800-13	Athena to Diomedes	}
815-24	Diomedes to Athena	
826-34	Athena to Diomedes	<835 displaces Sthenelus
872-87	Ares to Zeus (in Olympus)	
889-98	Zeus to Ares	}
899-904	[no speech: Paeon is ordered (ἀνέωγεν, 899) to tend Ares]	
907-9	<Hera and Athena return to Olympus	

The *Prowess of Diomedes* consists of four episodes, with Pandarus, Aeneas with Aphrodite, Aeneas again with Ares, and Ares alone, as antagonists. The structure of the first is regular: two outer groups of four speeches separated from the centre-piece of four by two couplets (115-32, 243-73) introducing the two supporters of Diomedes, Athena and Sthenelus. The centre-piece introduces Aeneas, who takes the place of Pandarus in the second episode. But Aeneas is displaced, without further speeches (297-327) by Aphrodite, whose return, wounded, to Olympus, furnishes a seven-speech composition of which the centre-piece is the triplet of Aphrodite and Dione (373-415) with a digression on patience under injuries which has no counterpart.

In the third episode, a triplet prologue puts Ares into the foreground (440-69), but nothing comes of this (till 592-5 and 691) and the six-speech composition begins and ends with Sarpedon (472-92, 648-88). In the centre-piece Hector is fighting without speaking (608-32), Aeneas reappears (541-60), and Agamemnon and Tlepolemus speak. Much of the narrative is speechless, and there are lists of killed and wounded (677-8, 705-7): it looks like a gathering of stock-anecdotes. In the fourth episode Hera and Athena support Diomedes, who wounds Ares (856-63) and drives him back to Olympus. Central is the couplet of Athena and Diomedes: before it, Hera encourages the Achaeans; after it Athena displaces Sthenelus and helps Diomedes to wound Ares (835-63).

In Olympus, the triplet (714-66) in which Hera and Athena obtain leave to intervene is answered only by a couplet between Ares and Zeus (872-98); but Zeus orders Paion to heal Ares, so a speech is missing here; and the goddesses return in silence (907-9).

The whole book, and especially the latter part of it, is untidy work; but the pedimental design is evident, and the silent sections seem to be supplementary, like the long speech of Dione. Between Aeneas and Ares, there seem to be changes of plan.

BOOK VI. ENTITLED 'HECTOR AND ANDROMACHE'

1-36 <fighting: lists 20-36: no speeches

Prologue

- 46-50 Adrastus to Menelaus
 55-60 Agamemnon to Menelaus (kill Adrastus)
 67-71 Nestor to Achaeans (do not take spoils)

The Suppliant Women

- 77-101 Helenus to Aeneas and Hector (proposes embassy) }
 111-15 Hector (concurs in embassy) }
 123-43 Diomedes to Glaucus (Lycurgan story)
 145-211 Glaucus to Diomedes (Bellerophon story)
 215-31 Diomedes to Glaucus
 254-62 Hecuba to Hector }
 264-85 Hector to Hecuba }
 305-10 Theano's (prayer) (centre) ←
 326-31 Hector to Paris }
 333-41 Paris to Hector }
 344-58 Helen to Hector }
 360-8 Hector to Helen }

Hector and Andromache

- 376-80 Hector to Andromache's women }
 382-9 Stewardess to Hector }
 407-39 Andromache to Hector (advice) } ←
 441-65 Hector to Andromache }
 476-81 Hector to Antigone }
 486-93 Hector to Andromache }
 518-9 Paris to Hector
 521-9 Hector to Paris

VII. 1-16 <fighting: no speeches

The name-episode Hector and Andromache is not even central, and the structure of the whole book has been deranged. In its present form it is contained between two passages of inarticulate fighting, without speeches VI. 1-36 and VII. 1-16: the latter really belongs to VI. To the former succeed two small episodes, the *Fate of Adrastus* with two speeches (46-50, 55-60) and the single speech of Nestor. Both illustrate the growing tension which follows the divine encouragements in Book V: the code is to be strictly observed, as to prisoners and as to loot. Similarly, at the end, Paris is at last roused to come out and fight (two speeches: 518-9, 521-9). This, however, is not a mere epilogue, but the sequel of the visit of Hector to the home of Paris (four speeches: 326-68) wherein the centre-piece is the couplet between Helen and Hector which touches the heart of the Trojan tragedy.

But the *Rousing of Paris* took time, and the interval has been filled with the *meeting of Hector and Andromache* (three couplets), wherein the centre-piece brings these two face to face, like Helen and Hector already. Apart from the time lag above-noted, these two episodes are very close counterparts. Both illustrate on the Trojan side the growing tension and sense of imminent crisis.

This device for telling two stories at the same time is the clue to the earlier half of Book VI, and so to the structure of the whole. For the farewells of Hector to Helen and Andromache, were not the purpose of his return to the city; nor even his rousing of Paris, the last unexpended reserve of Troy. The centre-piece of the whole Book is the *Prayer of Theano*, and Athena's unspoken refusal; and the earlier episode of which this is the outcome is a one-sided composition, in which the preliminaries to that refusal are to be balanced by Hector's sole success, the rousing of Paris. Those preliminaries, too, needed time; and time is gained by the meeting of Diomedes and Glaucus, a regular triplet (123-231) enhanced by the pendant stories of Lycurgus and Bellerophon. This interlude is the structural counterpart of Hector's meeting with Andromache. Tragically, the personal reconciliation—at whatever material cost—between Diomedes and Glaucus, is the human counterpart of what might have been—the reconciliation of Athena; for Helenus, if anyone, knew what was in the minds of the Gods,

βουλὴν, ἣ ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐφῆνδανε μητιόωσι. (VII. 45)

BOOK VII (a). DUEL OF HECTOR AND AJAX. (b). GATHERING THE DEAD

1-16 <fighting: no speeches (conclusion of VI)

Prologue

- 24-32 Apollo to Athena }
 34-6 Athena to Apollo }
 38-42 Apollo to Athena (proposes a duel) }
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(a) DUEL OF HECTOR AND AJAX

- 47-53 Helenus to Hector (truce)
 67-91 Hector to Trojans and Achaeans (challenge)
 96-102 Menelaus (offers to fight)
 109-119 Agamemnon (forbids Menelaus to fight)
 124-60 (Nestor (long story 132-60), *outside composition*)
 171-4 Nestor (proposes lots)
 179-80 $\pi\tau\varsigma$: prayer to Zeus
 191-9 Ajax (claims his lot) \leftarrow centre
 202-5 $\pi\tau\varsigma$: prayer to Zeus
 226-32 Ajax to Hector (boasting)
 234-43 Hector to Ajax (boasting) <(duel 244-72) }
 279-82 Idaeus (stops the duel)
 284-6 Ajax to Idaeus (Hector must begin)
 288-302 Hector (proposes gifts) <303 gifts exchanged 313 feast

(b) GATHERING THE DEAD

- 327-43 Nestor proposes to gather the dead
 348-53 Antenor (give up Helen)
 357-64 Paris (will give up spoil but not Helen)
 368-78 Priam (offer these terms tomorrow) <night>
 385-97 Idaeus (to Agamemnon)
 400-2 Diomedes to Achaeans (refuse surrender of Helen)
 406-11 Agamemnon to Idaeus (grants burial truce)
 <417 burial begun 436 Wall

Epilogue

- 446-53 Poseidon to Zeus (complaint about the Wall)
 455-63 Zeus to Poseidon (wait till the end)
 <465 night: 467-75 market
 479 <Zeus thunders all night>

The main composition, the *Duel*, is symmetrical, from the proposal by Helenus (47-53) to Nestor's proposal to gather the dead (327-44) which completes the symmetry beyond the two speeches of Hector (67-91, 298-302) in challenge and in appeasement. The centre-piece, between two anonymous prayers (179-80, 202-5) is where Ajax claims his lot (191-9).

Before this stands the *Prologue*, divine initiation of the duel (24-42, three speeches). After it, between Nestor's proposal (327-44) and the actual burial (without speeches) is a short but regular composition, *The Debate in Troy*, the offer of Paris to surrender the spoils but not Helen (348-78), the refusal of these terms by Agamemnon, and his grant of a burial-truce. This is consequent on the virtual defeat of Hector (270-2) and his offer of gifts (299) after the first encounter, and at first sight looks like an epilogue to the *Duel*.

But here there is a well-known anomaly, for together with the burial mound, the Achaeans built the famous *Wall and Ditch*. This roused Poseidon's wrath, and there follows a second *Epilogue* with two speeches (446-63) and night-long thunder from Zeus (479). Into this episode has further been intruded the *Market on the Beach* (467-75 without speeches).

Note throughout this book how the scheme of speeches overrides the sequence of the narrative. It is not the duel, but the choice of Ajax as champion that is central. Nestor's proposal is included in the main episode, and the offer of terms is spread over two days.

BOOK VIII. THE INTERRUPTED BATTLE (cf. *JHS* LII, 275-8, fig. 6)*Prologue in Olympus*

- 5-27 Zeus to the Gods (refrain from battle)
 31-37 Athena to Zeus (claims right to advise)
 39-40 Zeus to Athena <41-77 Zeus goes to Mount Ida }
 }
 }
 }

Chariot Scene: Achaean retreat

- 80-86 <Nestor's horse> <75 thunder>
 93-6 Diomedes to Odysseus (to help Nestor)
 102-11 Odysseus to Nestor <133 thunder>
 139-44 Nestor to Diomedes
 146-50 Diomedes to Nestor
 152-6 Nestor to Diomedes
 161-6 Hector to Diomedes <170 thunder>
 173-82 Hector to Trojans
 185-97 Hector to his horses

Centre-piece in Olympus: Agamemnon's Prayer

- 201-7 Hera to Poseidon (to fight)
 209-11 Poseidon to Hera (caution)
 228-44 Agamemnon to Zeus <Zeus sends eagle>
 281-91 Agamemnon to Teucer
 293-9 Teucer to Agamemnon <Teucer wounded 328> }
 }

Chariot scene

- 352-6 Hera to Athena (to go to battle)
 358-80 Athena to Hera
 <381 they go out
 399-408 Zeus to Iris
 413-24 Iris to Hera and Athena (to return)
 427-31 Hera to Athena (let Zeus decide)

Epilogue in Olympus

- 448-56 Zeus to Hera and Athena
 462-68 Hera to Zeus (claims right to advise) }
 470-83 Zeus to Hera (foretells his Counsel) }
 <486 night
 497-541 Hector to Trojans
 <camp by shore 555-65

From an earlier analysis (*JHS* LII, 274) the sequence of episodes is here superposed on that of the speeches, showing how the incidents are punctuated by signs from Zeus. These are, however, not quite balanced: the first thunder (75) and the weighing of destinies (69) having no counterpart except the mission of Iris (399-408).

Central in structure and turning-point in the action is the prayer of Agamemnon (228-44) instigated by Hera and Poseidon (201-7) and followed by the momentary success of Teucer (281-99). His wounding by an arrow (328) recalls the fate of Nestor's horse (80-6), but does not exactly balance it. The two chariot-scenes, however (80-111, 352-431), are counterparts, like the claims of Athena (31-7) and Hera (462-8) to aid by advice. The whole composition begins and ends with Zeus dominant in Olympus; and the night-encampment, with one speech from Hector as an interlude.

BOOK IX. THE EMBASSY

Prologue

- 17-28 Agamemnon to chiefs (advises retreat)
 32-49 Diomedes to Agamemnon (he will stay). Cf. 697-709
 53-78 Nestor to Diomedes
 80-95 <guards set: feast
 96-113 Nestor to Agamemnon (advises embassy)
 115-61 Agamemnon to Nestor
 163-72 Nestor to Agamemnon (send Briseis)

The Embassy

- 197-8 Achilles to Embassy } <Embassy starts 183
 202-4 Achilles to Patroclus }
 205-23 <feast
 225-306 Odysseus to Achilles
 308-429 Achilles to Odysseus
 434-605 Phoenix to Achilles [Meleager story 529-99]
 607-19 Achilles to Phoenix
 624-42 Ajax to Odysseus (Achilles is in the wrong 632-6)
 644-55 Achilles to Ajax (conditional refusal)
 656-68 <Achilles and Patroclus sleep: no speeches: cf. 205-23

Epilogue

- 673-5 Agamemnon to Odysseus (what will Achilles do?)
 678-92 Odysseus to Agamemnon (Achilles will go home)
 697-709 Diomedes to Agamemnon (ignore Achilles and fight again): cf. 32-49

The structure is regular and balanced, except that the *Prologue* is more elaborate than the *Epilogue*, and there is no farewell speech from Achilles in the Embassy after 655, as counterpart to his welcome (197-224). He had intended that the Embassy should stay as his guests till morning (620-2), so the departure is the more abrupt. This is the frequent device of shortening the narrative to quicken the closing movement of a long composition. In the centre-piece, the speech of Phoenix has been over-lengthened by the story of Meleager (529-99).

BOOK X. THE LAY OF DOLON

Prologue. (1) 37-71; (2) 80-136

- 37 Menelaus 43 Agamemnon 61-3 Menelaus 65 Agamemnon
 82 Nestor 87 Agamemnon 103 Nestor 120 Agamemnon 129 Nestor

The Night Council: five episodes

- 139 (Nestor φειγόμενος) 141-2 Odysseus 144-7 Nestor
 159-61 Nestor 164-7 Diomedes 169-76 Nestor
 Nestor 192-3 to guards 204-17 to chiefs ← centre-piece
 220-6 Diomedes 234-9 Agamemnon 242-7 Diomedes
 249-55 Odysseus 278-82 Odysseus to Athena 284-94 Diomedes to Athena

Centre-piece. The Mission of Dolon

303-12 Hector to Dolon 319-27 Dolon 329-31 Hector's oath

The Adventure of Dolon

341-8 Odysseus to Diomedes 370-1 Diomedes to Dolon 378-81 Dolon to Diomedes
 383-9 Odysseus to Dolon 391-99 Dolon to Odysseus
 401-11 Odysseus to Dolon (where are the Trojans?)
 413-22 Dolon to Odysseus 424-5 Odysseus (where are the allies?)
 427-45 Dolon (Rhesus) 447-53 Diomedes 462-4 Odysseus to Athena

Epilogue. (1) The Horses of Rhesus

477-81 Odysseus to Diomedes 509-11 Athena to Diomedes
 522 <Hippocoon ὀνόμηνεν ἑταῖρον>

Epilogue (2)

533-39 Nestor to chiefs 544-53 Nestor to Odysseus 555-63 Odysseus
 570-79 <Dolon's arms dedicated to Athena: no speech: but cf. 462-3>

This Book consists of two parts, the *Night-Council* of Achaean Chiefs, at which the adventure of Diomedes and Odysseus is arranged, and the *Adventure of Dolon* with the *Slaying of Rhesus* as a result of Dolon's treachery. There is a double prologue (1-130), and the second part has an epilogue (532-79). But as the first prologue is twofold (1-71, 72-136) the *Slaying of Rhesus* (469-531) should be regarded as an inner epilogue (and counterpart of 72-136); and is so noted in the diagram. Thus the absence of epilogue after 296 is explained, and the scene between Hector and Dolon becomes the centre-piece to the whole composition.

The *Night-Council*, dominated by Nestor, consists of a centre-piece (192-217) in which Nestor proposes action, between pairs of triplets, introducing Odysseus and Diomedes, and developing the project of Diomedes, with Odysseus as his comrade. The *Adventure of Dolon* is a single spacious dialogue, with Dolon's treachery at its centre (401-11).

In the *Slaying of Rhesus* there are only two speeches (477-81, 509-11), but Hippocoon warned by Apollo, φίλον τ' ὀνόμηνεν ἑταῖρον, and this unrecorded speech completes the triplet.

What is notable in Book X, which has been regarded as loosely connected with the rest of the *Iliad*, is that its structure is strictly and elaborately pedimented. This must be taken into account in considering the place of this literary device in the composition of the poem.

BOOK XI. THE PROWESS OF AGAMEMNON

[This Book might be better entitled the *Wounding of the Chiefs*]*Prologue: no speeches*

1-46 The arming of Agamemnon 56-66 Hector and other Trojans
 67-83 Comparison of forces 84-130 silent fighting

The Wounding of Agamemnon

131-5 Peisander to Agamemnon 138-42 Agamemnon to Peisander
 163 <Trojans retreat to the city>
 186-94 Zeus to Iris (to warn Hector) 200-9 Iris to Hector
 218 <Invocation to Muses: silent slaughter>
 248-63 <Koon wounds Agamemnon: no speech: killed: balances 131-5>
 276-9 Agamemnon to chiefs (to carry on): Agamemnon retires 283 }

The Wounding of Diomedes

286-90 Hector <299 invocation to Hector: list of fallen>
 313-5 Odysseus to Diomedes
 317-19 Diomedes to Odysseus
 336-60 <fighting: Zeus intervenes:¹ Hector arrives
 347-8 Diomedes to Odysseus ← centre
 362-67 Diomedes to Hector (fails to wound him)
 <Paris wounds Diomedes>
 380-3 Paris to Diomedes
 385-95 Diomedes to Paris <Diomedes retires: Odysseus alone 401>

The Wounding of Odysseus

404-10 Odysseus (alone) <fighting> 430-3 Socos to Odysseus
 <Socos wounds Odysseus>
 441-5 Odysseus to Socos (kills him) 450-5 to Socos (dead)

The Wounding of Machaon

465-71 Menelaus to Aias (to help Odysseus)
 505 <Paris wounds Machaon: no speech>
 511-15 Idomeneus to Nestor (carry off Machaon)
 523-30 Cebriones to Hector
 544 <Zeus frightens Ajax: long fighting>

¹ Casualty list following Zeus' inarticulate intervention may indicate an 'undeveloped' interpolation.

The Wounding of Eurypylus

- 587-91 Eurypylus (wounded by Paris, calls to Aias)
 606 Patroclus to Achilles [604 introduces Patroclus
 608-15 Achilles to Patroclus (sends him to Nestor)
 648-54 Patroclus to Nestor <Nestor's cup 635-7> }
 656-803 Nestor to Patroclus (long story)
 816-21 Patroclus to Eurypylus (asks for news)
 823-36 Eurypylus to Patroclus
 838-41 Patroclus to Eurypylus

XI. *The Prowess of Agamemnon.*

The title-episode, interrupted by the wounding of Agamemnon, only occupies ll. 1-283. The arming-scene, without speeches (1-130), is followed by one couplet (Peisander-Agamemnon 131-42) and a speechless rout of the Trojans; then by a couplet (Zeus-Iris 186-209) warning Hector to bide his time; then Agamemnon, wounded by Coön without speech—the counterpart of Peisander's end—orders the Achaeans to carry on, and himself retires.

The remainder of the book consists of episodes, in which Agamemnon, Diomedes, Odysseus, Machaon, and Eurypylus are wounded—three of them by Paris—and finally Patroclus is introduced (604-41) in a more formal composition; and sent by Achilles to Nestor for news. This is the beginning of the tragedy of Patroclus, which only ends with the rescue of his body in Book XVII.

The second episode (286-401) contains six speeches; the centre-piece is the arrival of Hector and the intervention of Zeus (336); but the wounding of Diomedes by Paris follows the fourth speech, and effects his withdrawal, already planned by Zeus. In the third episode (401-62), which is central, Odysseus is left alone, and is wounded. The fourth (465-562) brings Menelaus and Idomeneus to help Odysseus and Nestor; but the speech of Cebriones to Hector is another episode, and is followed by long fighting, mainly around Ajax. Finally, a well-constructed episode with eight speeches brings news to Achilles, through Patroclus, who thus begins his tragic career.

BOOK XII. THE FIGHT AT THE WALL

Prologue

- 1-33 The Fate of the Wall: no speeches

The Advice of Polydamas

- 61-79 Polydamas to Hector (proposed foot-fighting): cf. XIII. 116-7
 <long fighting: no speeches
 164-72 Aias to Zeus (in vain: Zeus favours Hector)
 <long fighting 200 f. omen of eagle and snake
 211-29 Polydamas to Hector (retire)
 231-50 Hector to Polydamas <253 omen of wind
 <Polydamas οὐκ ἀντίθῃσι
 269-76 Aias (encourages Achaeans)

The Prowess of Sarpedon

<278 omen of shower of stones

- 310-21 Sarpedon to Glaucus
 <fighting
 343-50 Menestheus to Thoötes (calls for help)
 354-63 Thoötes to Aias
 366-9 Aias to A. Oileus (to help Menestheus)
 <fighting: Glaucus wounded 387
 <S. saved by Zeus 400-5
 409-12 Sarpedon to Lycians
 <fighting

Epilogue

- 440-2 Hector to Trojans: cf. XIII. 150-5
 <fighting at the Wall

This Book contains two distinct pedimental episodes (164-276, 310-412), both interrupted by bouts of fighting (80-162, 326-42, 378, 381, 442-71). The *Fate of the Wall* is a loose prologue; Hector's speech an epilogue, both with more silent fighting.

BOOK XIII. THE FIGHT AT THE SHIPS

<Zeus looks north: Poseidon, disguised, enters the battle

Poseidon disguised

- 47-58 Poseidon 68-75 Ajax Oileus 95-124 Aias T.
 150-4 Hector (attacking on the left)
 219-20 Poseidon 222-30 Idomeneus 232-48 Poseidon

Idomeneus and Meriones

- 249-53 Idomeneus 255-8 Meriones 260-5 Idomeneus
 267-73 Meriones to Idomeneus
 275-94 Idomeneus 307-10 Meriones 312-27 Idomeneus

Idomeneus and Deiphobus

- 347 f. Zeus intervenes
 374-82 Idomeneus to Othryoneus (387-92 fighting)
 414-16 Deiphobus (kills Hypsenor)
 423-44 <fighting 434 Poseidon helps Idomeneus
 446-54 → Idomeneus to Deiphobus
 463-7 Deiphobus to Aeneas
 481-6 Idomeneus to Meriones and Antilochus
 527-619 <fighting: no speeches

Aias and Hector

- 620-39 Menelaus to Peisander's comrades
 <long fighting 675 fresh start on left
 726-47 Polydamas 751-3 Hector
 769-73 → Hector to Paris 775-87 Paris to Hector }
 812-20 Ajax to Hector 824-32 Hector to Aias }

Four separate episodes with regular schemes of speeches are interrupted by bouts of silent fighting. The isolated speech of Menelaus may mark the place for another such episode.

BOOK XIV. THE DECEPTION OF ZEUS

The full setting of this episode and the *Awakening of Zeus* in Book XV, begins far back with Poseidon's intervention (XIII. 47-58, 229-30, 292-8, 347) and does not end till Apollo restores Hector to the battle (XV. 280) for the attack on the ships (343-6). Both the *Deception* and the *Awakening* are interpolated in the continuous narrative of Poseidon's rally of the Achaeans. The first episode rallies the Achaean leaders wounded and withdrawn in Book XI, and Poseidon restores them to action.

A. *Prelude. The Wounded Leaders.*

- 3-8 Nestor to Machaon (he will return to battle)
 42-51 Agamemnon to Nestor (disconsolate): cf. XIII. 811-30
 53-63 Nestor to Agamemnon (keep out of the battle)
 [but XIII. 812-20 Agamemnon was speaking to Hector]
 65-81 → Agamemnon to Nestor (prepare to embark)
 83-102 Odysseus to Agamemnon (rebukes him)
 104-8 Agamemnon to Odysseus (what alternative?)
 110-32 Diomedes to Agamemnon (return to battle)
 139-46 Poseidon (disguised) to Agamemnon (leads to attack)
 <Poseidon shouts: Hera sees him [contd. 364

B. *The Deception of Zeus* begins with three regular episodes of five speeches, wherein the oath of Hera counts as spoken (278-99), but note that the counterpart episode (XV. 104-41) has only four speeches.

C. *Poseidon in Battle*, with six speeches: central is the couplet for Polydamas and Ajax (433-74) preceded by the advance led by Poseidon (387-429) and the wounding of Hector. At the close (508) an invocation to the Muses introduces a long list of encounters.

A. *The Wounded Leaders return* (see above)

- 3-8 Nestor 42-52 Agamemnon 52-63 Nestor
 68-82 → Agamemnon (prepare to embark) 83-102 Odysseus
 104-8 Agamemnon 110-32 Diomedes (rebukes him)
 139-46 Poseidon

B. *The Deception of Zeus*

- 190-2 Hera 194-6 Aphrodite ↘ 198-210 Hera ↙ 212-3 Aphrodite 219-22 Aphrodite
 233-41 Hera 243-62 Hypnos ↘ 264-8 Hera ↙ 271-6 Hypnos 278-9 <Hera swears>
 298-9 Zeus 301-11 Hera ↘ 313-28 Zeus to Hera ↙ 330-40 Hera 342-5 Zeus

C. *The Wounding of Hector: Poseidon in the Battle*¹

- 357-60 Hypnos to Poseidon 364-77 Poseidon to Achaeans
 402-27 <Aias wounds Hector: no speech: cf. XV. 221-35>
 454-7 Polydamas to Achaeans 470-4 Ajax to Polydamas ← centre
 479-85 Acamas to Achaeans 501-5 Peneleos to Trojans
 506 <Achaean rout
 508 <Invocation to Muses: cf. XVI. 112
 509 <Long list of heroes: Aias still central

¹ In this section six speeches are in three pairs.

BOOK XV. THE REPULSE FROM THE SHIPS

B'. *The Awakening of Zeus*: counterpart to XIV. 190-356

14-33 Zeus 36-46 Hera → Zeus 49-77 (foretells fate of Troy and Achilles) ← 90-1 Themis 93-9 Hera
 104-12 Hera to Gods → 115-8 Ares 128-41 Athena 146-8 ← Hera to Iris and Apollo
 158-67 Zeus 174-83 Iris to Poseidon → 183-99 Poseidon to Iris ← 201-4 Iris 206-17 Poseidon

C'. *The Healing of Hector*: counterpart of XIV. 3-146, 357-509

221-35 Zeus to Apollo (restore Hector) 244-5 Apollo to Hector
 247-52 Hector to Apollo
 254-61 Apollo to Hector (restores him) 286-99 Thoas to Achaeans
 300-96 <long fight without speeches 327-42 list of names

These two episodes form a continuous composition with Book XIV: A, B, C, B', C'. The side-panels A and C' being linked by their themes of returning leaders, and C, while related to C', being the central though transitory achievement of the intervention of Poseidon which links A with C.

BOOK XV (contd.). THE REPULSE FROM THE SHIPS

Hector orders the attack on the Ships

347-51 Hector to Trojans 372-6 Nestor to Zeus
 377 <Zeus thunders>
 399-404 Patroclus to Eurypylus 425-9 Hector to Trojans }

The Prowess of Aias and Teucer (centre-piece)

437-41 Aias 467-70 Teucer 472-7 Aias

The Attack on the Ships

486-99 Hector to Trojans
 502-13 Aias to Achaeans 553-8 Hector to Melanippus 561-4 Aias }
 569-71 Menelaus to Antilochus (killed 576)
 583-91 <Hector counterattacks
 592 <long fight: no speeches
 599 <The prayer of Thetis is fulfilled

Epilogue. Fire on the Ships

661-6 Nestor to Achaeans
 677 <Aias and the ship-spear 688 Trojans retire
 <long fight 694 Zeus helps Hector
 717-25 Hector to Trojans: calls for fire (centre-piece)
 733-41 Aias to Danaans.

The latter half of Book XV, from which it takes its title, is composed of three panels of speeches; followed by much silent fighting, and an Epilogue, also broken by long fighting, so that the last two speeches (717-41) form a pair of exhortations. The statement that the Prayer of Thetis is now fulfilled (599) is embedded in long narrative, as it were a note for further elaboration.

This is one of the clearest examples of the partial superposition of speech-structure on bouts of silent fighting (592-660, 667-716). The first episode has only two speeches (372-404), but the thunder of Zeus is central, and seems to count as speech.

In the larger structure, Book XV is the counterpart of XIII the *Fight at the Ships*, which has similar loose construction, and joins with it to fill the interval between the departure of Patroclus (XI. 606-841) and his return to Achilles XVI. 2; while it is itself bisected by the *Deception* and *Awakening*; and these are separated by *Poseidon in Battle*.

BOOK XVI. PATROCLUS

The Arming of Patroclus

7-19 Achilles to Patroclus
 21-45 Patroclus to Achilles (may he fight?)
 49-100 Achilles to Patroclus
 112 <invocation to Muses: fire on ships
 126-9 Achilles to Patroclus (he sees fire on ships): ← Patroclus shall arm (cf. 131-9)
 155 <Myrmidons called out
 200-9 Achilles to Myrmidons <Patroclus goes out
 233-48 Achilles to Zeus
 264-74 Patroclus to Myrmidons
 275-419 <long fight: no speeches

The Prowess of Patroclus

- 422-5 Sarpedon to Lycians
 433-8 Zeus to Hera
 440-57 Hera to Zeus
 481 <Patroclus wounds Sarpedon>
 492-501 Sarpedon <dies 505> to Glaucus }
 514-26 Glaucus to Apollo }
 538-47 Glaucus to Hector }
 (save Sarpedon's arms)
 556-61 → Patroclus to Ajax (seize Sarpedon's arms)
 569-607 <fighting without speeches>
 617-8 Aeneas to Meriones }
 620-5 Meriones to Aeneas }
 627-31 Patroclus to Meriones }
 632-56 <fighting without speeches>
 658 <Zeus sets scales>
 663-5 <Patroclus carries off Sarpedon's arms>
 667-75 Zeus to Apollo (send Sleep and Death)
 676-83 <Apollo sends Sarpedon's body to Lycia>

The Death of Patroclus.

- 707-9 Apollo to Patroclus (warns him to retire)
 721-5 Apollo to Hector (to fight Patroclus)
 743 <Patroclus kills Cebriones>
 745-50 Patroclus (about Cebriones)
 789-817 <Apollo disarms Patroclus: Euphorbus wounds him 807>
 830-42 Hector to Patroclus
 844-54 Patroclus to Hector <Patroclus dies 855>
 859-61 Hector to Patroclus

The composition of Book XVI is simple: three regular episodes, of seven, eleven, and six speeches. But though Sarpedon is wounded in 481 he does not die till 505, and the remainder of the episode is concerned with the capture of his arms, by the help of Ajax (556-61). The appeal of Patroclus (556-61) is central; the triplet about Glaucus (492-547) is balanced by that about Meriones (611-31) before the arms are carried off; and the couplet for Zeus and Hera (432-5, 440-57), by the deliberation of Zeus, and his single speech to Apollo (667-75), fulfilling (683) the request of Hera (453-6).

But this composition is interrupted by a long bout of silent fighting (569-607) and by another in which Zeus makes up his mind (644-56), and there is no final counterpart to the opening speech of Sarpedon (422-5) except the silent intervention of Apollo (676-82).

BOOK XVII. THE PROWESS OF MENELAUS

- 1-60 Death of Euphorbus, who had first wounded Patroclus
 Euphorbus 12-17 Menelaus 14-32 Euphorbus 34-42

The Arming of Hector

- 75-81 Apollo (as Mentès) to Hector (pairing the horses): cf. 327-32
 91-105 Menelaus (soliloquy) 120-122 to Ajax: cf. 238-45
 130-2 <Hector carries off the arms of Patroclus>
 134-7 <Ajax covers the body>
 142-68 Glaucus to Hector (reproaches) } [insertion]
 170-82 Hector to Glaucus }
 184-7 Hector to Trojans (to wait till he rearms)
 188-97 <Hector goes to rearm>
 201-7 → Zeus to Hector (he will not be allowed to return home)
 210-14 <Hector rearms>
 220-32 Hector to Trojans (offers reward for death of Aias)
 238-45 Ajax to Menelaus: Menelaus to Ajax (cf. 91-105)
 256-318 <long fighting> [balances 142-182]
 327-32 Apollo (as Peryphas) to Aeneas (to encourage)
 335-41 Aeneas to Hector
 <long fighting> <401-2 Achilles still ignorant>
 415-19 τις Ἀχαιῶν 421-2 τις Τρώων

The Rescue of the Horses

- 426 <the horses of Achilles>
 443-55 Zeus to the Horses
 469-72 Alcimedon to Automedon (who wishes to stay and fight)
 475-80 Automedon to Alcimedon
 485-90 Hector to Aeneas (seeing horses retreat) ←
 501-6 Automedon to Alcimedon
 508-15 Automedon to Ajax and Menelaus
 538-9 Automedon to Aretus (spoils) <542 Automedon and horses retire>

The Rescue of Patroclus' Body.

543	<Zeus sends Athena to help Achaeans>	
556-9	Athena (as Phoenix) to Menelaus	
561-6	Menelaus to Phoenix (Athena): rescue Patroclus' body	
586-90	Apollo (as Phaenops) to Hector	
595	<Zeus thunders, favouring Trojans>	
597-620	<fighting>	
621-2	Meriones to Idomeneus	<Idomeneus retires>
629-47	Ajax to Zeus (prays for light)	<Zeus favours Trojans>
<hr/>		
652-5	Aias to Menelaus	
669-72	Menelaus to Aias and Meriones	
685-93	Menelaus to Antilochus (sent to Achilles)	
708-14	Menelaus to Aias	
716-21	Aias to Menelaus	
<hr/>		
722	<they carry off Patroclus>	
748-61	<in their absence, the Achaeans are defeated>	

XVII. This book only partly celebrates Menelaus, who recurs with Aias between other episodes and miscellaneous fighting. The death of Euphorbus (1-60) is the sequel of XVI. The long withdrawal and rearming of Hector centres on the warning of Zeus (201-7) between two interventions of Apollo (75-81, 327-32) and dialogues of Menelaus and Aias: the dialogue of Glaucus and Hector (142-82) is uncompensated; and the speech of Aeneas (335-41) marks the return of Hector, and a long struggle ends with a pair of anonymous speeches (415-22), recalling attention to the struggle for the body of Patroclus.

The Rescue of the Horses (423-542) is a regular composition, centred on the speech of Hector to Aeneas, a remote counterpart of Aeneas' words (335-41).

The Rescue of the Body consists of two balanced compositions of five speeches (556-647, 652-721), the first broken by a sign from Zeus (595) and a spell of fighting (597-620); the second centred on Antilochus' message to Achilles (685-93) which prepares for the actual rescue (722) and the rout of the Achaeans (748-61).

Thus the larger structure shows the struggle for the body of Patroclus, interrupted centrally by the rescue of the horses; and some confused fighting (342-422). But the message to Hector (327-41) might have led to something more significant.

BOOK XVIII. THE MAKING OF THE ARMOUR

Prologue

6-14	Achilles (alone)	18-21	Antilochus (news)	35	<Achilles φηωξεν (Thetis hears)>
52-64	Thetis to Nereids	73-7	Thetis to Achilles	79-93	Achilles to Thetis
95-6	Thetis to Achilles (prophecy)				
98-126	Achilles to Thetis	128-37	Thetis to Achilles	140-4	Thetis to Nereids
					<Thetis to Olympus 138, 145-7>
158-64	<struggle for body of Patroclus>				

Achilles Shouts

170-80	Iris to Achilles	182	Achilles to Iris		
184-6	Iris to Achilles		188-95	Achilles to Iris (no arms)	
197-201	Iris to Achilles ('shout')				
203-42	<Achilles shouts: Patroclus rescued 231-37>				
254-83	Polydamas to Hector				
285-309	Hector to Polydamas	324-42	Achilles to Myrmidons		
					<Patroclus' body tended 343-55>
357-9	Zeus to Hera.	361-7	Hera to Zeus		
369	<Thetis enters Olympus>				

Thetis and Hephaestus

385-7	Charis to Thetis	392	Charis to Hephaestus		
394-409	Hephaestus to Charis			to Thetis	
424-7					
429-61	Thetis to Hephaestus (her request)		463-7	Hephaestus	
468-617	<the making of the armour>				

XVIII. This book—apart from the description of the armour—is one of the most regular in construction. The prefatory speeches of Achilles and Antilochus are supplemented to a triad when Achilles φηωξεν (35) and Thetis hears. The counterpart-epilogue is XIX. 1-36. Her reception of the news centres on her prophecy of Achilles' death (95-6). The centre-piece in which Achilles emerges, and shouts though unarmed, centres on his reappearance and the rescue of Patroclus (203-42). The counterpart to his colloquy with Iris (170-201) is the reaction among the Trojans

(254-307) the Myrmidons (329-42) and the Gods (359-67). The visit to Olympus balances the visit to Hephaestus; and the description of the armour has its own symmetry, for which see my *Who Were the Greeks?*, 1930, pp. 377-79.

BOOK XIX. THE END OF THE FEUD

Epilogue to XVIII

7-11	Thetis to Achilles (gives him the arms)	} balances XVIII. 1-35
21-7	Achilles to Thetis	
29-36	Thetis to Achilles	

Reconciliation

56-73	Achilles to Agamemnon	} presents and Briseis
78-144	Agamemnon to chiefs (story of Heracles)	
146-53	Achilles to Agamemnon	
155-83	Odysseus to Achilles	
185-97	Agamemnon to Odysseus (Agamemnon will swear)	
199-214	Achilles to Agamemnon	
216-37	Odysseus to Achilles	
258-65	Agamemnon (oath)	
270-5	Achilles (oath)	
287-300	Briseis to Patroclus	
305-8	Achilles to chiefs (refuses to eat)	
315-37	Achilles' (lament)	
342-8	Zeus to Athena (gives food to Achilles)	
400-3	Achilles to horses (Achilles rearms 364)	
408-17	Xanthus (horse) to Achilles	
420-3	Achilles to Xanthus	

The epilogue to the Arms 1-36 balances XVIII. 1-35. The centre-point of the *Reconciliation* is Agamemnon's promise (185-97) not the actual oaths (258-75). The double scene which follows (287-423) is epilogue to the whole story of Patroclus and the Feud, and reconciles Achilles to the Gods (341-8).

BOOK XX. THE BATTLE OF THE GODS. (A)

1-12	<Zeus bids Themis summon the Gods>	
16-18	Prologue. Poseidon to Zeus 20-30 Zeus to Poseidon	(a)
31-74	<list of gods on either side>	
83-5	Apollo (as Lycaon) to Aeneas 87-102 Aeneas 104-9 Apollo	(b)
115-31	Hera to Poseidon and Athena 133-43 Poseidon to Hera	(c)

Achilles and Aeneas

178-98	Achilles to Aeneas 200-58 Aeneas to Achilles (pedigree)	(d')
	<long fighting: cf. 344-52>	
293-308	Poseidon to Gods 310-7 Hera 332-9 Poseidon	(e')
344-52	Achilles to Aeneas (saved by Poseidon)	(b')
354-63	Epilogue. Achilles to Achaeans 366-72 Hector to Trojans	(a')

Achilles and Hector

376-8	Apollo (warns Hector) 389-92 Achilles (to Iphition)	} (d)
399-418	<long fighting>	
425-9	Achilles to Hector 431-7 Hector to Achilles	
435	<Athena diverts Hector's spear: Apollo saves Hector>	
449-54	Achilles to Hector <more fighting>	

The *Battle of the Gods* must be studied with its sequel the *Battle by the River*; for the centre-piece is the futile encounter of Achilles and Hector (XX. 354-455) and all that precedes is a complex alternation of divine interventions with the encounter of Achilles and Aeneas, preliminary to the formal challenges of Achilles and Hector (425-37), who are not yet allowed to fight in earnest.

BOOK XXI. THE BATTLE BY THE RIVER

1-33 <more killing by the river>

Lycaon and Asteropaeus

54-63	Achilles (seeing Lycaon)	} (e)
74-96	Lycaon to Achilles	
99-113	Achilles to Lycaon	
122-35	Achilles to Lycaon (dead)	
150-1	Achilles to Asteropaeus	
153-60	Asteropaeus to Achilles	
184-99	Achilles to Asteropaeus (dead)	
205-10	<more killing>	

Achilles and Scamander

214-21	Scamander to Achilles			
222-26	Achilles to Scamander	229-32	Scamander to Apollo	(river-fight)
273-83	Achilles to Zeus	288-97	Poseidon to Zeus	} (d')
308-23	Scamander to Simois			
331-41	Hera to Hephaestus	357-60	Scamander to Hephaestus	
369-76	Scamander to Hera	379-80	Hera to Hephaestus	

The Battle of the Gods. (B)

394-99	Ares to Athena			} (f)
410-4	Athena to Ares	420-22	Hera to Athena	
428-33	Athena to Ares and Aphrodite			
436-60	Poseidon to Apollo	462-7	Apollo to Poseidon	(g)
472-7	Artemis to Apollo	481-88	Hera to Artemis	} (f')
498-501	Hermes to Lato			
509-10	Zeus to Artemis	512-3	Artemis to Zeus	

This book, of which the Scamander fight is only the centre-piece, begins and ends with exploits of Achilles, which run on into Book XXII. It is also a sequel to the *Battle of the Gods*, with a formal tripartite composition (383-525), a counterpart to the affair of Lycaon and Asteropaeus (1-210) if that be regarded as the provocation to the Scamander. On the larger plan, the whole of Book XXI is the pendant to the earlier *Battle of the Gods* (XX. 1-352) before the futile encounter of Achilles and Hector (353-504) which—as its opening (354-72) shows—marks a principal advance in the plot. There are, however, passages of mere killing (XX. 156, 393-418, 455-504; XXI. 205-10). The last lines (after 526) really belong to XXII.

BOOK XXII. THE DEATH OF HECTOR

Prologue

XXI.	531-6	Priam to Trojans in flight
	553-70	Aeneas to himself (incited by Apollo)
	583-9	Aeneas to Achilles
XXII.	8-13	Apollo (as Aeneas) to Achilles
	15-20	Achilles to Apollo

Hector alone

38-76	Priam to Hector	} (a)
82-9	Hecuba to Hector	
99-130	Hector (alone)	
		<the race round the walls>

The Gods Decide

168-76	Zeus to Athena	} (b)
178-81	Athena to Zeus	
183-6	Zeus to Athena	
	<race>	<Athena descends 186-7>
	<Scales 209-213>	
216-23	Athena to Achilles	} (b)
229-31	Athena (as Deiphobus) to Hector	
233-7	Hector to Deiphobus (Athena)	
239-46	Athena (Deiphobus) to Hector	

The Death of Hector

250-9	Hector to Achilles	} (b')
261-72	Achilles to Hector	
	<Achilles throws 273>	
279-88	Hector to Achilles	
	<Hector throws 289>	
	<295 βάλλει Deiphobus>	
297-305	Hector to himself	
	<sword>	
331-6	Achilles to Hector	
	<hits 325>	
338-43	Hector (dying)	} (b')
345-54	Achilles to Hector	
356-60	Hector (dies)	
365-6	Achilles	

Epilogue

373-4	Achaean πῆς	} (a')
378-94	Achilles to Achaeans	
	<outrage 395-403>	
416-28	Priam	
431-6	Hecuba	
450-9	Andromache (twice)	
477-514		

XXII. The structure is regular, and clear. The opening lines 1-24 continue the episode of Agenor (XXI. 526-611). The lead-in between Priam, Hecuba, and Hector (38-130) is answered by the Epilogue—Priam, Hecuba, and Andromache (416-514). Between these, divine ordinance (168-246) balances human fulfilment (250-366) with Achaean commentary (373-94) leading to Achilles' outrage on the corpse (395-403), which is supplementary; and the outrage itself (395-403) is beyond words. But this may be Achaean counterpart to Trojan lamentation. There is no more for Gods to do till Book XXIV.

BOOK XXIII (a). THE BURNING OF PATROCLUS (1-261)¹

6-11	Achilles (summons to mourning)
19-23	Achilles to Patroclus' ghost (Achilles promises offerings) *
43-53	Achilles (persists in mourning) †
69-92	Patroclus' ghost to Achilles
94-107	Achilles to Patroclus
	<108 pyre begins> }
144-51	Achilles to Spercheius
150-60	Achilles to Agamemnon (to stay the mourning) †
	<161-77 pyre finished>
179-83	Achilles to Patroclus' ghost (preparations completed) *
205-11	Iris to Winds
236-48	Achilles to Agamemnon (gather the ashes)
249-61	<the tomb and the prizes>

BOOK XXIII (b). THE FUNERAL GAMES (262-897)

The Chariot-race

272-86	Achilles (invitation)	306-48	Nestor	403-16	Antilochus
426-8, 439-441	Menelaus to Antilochus				457-72 Idomeneus
474-81	Aias Oilcus	483-7	Idomeneus	443-5 Menelaus to his horses	492-8 Achilles to Idomeneus and Aias

The Prizes

536-8	Achilles	543-54	Antilochus	558-62	Achilles
570-85	Menelaus	587-95	Antilochus	602-11	Menelaus
618-23	Achilles to Nestor	626-50	Nestor (thanks)		

Boxing and Wrestling

658-63	Achilles	667-75	Epeius	707	Achilles (wrestling)	723-4	Aias T.	735-7	Achilles
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Foot-race

753	Achilles	774	Odysseus	782-3	Aias	787-92	Antilochus	795-6	Achilles
798-825	Duel ² of Ajax and Diomedes.	Interrupted by spectators 822. Speech of Achilles 802-10.							

Discus, Archery, Presents

831-35	Achilles	855-8	Achilles	890-94	Achilles
--------	----------	-------	----------	--------	----------

XXIII. The *Burning* is a regular composition, in which the centre-piece is when the building of the pyre begins (108). The Ghost of Patroclus is addressed twice, without reappearing. The narrative of the tomb building and the prizes stands outside the composition.

The *Funeral Games* consist of two compositions. (a) The Chariot-race, supplemented by the dispute about the winner (which is central), and the challenger of Antilochus and Menelaus, and the award to Nestor. (b) The foot-races preceded by boxing and wrestling and followed by *Discus*, archery, and supplementary gifts. The speeches of Achilles enframe the more explicit incidents, like those of Alcinous in the Phaeacian story (*Od.* VII-VIII).

BOOK XXIV. THE RANSOM OF HECTOR

Prologue

33-54	Apollo to the Gods	56-63	Hera	65-76	Zeus
88	Iris to Thetis	90-92	Thetis		
104-19	Zeus	128-37	Thetis to Achilles	138-40	Achilles to Thetis

} (a)

The Mission of Priam

144-58	Zeus to Iris	171-87	Iris to Priam		
194-9	Priam to Hecuba	201-16	Hecuba to Priam		
218-27	Priam to Hecuba (he intends to go)				
239-46	Priam to Trojans	253-64	Priam to sons		
287-98	Hecuba (farewell)	300-13	Priam to Hecuba		

} (b)

¹ Observe the unusually formal correspondence within this section.

² This duel completes a traditional list.

Priam and Hermes

334-8	Zeus to Hermes	354-7	Herald to Priam	} (c)
362-71	Hermes to Priam (why is he here?)	373-7	Priam (divine mission)	
379-85	Hermes (is he leaving Troy?)			
387-8	Priam (who is Hermes?)	390-404	Hermes (as Myrmidon)	
406-9	Priam (where is Hector?)	411-23	Hermes (safe)	
425-31	Priam (offers gift)	433-9	Hermes (refuses)	
460-7	Hermes (reveals himself)			

The Ransom

486-506	Priam to Achilles	518-51	Achilles to Priam	} (d)
553-8	Priam to Achilles (asks for body)	560-70	Achilles to Priam (hands over body)	
592-5	Achilles (to Patroclus' ghost)	599-620	Achilles to Priam (feast)	
635-42	Priam (goodnight)	650-8	Achilles (puts Priam outside)	
660-7	Priam (asks for truce)	669-70	Achilles (grants truce)	

The Return of Priam

683-8	Hermes to Priam (to return)			} (e)
704-6	Cassandra to Trojans	716-17	Priam to Trojans	
725-45	Andromache			
748-59	Hecuba	762-75	Helen	
778-81	Priam (orders funeral)	<804	funeral>	

This book consists of five compositions, the *Council of the Gods*, the *Mission of Priam*, the *Escort of Hermes*, the *Ransom*, and the *Return of Priam*. All are regular and balanced; but the centre-piece of (a) (l. 88-92) is of two short speeches only; in (e) the three laments (725-75) precede Priam's speech (778-81), which is crucial; and in (c) a new and rare device anticipates the technique of Aeschylus in his *stichomythiai*. For though most of the speeches are in couplets, of question and answer, the 'lead' is twice changed (at 387, and 461), so that a couplet bestrides the centre (387-404), leaving Hermes' question (379-85) unanswered. It is characteristic that the centre-piece is neither the divine counsel, nor the transfer of the body, but the safe conduct by Hermes: once this is accomplished, the divine will finds its fulfilment.

J. L. MYRES

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ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1953

THE pace set in the last three years has been maintained. Golden Mycenae and Nelean Pylos again outshine the rest, but Eleusis has come to the front with the acclaimed Tombs of the Seven. Olympia has yielded the helmet of Miltiades and Argos amazing discoveries of eighth-century armour in a two-drachma burial. Important finds have been made in the islands, and among notable discoveries in Athens is a first-class fragment of an archaic boxer's stele and the epitaph of a Carian prince whose son fought with the Persian fleet at Salamis. The terrible earthquakes in the western islands wrecked the museums—not least those in Ithaca, which were filled with the rich finds from British excavations of recent years; much has been retrieved, but the tasks of reconstitution will be slow and costly. Work is progressing at the Acropolis Museum, and new galleries are due to open in the National Museum. There is again good progress to report from the provincial museums, especially in Crete. The indefatigable Prof. Orlandos and his associates continue their work of repair and restoration around the Acropolis, at the Aphaia temple, and among the Early Christian and Byzantine monuments; among the objects of their attention this year may be recorded the monasteries of Osios Loukas, the Meteora, and the Holy Mountain.

ATHENS AND ATTICA

On the *Acropolis* Orlandos and E. Stikas have continued the work of restoration on the SW wing of the Propylaea. After the completion of the stylobate and its supporting poros and marble members work was begun on the double anta, and now only the last of the eight courses and the capital remain to be set in place. The central pillar between the south wall and the row of columns opposite, which is now proved to have been a monolith, is being restored. On the Parthenon the beams and coffers over the rear porch are being replaced to protect the frieze below. The late bell tower or minaret in the SW corner, in which two columns are incorporated, is to be removed. In the *Odeum of Herodes Atticus* the restoration and completion of the marble in the lower part of the cavea has been accomplished, and the proedriai have been restored at the expense of the Archaeological Society. In the front part of the *Acropolis Museum*, which is now nearly ready, exhibits are being mounted in their final positions for display. Iron clamps in the fragments of the Parthenon frieze have oxidised during the war and produced cracks: they have now been replaced by bronze.

From the Direction of the *National Museum* Dr. and Mrs. Karouzou report as follows. Reconstruction has progressed, and two new galleries displaying the youth from Antikythera and the Marathon Boy will be opened in the spring; one gallery is arranged as the interior of a shrine with the Themis from Rhamnous in the place of honour together with fourth-century votive reliefs from the Athens Asklepion and elsewhere, the reliefs from the Mantinea basis, the third-century Asklepios from Mounichia, and the great relief of the same date found a few years ago figuring the horse with a negro groom. In the gallery of Protogeometric and Geometric exhibits, which is now ready, care has been taken to preserve in the display the original tomb-groups from the Areiopagos, Pnyx, Kerameikos, and the Isis grave of Eleusis. New acquisitions include a small Roman funerary column, probably of the second century A.D. It was found in the office of the Athens Cemetery and bears on one side the inscription ἐν' ἀγαθῷ Ἀναΐδος Μαλησίᾳς, and on the other the relief of a girl with a dove recalling the lovely stele in New York. On each side appears a bird of prey. From Lakonia comes the fine relief of a bearded man seated to the right in a chair with a back. He holds a staff in one hand and in the other a kantharos before which a snake rears. Style and subject as well as provenance declare it Lakonian work of the fifth century reflecting strongly the figures of the seated gods in the Parthenon frieze. A fine bronze statuette, probably from Dodona, has been acquired with the help of the Psykhas Foundation. It represents a soldier, probably an officer, with breastplate and helmet and head inclined towards an object held in his right hand. This seems to be entrails, so the moment depicted may be that of sacrifice before or after battle. The type is still classical, probably of the later fourth century. From a forgotten box in a magazine have come to light some early Attic bronze mirrors. One has an Ionic capital at the top of its handle; another, a heavy mirror with a short handle of the type with disc and handle in one piece, is decorated with two spirals and anthemion and must be one of the earliest known Attic mirrors. The remainder of the Empedokles Collection has been added to the museum, including mainly sixth- and fifth-century vases from Attic tombs. Noteworthy is a white-ground lekythos with black figure decoration of two dancing satyrs who each carry shield and spear and wear a wreath: between them an ithyphallic companion plays the double flute. It is the work of the Athena Painter of about 480, and may illustrate a lost Satyr play. With it is a red-figure lekythos (NM 18572) by the Ikaros Painter of about 470 figuring the familiar gynaikonitis scene but also a woman holding a pomegranate, identifying the dead women 'at home' in the Halls of Persephone. Among the figurines is one of a woman on a bull, apparently Attic of the early fifth century. Finally, a fine rhyton terminating in a goose's head is

reported, and a large plain pyxis supported by three sphinxes and with a delicate relief on the lid of a protome surrounded by a net pattern.

I. Meliades reports a large number of finds in Athens, most of them the result of road repair and house building. In the course of the construction of the new building of the Archaeological Society a drain of terracotta slabs was uncovered 1 m. high and 0.50 m. across at its bottom: it is rectangular in section below and triangular above, as one in the Middle Stoa of the Agora. Near it a tiled grave contained two small red figure vases. In Odos Amerikes three tombs built of marble slabs yielded clay and glass vases and a small grave column with the inscription Εὐθυδίκη Πασικλο . . . θυγάτηρ. In Queen Sophia Boulevard opposite Merlin St. a poros foundation was uncovered, but had to be buried again. At the junction of Apollo and Nike Streets an apsidal building with side walls containing three niches was discovered: before the apse a fine mosaic figured animal and plant life. The building may be a house of Roman imperial date or possibly a basilica. From the same excavation a triglyph of the Temple of Ares in the Agora was recovered. Building traces at least as early as the Hellenistic period have been discovered at Makriyánni. In the laying of a pavement by the west wall of the Library of Hadrian medieval walls were revealed and an epistyle block with a fragmentary inscription ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν του An extension of Odos Aphaias parallel to the

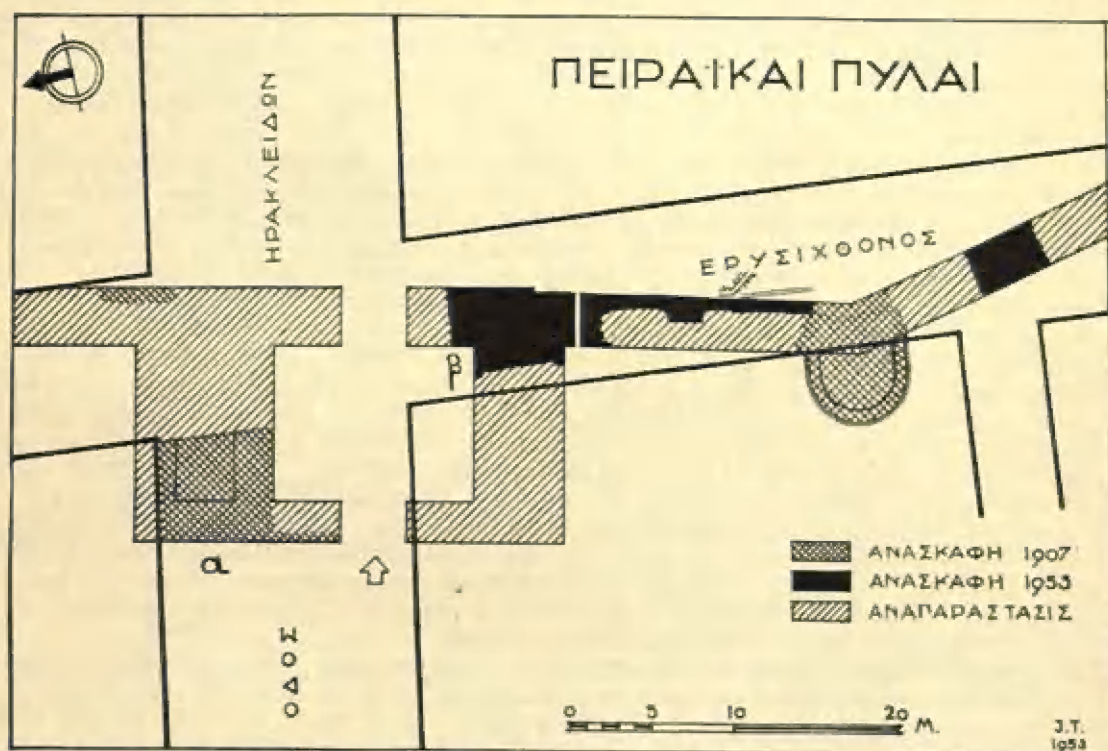


FIG. 1.—ATHENS: PIRAEUS GATE.

railway lines and near the bridge has uncovered part of a fourth-century tower and wall not marked by Judeich, running north towards the Dipylon. From the fill behind came part of the sandalled foot and of the plinth of a more than lifesize archaic statue. The same wall line has been traced in Odos Eryikhthonos, and the circuit is to be explored further in this area; it was upwards of 3 m. thick here, with faces of large stones and cross walls dividing the interior into compartments with rubble filling. This seems to be the Themistoclean line, though it clearly underwent repairs subsequently. The exact position of the Piraeus Gate has also been ascertained; it seems to have been a double gateway (Fig. 1).

I. Threpsiades has made further tests to determine the position of ancient city gates on the east slope of Philopappos and to the south of the Acropolis. At the first point an 8.50-m. stretch of the circuit, standing to a height of 2.60 m., has been uncovered; it is 3.60 m. thick, with faces of limestone blocks, and is dated to the middle of the fourth century B.C. At the second point the attempt to find the Diomeian Gate has not yet met with success, Roman houses being discovered instead. The most important finds came from the bastion of the Piraeus Gate. One is an incomplete late archaic statue base of marble, signed by Aristokles, the sculptor of the Aristion stele. The epitaph, beautifully inscribed, is of a Carian, perhaps Tymnes, the father of Histiaios of Termara; his father's name, of which the first letters survive, may be Skylax. The Greek version was followed by one line, no less beautifully cut, in Carian script. Sculptures found here include part of a kouros and a superb head from a narrow mid sixth-century stele of a boxer with bruised nose and ear and with

thongs wound round his raised fist (Pl. VIII. 4).^{*} From this sector also came painted architectural pieces, and a statue base of island marble with the inscription in fifth-century Ionic Αἰσχρο τὸ Ζωῖλο Σοῖλο.

To the north of the city at the corner of Patissia Boulevard and Odos Kapodistriou three classical tombs came to light: one was a marble ossuary with lid containing burnt bones, by which was found a lidded bronze kalpis no doubt also once contained in it; another to its north was a marble sarcophagus with a skeleton of a woman, and held a bronze mirror, an alabastron, tweezers, traces of rouge, and fragmentary bronze pins. A little further north various tombs were found beneath the pavement: one of the late fifth century was a marble sarcophagus containing a bronze mirror, a lekythos, and a rouge pyxis; a Hellenistic tomb of limestone slabs held two bodies and a child in a pot without offerings; a Roman brick grave held three bodies, a small bronze disk, three glass perfume vases, a bone pin and fine gold leaves from a wreath, and a Hellenistic conical stone ossuary held four small clay perfume vases and the urn containing the ashes. Above the tombs are traces of an ancient gravel-surfaced road running to the north. At the corner of Acharnai St. and H. Meletiou was found a Late Hellenistic Ionic marble column bearing at either end two bands of acanthus leaves like the famous acanthus column at Delphi. At the junction of Odos M. Vouda and Kolophonos three classical tiled graves yielded both white and red figure lekythoi and black glaze vases. A Late Roman house and tombs are reported on the east outside the ancient city. By Constantinople St. part of the Sacred Way of Roman period has been exposed with a thickness of 0.40 m. of trodden earth and small stones. It ran a little to the west of the modern Hiera Odos. Beside it and at a greater depth was found a terracotta drain of classical date, triangular in section, 1 m. high and 0.75 m. broad at the bottom.

In the spring and summer of 1953 the American School of Classical Studies carried out its eighteenth campaign of exploration in the *Athenian Agora*, on which Prof. H. Thompson communicates as follows. This season saw the completion of large-scale excavation in the area of the market square proper. Concurrently with the field work, a beginning was made on the actual reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos for use as a permanent museum, conservation was carried out on several buildings previously explored, and plans were made for landscaping the area.

As in 1952, field work was concentrated in the southern part of the Agora. The south side of the square was cleared throughout its length and was found to have been bordered by five public buildings (nos. 7-8 and continuing on a line slightly south of east, Fig. 2). Although all five had been more or less exposed in earlier seasons, their date, function, and mutual relationship were greatly clarified by the work of the past campaign. Two of the five buildings, viz. the second and fourth from the west, are to be dated well back in the sixth century B.C. The third from the west was fitted in between its two earlier neighbours in the latter part of the fifth century, and the two at the extreme ends of the row appear to be of about the same period. The westernmost building in the series, discovered in 1934, has clear traces of hydraulic installations along its northern front, showing that it served at least in part as a fountain house; it has been provisionally labelled the South-west Fountain House. The fourth from the west, cleared in 1952, was likewise an hydraulic establishment, and is now known as the South-east Fountain House.

The easternmost building comprised six rooms of various sizes, in which were found traces of two small furnaces and of several plastered water basins, all set in the floor. A clue to the nature of the industrial activity that went on in the building was provided by the discovery in 1953 at its NE corner of a small deposit of bronze, which proved on cleaning to consist of eight flans for the making of bronze coins and the tail end of a rod from which the flans had been painstakingly cut with a chisel. Since there can be little doubt that this material originated in the six-roomed building, it becomes highly probable that this building was the mint of Athens. The identification is strengthened by the discovery some years ago to the NE of the building of a marble inscription bearing a law of the late fifth century regarding currency, bankers, etc. (*Hesp* XIV, 119-122).

The building second from the west appears originally to have been a walled enclosure, open to the sky and entered from the north; in its final form it comprised a peristyle courtyard bordered by a row of four rooms on the west side. Various lines of indirect evidence suggest that the structure accommodated the Heliaia, the oldest and largest of the law courts of Athens, and the one in which the most important cases affecting the state were tried.

The third building from the west, South Stoa I, is an early example of a ground plan comprising a row of rooms fronted by a two-aisled colonnade. The building contained a minimum of fourteen rooms and a probable total of sixteen. The dimensions of the rooms, and the fact that their doors are regularly off centre, would suggest that they were designed for dining-couches, although they were subsequently perhaps used as shops. The spacious colonnade may have been intended primarily to shelter the jurymen in case of rain, since the court of the Heliaia is known to have sat under the open sky and to have broken off its sessions on the start of rain. South Stoa I was demolished in the middle of the second century B.C. to make way for South Stoa II (Fig. 2, no. 9), the latest of the three colonnades which at that time were erected to enclose what now appears to have been a

[^{*} By courtesy of Dr. I. Threpsiades, who communicated the above remarks pending his publication of the fragment.]



a.



b.

FIG. 3.—ATHENS: AGORA: (a) MYCENAEAN VASES FROM TOMB; (b) DEPOSIT OF DICASTIC BALLOTS.



FIG. 4.—ATHENS: AGORA, MODEL OF NORTH END OF STOA OF ATTALOS.

Protogeometric. From them were recovered some interesting groups of vases and a number of pieces of jewellery; two vases from a L.H. III A tomb are shown in Fig. 3a. Beneath the north end of the Stoa terrace, in a room of an earlier building, was found a deposit of six dicastic ballots of the familiar wheel shape (Fig. 3b); two others had come to light in the area in previous seasons. This discovery may be taken to prove that the earlier building was a law court, perhaps the Parabyston, which is known to have stood by the Agora. The early structure, comprising a complex of rooms along the north side of an enclosed and gravelled courtyard, was in use from the late fifth into the latter part of the fourth century B.C., at which time it made way for the great square peristyle long known to underlie the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (Fig. 4). The square peristyle also may have been intended to accommodate a law court, but it was left unfinished.

The great stone drain that ran diagonally through the square from the SE to the NW corner has been reconditioned and restored to use. Work of conservation has been carried out on the Bouleuterion and Metroon. The east inner frieze of the Temple of Hephaistos (the so-called 'Theseum'), representing a battle between Greeks and barbarians in the presence of divinities, has been freed of the thick black deposit formed by water dripping down through a faulty ceiling. The cleaning has brought out the high technical quality of the carving and has also revealed a few surviving particles of colour: blue for the background, green for the boulders, and red on the garments.

Outstanding among the season's sculpture was a terracotta head of a bearded, helmeted warrior slightly over half life size, presumably from an akroterion (Fig. 5). It was found in a context of the second century B.C. immediately to the north of the 'Heliaia'. The date is somewhat before the middle of the fifth century B.C. Although badly broken, the head is an outstanding addition to the limited numbers of terracotta sculptures known from Athens. Among the inscriptions may be mentioned a distich on a statue base:

'Ιλιάς ἡ μεθ' Ὀμηρον ἐγὼ καὶ πρόσθεν Ὀμήρου
Πάροισι τῶν ἱδρυμαί τῶν με τεκόντι νέω[ι]

It was found in the curbing of a Byzantine well some 45 m. NW of the Library of Pantainos. Between the well and the library, in the year 1869, the statues of the Iliad and the Odyssey were found by the Greek Archaeological Society; they are now in the National Museum (AM IV 160-169). The group undoubtedly adorned the Library of Pantainos, which dates from about A.D. 100.

A survey and a comprehensive plan for the landscaping of the Agora has been prepared by a landscape architect. The programme was initiated by King Paul and Queen Frederika, who on January 4, 1954, planted an oak-tree and a laurel respectively alongside the great altar to the east of the Metroon.

M. Mitsos has supervised the tidying of the archaeological area of the *Amphiareion* and continued the study of the inscriptions. As well as those mentioning the sons of Kephisodoros, another recording the name of his grandson (Kephisodoros II), son of Meidias, is reported—a rich Athenian family of the fourth century whose dedications seem to have enjoyed a conspicuous place in the sanctuary. Other fragments of unpublished dedicatory inscriptions are referred to the period after the Battle of Chaeronea when Oropos belonged to Athens. At *Rafina* D. Theokhares continued excavation of the Early Helladic settlement and cleared a house set against the town wall. Its main room measured 4 × 3.50 m. and showed signs of two building periods and five floor levels, while traces of an earlier building also became apparent. Outside a narrow paved road 1.20 m. wide ran east. Other houses were also investigated. An oval cutting, the floor of a hut similar to that of the workshop found by the shore in the previous season, yielded numerous sherds, and to its west a small apsidal building was excavated. 30 m. of the fortification wall have been uncovered, as well as two deep pits full of ash and carbonised wood. The pottery from the season was mainly monochrome but also some partially glazed ware of the later Early Helladic period and plentiful Mycenaean sherds including two figurines. Some stone, metal and bone implements and bronze slag were found, and an Early Helladic conical stone seal bearing circles and dots. At *Perati* near *Pórtο-Ráphti* S. Iakovides further explored the extensive prehistoric cemetery in which Stais had cleared two graves in 1895. Five untouched graves and as many plundered were excavated, all save two belonging to a single complex. They are close-set small chamber tombs with dromoi, all of the L.H. III period and coming down to the end of it. Finds included about a hundred vases, little bronze, sealstones, and jewellery in gold and semi-precious stones illustrating the lively trade enjoyed by the nearby Mycenaean settlement which has yet to be found. In one tomb two burials, clearly still Mycenaean in date, and one burial of an infant proved to be cremations: with the burnt bones of one were found gold and other ornaments recalling the finds from Tiryns (Karo, AM LV), a cylinder seal apparently from Asia Minor and a cartouche of Rameses II which provides an important chronological clue. In other tombs were Mycenaean clay figurines of an unusual type representing draped women with hands raised and clasped over their heads, as if mourners. In two tombs the displaced earlier burials were accompanied by food offerings.

In completing the excavation of the Early Christian basilica of *Brauron* E. Stikas has discovered a gold solidus of Justinian of A.D. 538, approximately the period of the building of the church. By the mediaeval tower of *Vráona* an obsidian workshop associated with the nearby Early Helladic

settlement has been disclosed in tests. I. Papademetriou and D. Theokhares report the excavation of two Mycenaean chamber tombs at *Várkiza*. In one which had been plundered a displaced burial in a recess yielded many vases, including a rhyton figuring naturalistically drawn fishes. Child burials were also cleared. At Alyki near *Voúla* three L.H. III chamber tombs were uncovered in the course of digging house foundations. Two are well preserved, and all have dromoi about 15 m. long with recesses in their sides. Each held five or six bodies, and the offerings include pottery, mostly L.H. IIIb, steatite spindle-whorls, and figurines. One vase bears the representation of a woman between two trees. Miscellaneous finds in Attica include Protogeometric and Geometric pottery



FIG. 5.—ATHENS: AGORA, TERRACOTTA WARRIOR'S HEAD.

from H. Ioánnis Rénti, a late sixth-century black figure lebes gamikos with marriage scenes from H. Andréas, fine marble funereal lekythoi from Voúla and Aigáleos, a fragment of a fifth-century relief from Heliouópolis, and scattered unimportant tombs.

At *Eleusis* excavations under the direction of I. Travlos were conducted to determine the boundary of the Temenos to the north and west of the great Propylaia. The hieron was separated from the town by a secondary wall, but was itself also split into two parts, one comprising the Telesterion, the other a subsidiary quarter of priests' houses and offices. The boundary in this area was a wall, named the *diateichisma* in inscriptions, which was interrupted for an entrance at a point now covered by the Lesser Propylaia. While the extent of the hieron proper is clear from its peribolos, the limit of the subsidiary quarter particularly towards the town on the west had not hitherto been established. An inscription of 329/8 B.C. records the removal of the insecure parts of the towers and Pylon of the *diateichisma* and the stretch from by the House of the Herald to the gate opposite the δόλιχος.

These Travlos identifies with the parts A-Γ (the Pylon) on Fig. 6 and ΔΕΖ, the course of which he had determined by excavation. On the west of this wall and along its length ran a road from the gateway in the outer peribolos mentioned in the inscription. This road, which leads to the acropolis, seems to have been in use since Mycenaean times and affords a limit to the hieron. It also

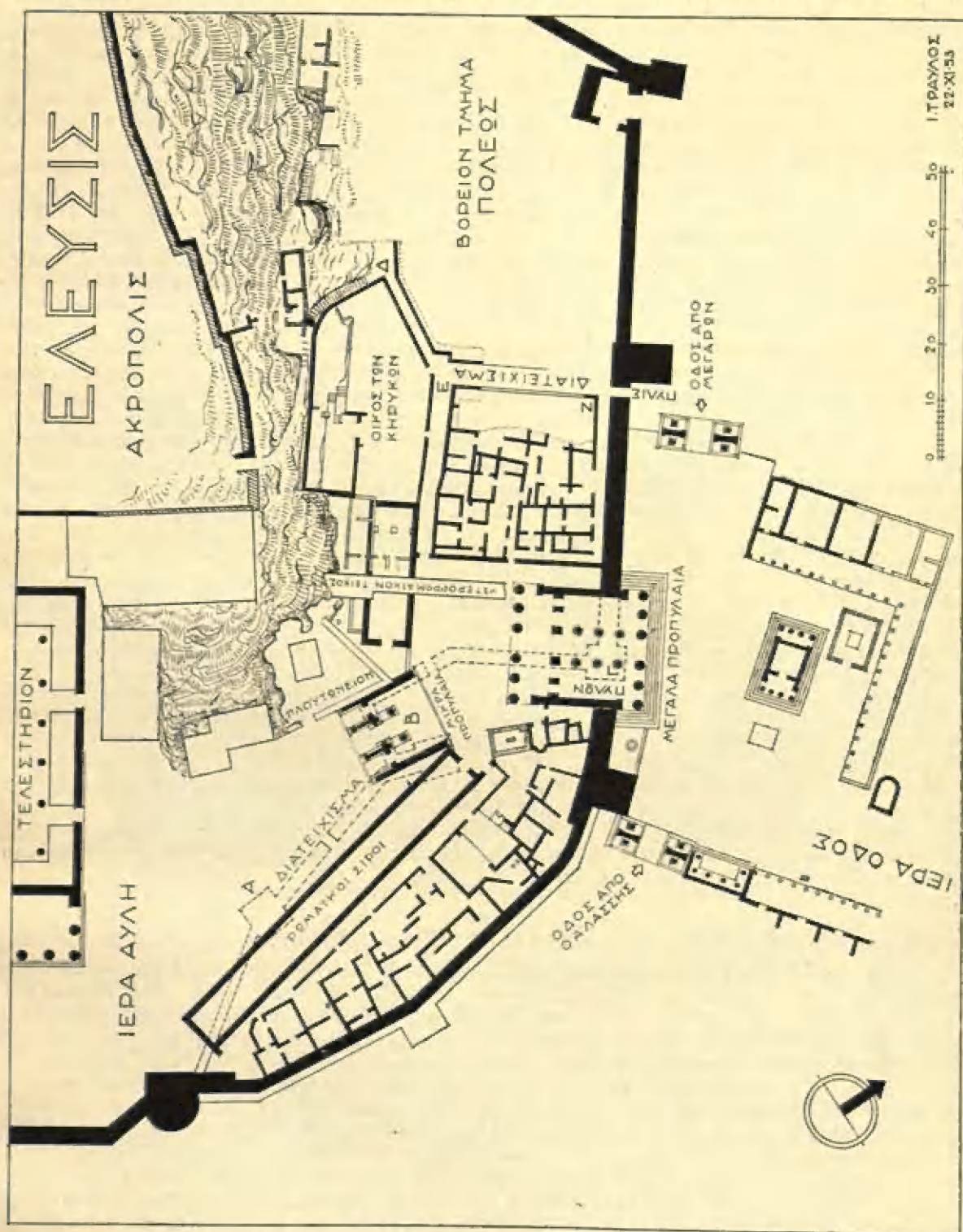


FIG. 6.—ELEUSIS: NORTH END OF THE SANCTUARY.

defines the edge of the House of the Heralds, while the identification of the gate can suggest the site of the δόλιχος. The same inscription mentions houses of various temple officials and other buildings which further excavation may now be able to identify within the newly defined limits of the hieron. Valuable stratigraphical evidence illustrating the history of the site has been obtained from the excavation, as well as proof that the prehistoric city extended to this point on the north of the acropolis. By tests outside the Great Propylaea Travlos has established that the paved Roman

court was bordered on three sides by colonnades, not by a simple peribolos as has previously been assumed.

The excavation of the cemetery at Eleusis was continued by G. E. Mylonas under the auspices of the Archaeological Society and of Washington University. A total of fourteen burials of the classical period and twenty-three prehistoric graves were investigated, as well as an isolated Late Geometric burial, badly preserved, indicating that the area was still used occasionally in the closing years of the Geometric period. Apparently a large krater stood over the grave, while beside the body were placed two smaller vases. Only fragments of the krater were found standing over the grave, but they are sufficient to identify it as of the Dipylon class with funereal scenes on the main zone. Of the classical burials the most interesting proved to be a stone sarcophagus containing a well-preserved bronze urn with the ashes. Five lekythoi of mid-fifth century date and a piece of cloth, perhaps a shawl, almost two metres in length were found in the sarcophagus. A terracotta larnax of a child contained the skeleton preserved in excellent condition, two small vases, a bronze strigil, and some twenty knuckle-bones. More knuckle-bones and eggshells were found on the cover. The larnax burial has been taken whole to the museum of Eleusis with the finds in situ. The prehistoric burials include cist graves of the late Middle Helladic period and Late Helladic shaft graves. Among the latter is a long and narrow built grave of L.H. II-III with a side approach and a well-constructed doorway. As usual it was a family grave, and yielded the remains of eleven skeletons, twenty-five vases, two clay figurines of the Φ type, and a mould for the casting of gold rings. On one of the faces of the mould are two engravings no doubt used for the decoration of bezels; on one is the representation of a mother bird and its young one in an animated pose, and on the other two Mycenaean women in rich costumes worshipping before a columnar shrine. Perhaps the most important find of the season is a group of eight graves found at the western end of the cemetery. They are separated from the rest of the area by well-built walls, and apparently form a historic landmark. No later burials were placed within the confines of this area. Six of these prehistoric graves were opened partially, examined, and then filled again in the middle of the fifth century, when the peribolos wall was also constructed. The other two, being deeper, escaped the attention of the classical excavators. Very few offerings were found in the graves, but what there are proved to be of the Middle Helladic and L.H. III periods. One of the graves of Middle Helladic date was enlarged and used again in the L.H. III period. The evidence obtained leads Mylonas to believe that the six graves, which were investigated in antiquity and whose area was set apart by walls, are the ones that were mentioned by Pausanias (I 39) as of the heroes who fought against Thebes, the graves which, according to Plutarch, were pointed out to visitors at Eleusis as those of the leaders of that expedition.

On the western acropolis (Alkathóe) at *Megara* part of a fine mosaic pavement was uncovered figuring dolphins and doves. A gold-leaf crown was the only find of importance from ancient cisterns in the town and Hellenistic tombs near the modern cemetery. Considerable work of restoration has been undertaken at the Temple of Aphaia on *Aegina*. The standing columns of the pteron with their capitals have been repaired with poros from the ancient quarry and the unsightly iron bands removed. In the NE corner a section of frieze and geison has been replaced. In the cella three columns have been re-erected with the architrave and on them part of a column from the upper series. These restorations not only enhance the appearance of the monument but help to make the original internal arrangement clear to the visitor.

THE PELOPONNESE

At *Corinth* C. H. Morgan investigated a building which had been destroyed during the construction of the South Stoa in the fourth century B.C. A boulder wall, probably of Geometric date, and a second smaller wall, certainly of the eighth century, bound the area to the north; the latter was apparently the retaining wall for a cemetery to its south, as some simple shaft graves were found with plentiful Geometric fragments in their fill. The graves themselves had been plundered in antiquity. On the south side of these walls ran an open drain, in which a great covered drain of ashlar blocks had been built after the middle of the sixth century and covered with a cement pavement 0.25 m. thick in places. Traces of other building activity in this period are apparent, and two wells whose digging had been interrupted by the building operations were found. The fill of one contained sixth-century figurines and pottery, including a Corinthian kotyle bearing the incised injunction $\Gamma\beta$ (τρίε). In the later sixth century this area appears to have comprised a large open precinct facing the new agora to the north. At some time in the fifth century a courtyard was laid with a pebble cement pavement. In it were offering tables or bases, and it was surrounded by small rooms incorporating a fountain or tank. Later in the fifth or early fourth centuries small cubicle rooms were constructed on the SW side of the courtyard; beneath the floor of one a deposit of figurines had been buried about the middle of the fourth century. By the end of the third quarter of the fourth century the building was abandoned and dismantled in the face of the construction of the South Stoa, its new threshold defaced by the wheels of haulage carts and the area eventually cobbled. Details of the building do not reflect contemporary house architecture or suggest a public

building. The number of drinking-cups found suggests rather a tavern, and the offering-table, tank, a niche for a statue, and the cache of figurines some ritual purpose. From the contents of the latter deposit and their character is inferred the presence of a cult of Aphrodite, and the building is thought to be a tavern dedicated to that goddess.

NW of Old Corinth D. Pallas excavated for the Archaeological Society a large Early Christian basilica dated by its carved stone members to the first quarter of the sixth century. In *Sikyon* Orlandos has cleared the court of the upper terrace of the Gymnasium of Kleinias and the great roofed hall of the Bouleuterion whose plans are now clear. The excavation of the former revealed in its north back wall a doorway leading through a narrow corridor to the adjacent shrine, no doubt of the Nymphs, as figurines and the niches cut in the rock suggest.

Restoration work at *Mycenae* includes the cleaning of the tholos tombs and reconstruction of the ring of the old Grave Circle. The bastion beside the Lion Gate is being repaired and previously excavated walls since covered by spoil have been cleaned. Wace's account of his excavations appears separately at the end of the present report.

The Archaeological Society's excavation at the new Grave Circle has been continued by Papademetriou in conjunction with Mylonas and Theokhares. This is the circle that Papademetriou recognises as the burial place, according to the tradition known to Pausanias, of Aegisthus and



FIG. 7.—MYCENAE: MATT-PAINTED VASES FROM SHAFT GRAVE N.

Clytemnestra. Eight more tombs were excavated this year, and distinguished by the letters I-Π. The majority of them are rectangular shafts measuring 2.50 × 3.00 m. to 3.30 × 4.20 m. They were regularly roofed with wooden beams which rested on ledges cut in the rock or built of rough stonework on the long sides of the grave. Stone slabs were laid on top of the beams, and above this a layer of clay to keep out the damp. The majority of the tombs contained rich furnishings. In grave I eight clay vases of the M.H. III period were found, a bronze sword with an ivory pommel, a dagger with a rock crystal handle, two gold bracelets, a gold belt ornament, bronze tweezers, and a silver cup with grooved decoration and gilding on the rim. The position of grave N was marked by a piece of the grave stele with its socketed base. The excavation here has made it clear that the circle was not covered by a single mound, but that each individual grave had a small mound of its own revetted by stones round the edge. This grave contained two burials. In order to make room for the second, the first was moved to one side, together with its furnishings, and enclosed by a clay kerb. The later deposition was in the centre of the grave, the arms and legs outspread. The dead wore a gold throat band, and had at his right hand a bronze sword and dagger and a bronze vase; another bronze sword was found wrapped in cloth, with a bronze dagger and vase, alongside the displaced skeleton of the earlier burial. A gold cup containing gold ornaments and an alabaster vase was found near by. Four matt-painted vases with fine decoration were also found here, of which two are shown on Fig. 7. Here, as also in some of the other graves, bones from the funeral banquet were found over the roof of the tomb.

Four graves were uncovered on the south side of the circle. K contained four vases, one a fine

jug with polychrome band decoration. Grave M contained a single skeleton of a young maiden, on whose chest lay a necklace of semi-precious stones—one with a design of a flower pot and palm. Twenty-one vases of L.H. I date were found here. In A two skeletons were discovered, one of them again being displaced, and near the latter a bronze dagger and some gold bands. The skeleton in the centre lay extended without furnishings, the tomb having been robbed in antiquity; but the west part of the shaft, where no skeleton lay, yielded offerings which may belong to this deposition: a bronze sword whose leather sheath was adorned with horns and strips, a lance, a dagger, and twenty-eight obsidian and porphyry arrowheads. To the west of this a kiln and hearth of crude brick, dating to the earlier Middle Helladic period, and a small burial with two fine Middle Helladic vases have been uncovered.

Grave Z belonged to a young girl, and also contained a displaced burial. The body of the girl was adorned with gold diadems, necklaces of semi-precious stones and a faience amulet, a gold ring, ear-drops, and gold brooches. Grave O was the richest of all found this year; it can be called the Crystal Grave, because of the large number of objects of rock crystal found in it. Though traversed by the modern aqueduct it had fortunately remained undisturbed. One burial was found in the middle, and an earlier one had been moved to the west side; the displaced one had no furnishings. The later burial yielded two large gold diadems (Pl. IX. 1), three dress pins with big crystal heads, a silver pin with a star-like head of long gold rays, and much other ornament of gold, amber, and semi-precious stones. A unique discovery here was a bowl, 0.15 m. long, of rock crystal in the form of a duck, whose head and neck formed the handle, and its tail the spout of the vase (Pl. IX. 3). The grave also yielded many clay vases with fine decoration in matt-painting; the vases were found both on the floor of the shaft and on its roof; the most notable are a squat jug of L.H. I date and a tall amphora.

There still remain some graves to be explored inside the new Grave Circle. The chamber tomb discovered last year to the south of the circle has now been cleared. It had been looted, but many fragments of Geometric vases from later re-use were found, and also scraps of the rich gold ornaments from the original burial. Further to the south a classical cistern and a small grave of Protogeometric date have come to light.

The French School continued excavations at *Argos* under G. Roux, P. Courbin, and R. Ginouvés, with notable results. An ancient road to the west of the agora linked it with the Theatre and Odeon quarter. The houses of the classical period which flanked it were destroyed in Roman times by terrace works, but of the best-preserved one three of four orthostates of the north façade remain in situ to an original total length of 7.90 m. and height of 0.787 m. The level of the road eventually rose 0.50 m., covering a network of pipes carrying water from the Kephalaria spring. On the east the late stoa found by Vollgraff was investigated. It had two steps, the second its stylobate, and unfluted columns probably Corinthian; under it an exedra had later been converted into a tank. In the agora itself to the north of the Greek stoa the foundations of a marble tholos have been found within a rectangular platform with poros foundations and four white marble steps. The partly preserved frieze bore the dedication τῶν πηγῶν καὶ τὸ νυμφαῖον μετὰ τῶν δοχερίων. Its marble roof tiles are in the shape of scales, and the roof was surmounted by an acanthus floral. The peristyle was paved with marble, and in the centre of the building are preserved the four lower steps of a spiral stair leading down to a cylindrical well. The date appears to be of the second century B.C. The Roman Odeon, sounded in 1928, has now been completely uncovered. The seats, coated with painted plaster, were partly cut from the rock at the centre of the cavea, which was divided by a central stair and two diazomata with mosaics bearing leaf garland decoration. The wings of the cavea are supported by curved and radial walls. The orchestra with a diameter of 8 m. was bounded on the east by a brick proscaenium with niches and stairways. The mosaic framed by polychrome peltae figured the bearded head of a god in a wreath, offering tables bearing fruit and branches, a large vase, and finally a large kantharos in the proscaenium niches; the centre piece is missing. Two steps lead down to the vaulted parodoi paved with mosaics of geometrical patterns. The building seems to have been roofed, and is dated in the third or fourth century A.D. Details of an earlier structure in this position suggest an imitation of the quadrangular Odeon at Athens.

Of the Mosaic Building north of the agora and partly dug by Vollgraff the dining-room has been cleared. The design of its mosaic floor reflects the arrangement of the furniture; in the centre fish appear against a circular blue ground. In the NE a large panel figured Dionysos leaning on a column surrounded by dancing bacchantes and satyrs; a leopard and a winged Eros flank the god. The great Roman Building, whose brick walls rise 10 m. above the ground level, extended at least 55 m., with a maximum width of 36 m.; its main entrance must be to the east. It comprises an apsidal hall in the west paved with marble and on two levels, the upper raised perhaps for a statue and below it a rectangular vaulted crypt containing three sarcophagi. Before it a long transverse hall had doors at each of its western corners and was paved with a geometrical mosaic. Beyond it to the west lay subsidiary rectangular and semi-circular rooms with wall niches for statues, and finally a large open rectangular court bordered by porticoes with Ionic fluted columns and by vaulted corridors partly underground. This type of building with apsidal crypt, transverse hall, and court recalls the familiar eastern pattern of such structures as the Heróon of Kalydon.

The extent of the ancient graveyard south of the town is indicated by the discovery of tombs by the modern cemetery, at the west of the agora, and in the intervening area of the Refugees' Quarter. Fifty-eight tombs were cleared from the Middle Helladic to Roman period, those of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods being particularly important. The finds were both varied and numerous, nearly 300 vases, most of them complete, being recorded. Of three Protogeometric tombs one was a cist burial of a child and yielded fine local pottery. A second tomb of an adult contained three vases, and was surmounted by a pyre which contained a burnt oinochoe and other finds. Early Geometric pottery from near an apsidal house includes a large black krater, a stand, a bowl with conical foot deriving from the Protogeometric type, and a very early Geometric skyphos: fragments of two large Middle Geometric kraters represent a period little known before in the Argolid, but the richest finds are again of the Late Geometric period. One burial comprises a great ovoid krater with loop feet standing 1.10 m. high and lidded by another krater: the quality of the painting is unusually fine, and as well as typical Argive decoration includes two pairs of wrestlers on a large scale under the handles. The decoration of the lid-krater includes dancing women, a horse-man, and, unusually, kneeling goats. An uncommonly large cist grave 3.15 m. long contained a bronze helmet and breastplate in exceptionally fine condition (Pl. VIII. 5-6). The helmet is in three parts, crown, front without nasal flange, and back, all being riveted together; the cheek pieces are not hinged but fixed to the sides. On a high stem a crescent-shaped mounting decorated with conical rosettes is grooved to hold the plume, giving the whole helmet a height of nearly 0.50 m. The breastplate is in two parts, front and back. Hitherto they have been found only in two separated parts: the state of preservation of this example will enable their method of joining to be determined. There seem to have been neither hinges at the shoulder nor buckles at the side. The shoulder blades and breasts are summarily modelled, but the arch of the thorax is boldly marked. The belt is worked in repoussé technique, and of the three decorative bands at the base one bears a row of small dotted circles. With the armour were found two iron axe heads, twelve spits, three gold rings, and fragments of gold leaves, and the associated pottery gives a date at the end of the eighth century. A third burial of the same date contains a plain pithos and a fine krater notable for its technical innovations: on one side details on the figures are rendered in white paint, on the other the features are painted in outline (Pl. VIII. 3). From late eighth- and early seventh-century wells came a strainer-amphora with side orifice and a fine mid-seventh century sherd figuring a large head in an even finer style than that of the Polyphemos fragment found in the preceding year's excavation. A provisional exhibition of the finds has been prepared in the Argos Town Hall.

At Prónoia by *Nauplion* S. Kharitonides excavated for the Archaeological Society a number of close-set adult pithos burials dated by the accompanying pottery to the Ripe Geometric period. The cemetery seems to have been in use on a limited scale in classical times. One great amphora on a tripod base has been restored 0.65 m. high. A poorly cut shaft grave in the previously excavated Mycenaean cemetery yielded a stone lamp with spiral decoration and a bronze mirror, but no bones.

American School excavations at *Lerna* have been continued under the direction of J. L. Caskey. Neolithic houses have not yet come to light, but a large number of sherds recovered from mixed fill on the south side of the mound provide clear evidence that the site was occupied at a very early date. Pottery includes fine examples of variegated or rainbow ware, red, black, and grey burnished wares, and pieces wholly coated with, or bearing, linear patterns in orange-brown glaze (*Urfirnis*). At least three levels of Early Helladic remains have been observed in several areas. The most considerable is a rectangular building of which the SW part was cleared in 1953. Its walls, 0.95 m. thick, are of crude brick resting on stone socles. Having been hardened by burning in a great fire, they stand about 0.80 m. above the level of the floors, and traces of their yellow clay stucco are preserved. Within, a long corridor, two large rooms, doorways, and four steps of a staircase that led to an upper storey have been exposed. The building was roofed with plain flat terracotta tiles and large slabs of bluish or greenish-grey schist. As little pottery was found in the rooms cleared this year, the domestic quarters may have been elsewhere. Several vessels, including a very fine askoid jar with patterns in dull red-brown paint on a light buff ground (Fig. 8a), were found in another burnt building nearby, presumably contemporary with the first. The level above was notable for a great number of bothroi containing ashes, carbonised matter, bones, and sherds. Over this was a third Early Helladic level, which in 1952 yielded a fragmentary jar of Trojan type with plastic decoration and free-standing wing-like attachments. Another object with foreign analogies (Troy, Sicily, Malta) is a flat strip of bone 0.106 m. long with seven hemispherical knobs on one side. This was found on a floor with grey Minyan ware immediately above the topmost Early Helladic deposits.

Four to five successive levels of Middle Helladic habitation were distinguished in the central, eastern, and south-eastern parts of the mound. A well-preserved apsidal house with three rooms, repeatedly rebuilt after fires, and a long building with four rooms flanking a gravel-paved street, are assignable to the later phases of the period. Grey Minyan, plain brown, and coarse wares occurred throughout. In some households black (Argive) Minyan ware appears to have been more popular than in others. Good examples of matt-painted ware appeared in the middle and late phases (Fig. 8b). With them were sherds of a class bearing linear patterns in dark lustrous paint on a light

ground, and a few vessels with designs in dull white and red or purple on a dark ground, showing the influence of Middle Minoan styles. Cist graves and plain interments, of adults as well as children, were found among and below the Middle Helladic houses. The earliest Mycenaean periods were represented by a few sherds. Fairly extensive remains of houses and streets of L.H. III date came to light on the eastern side of the hill, where a Geometric pithos burial and pottery of the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries were also found.

The joint Hellenic and American expedition continued its excavations at and near *Pylos*. Under the direction of C. W. Blegen the Megaron of the Palace, comprising Throne Room, Vestibule, Portico, and a narrow court, was re-exposed and fully cleared. The painted decoration of the hearth and floor of the Throne Room has been studied and recorded in water-colour drawings by Piet de Jong. All remains of frescoes, both those found still attached to the walls and those that had fallen to the floors, have been removed and conserved by Z. Kanakis. An extensive area to the SW of the Megaron was uncovered. Directly alongside the Throne Room seven small chambers were revealed. Four of them were obviously 'pantries' in which the ordinary household crockery of *Pylos* was stored. They yielded remains of nearly 6000 vases of many different shapes, among which kylikes, 'teacups' and saucers are predominant. Most of the pots were broken, but more than 100 were recovered intact. In these rooms innumerable fragments of fresco, in large part fallen from an upper storey, were salvaged. Beyond the pantries, to the SW, is a stucco-paved court about 7.35 m. wide.



FIG. 8.—LERNA: (a) EARLY HELLADIC ASKOID VESSEL; (b) MATT-PAINTED JUG.

The lowest course of an ashlar wall is preserved along the SW side; on the other side a similar wall has been removed, presumably by marauders in search of building material.

To the SW of the court are two rooms of state, each more than 7 m. wide and 10 m. long, with a good stucco floor. The first was entered from the SE through a distyle façade, and in the longitudinal axis stood a single interior column. The columns, which were no doubt made of wood, have perished, but their stone bases still lie in situ, and impressions in the stucco floor indicate that the shafts had forty-four shallow flutings. The walls of this room bore plaster painted with brightly coloured designs, and vast numbers of fallen fragments of frescoes lay heaped upon the floor. To the right of a doorway that opens into the second room of state, towards the SW, is a low stucco platform, either a place for a seat or a stand for a sentry or a servant. A doorway to the NW gave access to a passage from which a stairway ascended to an upper floor, while two further doors led to other apartments not yet excavated. Little is preserved of the similar large room at the extreme south-western edge of the hill, but it had a well-made floor, interior columns (one base still in situ), and fresco-decorated walls. A small excavation on the descending slope to the SE of the Megaron disclosed a maze of walls, badly damaged by the fire that destroyed the Palace. Here, too, there were evidently corridors and a stairway leading to the upper storey. Many fragments of frescoes were found in this area. More than a dozen soundings were made along the steep periphery of the site. House walls appear almost everywhere, but no evidence has yet come to light to indicate that the citadel was enclosed within a cyclopean fortification wall.

On a small hillock barely 80 m. to the NE of the Palace site remains of a great lintel block, observed long ago, betrayed the presence of a tholos tomb. The chamber proved to have a diameter

of about 9.30 m. Its wall, preserved to a height of 4.65 m., was carefully built of remarkably small unworked stones, laid in fairly regular courses. The doorway, constructed of much larger blocks of limestone, was 2.25 m. wide, about 4.50 m. deep from front to back, and 4.60 m. high. It was probably once covered by three lintel blocks, only the innermost of which, broken into four pieces, survived in situ. The dromos, about 4 m. wide and 10 m. long, had been cut in bedrock, and was not bordered by walls. The doorway was blocked by a massive well-built wall, about 2 m. thick, which was found still standing almost to its original height. The chamber was filled with hard-packed clayey earth. Much of it, evidently brought from an adjacent inhabited site, had probably formed part of a tumulus that was heaped up over the dome. Robbers had gained an entrance, presumably while the vault still stood intact, and the tomb had been thoroughly ransacked. Even a stone-lined cist at the right and a deep curving grave pit at the left had not been spared. No skeleton was found in position, but small bits and splinters of human bones, no doubt from several burials, lay scattered helter-skelter through the deposit. The disturbers were careless in their operations, and the numerous objects they overlooked give a tantalising idea of the wealth of funerary offerings that had been placed in the sepulchre. Apart from a vast quantity of gold leaf and scores of beads of amber, amethyst, faience, gold, paste, etc., and many fragments of ivory, the most notable items recovered are two amethyst sealstones (one of amygdaloid shape with an intaglio design of a man in combat with a lion); a gold signet ring bearing on its bezel a cult scene; four owls neatly delineated in repoussé technique in thin gold; a gold shield-shaped ornament in the form of a figure 8; and a large flattened cylindrical gold seal with a delicately worked representation of a crested griffin, a royal gem. In the region to the north, west, and south of Epáno Englianós, several previously uncharted Mycenaean sites were discovered. Trial trenches were also dug in the 'Cave of Nestor' on the precipitous northern slope of the ancient Koryphasion, and yielded pottery ranging from neolithic, through Early, Middle, and Late Helladic into historical times.

Sp. Marinatos conducted excavations at Pylos on behalf of the Archaeological Society, and uncovered two series of tombs, numbering nine in all. The first comprised three circular graves, in which the bodies were either laid on the floor or in pits, and the bones of earlier burials put in bothroi or niches opening in the walls of the chambers. There were few offerings recovered, as the tombs had been plundered. One tomb had a small subsidiary tomb in its dromos. Its chamber is described as a true Mycenaean 'columbarium' with fourteen niches at varying heights in the walls. One small niche held a craftsman's tools; of stone were hammers, a cubical grinder, a whetstone, a plaque, and his square, of bronze, choppers with bone handles, a one-edged knife, a chisel, and an awl. The second group was of six tombs, near which a Hellenistic or Roman potter's kiln was also excavated. The tombs are important for the light they throw on ancestor-worship in classical times; thus in one it appeared that cult was practised in Hellenistic times not only in the dromos but in the chamber. The northern half of the floor of the chamber was occupied by a pyre, in which was found the skeleton of a pig on its back, and in the southern were traces of another pyre, which contained fragments of one Mycenaean and one Hellenistic vase. In the upper fill were found Hellenistic sherds and an Argive and a Messenian coin. The tombs generally have short, sloping dromoi with vertical walls and circular chambers with walls rising to a dome. At their tops were cavities which had been considered mechanical expedients for the regular cutting of the tomb, but accurate measurements now prove that they do not lie in the dead centre. Small semicircular pits around the walls held the bones from earlier burials. Before the door of the sixth tomb was found a skeleton of a man without offerings. The upper fill of the tomb yielded Roman and other pottery and the remains of large wild animals. The Mycenaean fill below contained a fine clay deer's head from a Mycenaean rhyton decorated with heads of a deer and a bull, which lay on a heap of fifty Mycenaean vases, the offerings. On the floor the two bodies were accompanied by Mycenaean and Hellenistic offerings, showing that the tomb had been opened in later times. The animal bones suggest that the men who threw them into the tomb from above thought that it was the resting-place of hunting heroes. Generally the tombs yielded L.H. I pottery from the pits, L.H. III from the burials on the floors of the chambers, and before the doors broken libation kylikes. The lack of rich finds might be explained by the later intrusions: of the two sealstones found, one of sardonyx figures a ship's sails, and the other of jasper a lioness with a bird above and a boukranion below. The settlement accompanying the tombs is 500 m. away at Volimidia. Trial trenches brought to light traces of walls, and in one place L.H. III sherds and one metre lower L.H. I vases including cups of the Vaphio type and pithos fragments with rope decoration, but no walls; so this point was no doubt within a rubbish ground. On Rouítsi ridge half an hour away tomb mounds were found to contain pithos and larnax burials, which Marinatos supposes to be of post-Mycenaean date.

In *Olympia* E. Kunze has completed the excavation of the south and west embankments of the Stadium and cleared the corner between the east wall of the Altis and the northerly extension of the House of Nero. The area has again yielded rich finds, which include a bronze youth over 0.37 m. high, once the support for the ring-handle of an immense tripod, a tripod leg 1.20 m. long with figure reliefs dating to the second quarter of the seventh century, two hammered griffin protomes, a large 'Assurattasche' of oriental type, a small cast griffin protome, a sheet bronze casing of a lion's paw

terminal, greaves, and helmets, including one of Illyrian type and a top piece in the form of a bull's horn cut together with the ear from a bronze sheet. The southern half of the Leonidaion has been cleared of the heavy overlying mediaeval levels, and the excavation extended east to the NW corner of the South Stoa. Further exploration of the area of the Roman building south of the Kladeos baths and west of the Byzantine church was made and its history from classical times made clear. The building itself, one of whose rooms later bore a mosaic floor, is of the second century A.D. Finds included much pottery, a life-size Herm head which seems a good copy in marble of a hitherto unknown Early Classical type, and fragments of a Hellenistic bronze statue of a woman. Fragments of the poros entablature of a Doric treasury have been recovered from a Roman wall, including a well-preserved corner geison with traces of paint, and from a late wall part of the dedication of Apollonia in Epeiros bearing the beginning of the epigram recorded by Pausanias (V 22, 3) and joining a piece of the same inscription found in 1941. The systematic cleaning of earlier excavated bronzes has brought some remarkable discoveries. A Corinthian helmet of early type is decorated at the edges with silver studs and with inlays of silver and ivory. A late archaic Corinthian helmet bears on one side the inscription Μιλτιάδης ἀνέ[θ]κεν[; τ]ῷ Δι. The shape of the helmet and the lettering leave no doubt that this is a dedication of the younger Miltiades, and the lack of the ethnic suggests that it dates to the period of his rule in the Chersonese, probably the decade before Marathon. Finally, the bronze plaque from the statue of Ergoteles, whose first Olympic victory was sung by Pindar (*Ol.* XII).



FIG. 9.—SHRINE NEAR OLYMPIA.

In Olympia museum more of the archaic terracottas and bronzes are exhibited in the newly opened gallery, which holds also the colossal head of Hera; another gallery is devoted to arms and armour, and the kouros from Phigaleia, which has been mended, is on view with another recently found at Katákolon.

Apart from the Altis excavation, the NW Peloponnese has been the source of rich and varied finds. N. Yalouris has excavated Geometric tombs behind the Olympia railway station on the right bank of the Kladeos. 4 km. SW of Olympia near *Makrýsia* two Mycenaean chamber tombs with dromoi were cleared; they contained numerous burials, and yielded much pottery, both of local manufacture and imported Mycenaean vases. These include five large three-handled amphorae of fine local workmanship and two fragments figuring birds between spirals; with them were paste spacer beads with relief decoration of rosettes. Nearby two hills overlooking the Alpheus plain bear traces of Mycenaean settlement and give the first real evidence of Mycenaean habitation so close to the Alpheus. Between Olympia and Makrýsia beyond the Alpheus at Kambóuli a bothros was discovered, 9.50 m. square and 0.75 m. deep. It contained hundreds of miniature glazed vases of various shapes; among them are some with linear relief decoration of the type on vases from Elis. Their date is of the late fifth and fourth centuries. As well as these local products, Attic black and red figure vases were found, most of them lekythoi, also a great number of terracotta figurines and protomes of female type of the mid-sixth to the end of the fifth century. In the same bothros a late sixth-century clay relief plaque came to light figuring a man holding a phiale and reclining on a couch with a lyre in the background. Some bronze ornaments and a broken blue glass vase were also found. The commonest type of figurine is of a woman wearing a polos, which suggests a cult

of a goddess. The shrine whose deposit this is cannot be readily identified, although there are extensive traces of walls along the left bank of the Alpheus from Mouria to Ankóna opposite Makrýsia. Most of the tombs in the area have been plundered. On the heights called *Bámbes* opposite Olympia building traces include some certainly of shrines, and on Arnokatárakho one in the form of a small Doric treasury was excavated (8.40 m. \times 4.55 m.) (Fig. 9). Finds include archaic pottery and fragments of an archaic silvered shield bearing spiral and cable decoration. A fragmentary inscription, ΤΩΔΙΩΣ, suggests that the shrine was dedicated to Zeus, and it is dated to the end of the sixth century. The length of occupation of this naturally strong site is shown by late neolithic fragments found near by: around the hill also are extensive traces of walls and architectural members, including two archaic Doric capitals. On H. Elias opposite Olympia the excavation of another temple has been begun. It is 20.05 m. long and has already yielded fragments of a painted terracotta sima. The richness and variety in date of the finds, which include Geometric bird and animal figurines, as well as Roman and Byzantine objects, suggest heavy occupation in this area over a long period.

Yalouris further reports walls of buildings, some circular, standing over 2 m. high south of Kréstaina and Brina. Tombs have come to light, one containing a late fifth-century decorated bronze hydria. Towards Samikón other cut tombs are noted, and on the lower slopes of Lapitha a strong ashlar wall 10 m. long and 1.60 m. high. Beyond Frankoklesía are walls and tombs, one of which contained a late sixth-century black figure lekythos figuring three maenads. Finds, including inscriptions and a late Daedalic clay statuette of a goddess, have been brought into Olympia from the vicinity. From *Old Phigaleia* dedicatory and funerary inscriptions have been recovered, as well as new fragments of the frieze of the temple of Apollo which have come to light at Bassae. Antiquities, including coins and inscriptions from H. Ioánnis, ancient *Heraia*, in Arcadia, are being assembled in a collection in the school. From the Trané Lákka gorge of *Bertsá* in Gortynia a headless statue of Asklepios more than life size has been taken to the Olympia museum, with another life-size torso of Roman date, and tombs have been noted in the neighbourhood. Near ancient *Messene* an inscribed relief, apparently of Athena, and a marble head, perhaps of Zeus, have come to light.

Patras museum has received a funerary relief of about 420 B.C. figuring a standing woman holding a pyxis, from ancient *Pleuron*, and a Late Hellenistic copy of the Doedalsas crouching Aphrodite, the head of which is very well preserved. L.H. III chamber tombs were excavated by Yalouris at Kangádi and Kallithéa on the way to *Khalandritsa*; the latter contained a well-preserved bronze sword 0.81 m. long with its handle, a socketed spearhead, and a bronze greave. The greave is the first of this period to be excavated on the Greek mainland: wire and hooks held it in position, as on the comparable specimen from Énkomi in Cyprus, and its surface bears the low relief representation of cross straps. Mycenaean tombs have been found at other points in Achaea. In *Aigion* a Roman building incorporating material from a fifth-century Doric structure was investigated, as well as a nearby classical building. A Roman tomb with painted decoration was reported in the area. Inscriptions, including two fourth-century statue bases, were recovered from Kastritsi near *Kalávryta* and a Geometric pithos burial at Kompegádi (Patras) cleared.

CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

The *Thebes* Museum continues closed, but plans for a new building are being studied. Some poor tombs of Hellenistic times have been excavated east of the Ampheion. On the west edge of the ancient site of *Thespiái* a Hermaic stele mutilated on the face and a fragment of a Hellenistic tombstone with relief rosettes have come to light. Kh. Khristou also reports that in clearing around the church of the Taxiarkhai near *Koroneia* he has rediscovered five large inscribed slabs (*BCH* 1920, 388) which he hopes to publish shortly. They are imperial rescripts; the most important one is Hadrianic and relates to drainage works in the Kopais and the regulation of the beds of the Kephisos and other rivers there. A Hellenistic proxeny decree has been found near *Delion*; and fourth-century black glaze vases by the ancient *Larymna*.

Geometric and classical cist graves with burials in a crouching position have been brought to light in the clearing of a sports-field at *Amphikleia* (Dadi). E. Mastrokostas reports that one grave contained amongst other offerings a plastic kantharos of about 480 B.C. in the form of a head of a youth and a black figure lekythos depicting Achilles and Ajax playing at dice in the presence of Athena. Other classical tombs yielded a strainer with a handle terminating in the head of a water-bird, a Corinthian helmet, and various bronze vessels; the name of one of the dead, apparently Olynphichos, was given in incision on the feet of two late-fifth century cups—the earliest known examples of writing from Amphikleia. Of special interest is the grave of a πολύχαλκος ἡγεμὼν, who wore on her head a bronze covering and a bronze diadem with Geometric patterns in jewellery and wavy lines. Her neck was encircled by a double necklace over a metre long, composed of some 350 bronze pellets of triangular section and an amber bead with three pendant bronze water-birds, and by a chain of about the same length, from which were suspended two pairs of beaten bronze combs—perhaps the Homeric κάλυκες; five four-spoke wheels with engraved Geometric ornament also seem to have hung from the chain. On her arms were a number of bracelets terminating in

snakes' heads, and on her fingers spiral and semi-conical rings. About her person were three magnificent fibulae of Boeotian type with designs of horses, birds, fishes, and a centaur, two iron fibulae of the same type, and two large bronze figure-of-eight brooches. Other burials yielded fibulae and vases, of which two bear Geometric decoration.

At *Delphi* Mastrokostas reports the discovery of a fragment of the epigram from the hetaira Rhodopis' dedication of iron ox-spits as a tithe of her savings, which stood behind the Altar of the Chians. The script is archaic, and the arrangement of the surviving letters - - ἀνέθηκε Ῥοδίῳ - - suggests a metrical inscription (Fig. 10).

N. Verdeles has resumed his excavation for the Archaeological Society at *Pteleos*. A second Mycenaean tholos tomb has been brought to light close to that found in 1951. It is over 5 m. wide, but the dromos is very short and narrow. The tomb had collapsed and been filled in before Roman times, when a simple grave was cut across the collapsed dome. Some L.H. III vases were found in the tholos. On the north edge of the tholos were two shallow pits containing numerous bones, and on its south side, close under the floor, three grave-shafts (one with an intact skeleton in the usual crouching position); the latter seem to be associated with Minyan sherds found at the entrance of the tholos. Yet another similar tholos, unfortunately badly eroded, came to light only 30 m. to the east; it is also shown by vases to be of L.H. III date; a walled-off compartment on the west contained human bones, together with a horse's jawbone and a dog's skull, and Mycenaean sherds.



FIG. 10.—DELPHI: FRAGMENT FROM RHODOPIS' DEDICATION.

From this cluster of tombs Verdeles concludes that the Homeric city of *Pteleos* must have lain on the height of *Gritsa* to the east, where also stood the city of historical times. He has also tested the remains of a Hellenistic building complex, which had mud-brick walls on stone foundations, near the tholos tomb at H. *Theódoroi*; the outlines of two buildings have come out almost complete, together with fainter traces of two others. They seem to belong to a military establishment or agricultural colony.

At *Pharsala* Verdeles has continued investigations at the archaic tholos tomb previously cleared. On the edge of the mound a bronze hydria of the second half of the fourth century with a figure of Nike engaged under the handle has been discovered in a stone container, with Hellenistic graves alongside; Mycenaean sherds were also found here. Under the mound of the tholos a Mycenaean vaulted chamber tomb came to light; the dromos had a pavement which ran on into the chamber on the same width. The chamber contained an adult burial, and a large pile of bones mixed with Mycenaean sherds and jewellery. This tomb seems to have been looted at the time when the tholos was built. Verdeles considers that this additional evidence of a Mycenaean cemetery confirms his conclusion that *Peleus'* *Phthia* lay here, and he believes that the city was on a nearby knoll above the sources of the *Apidanos*. Steps have been taken to preserve these tombs.

V. Milošević has made a trial excavation for the German Institute at *Odžak Magoúla* near *Larissa* as a preliminary to a fuller exploration of the prehistoric cultures of Thessaly and their relations to the North Balkans. The stratification here has thrown new light on the relative chronology of the pottery sequences of the region. A culture, older than the *Seskoulo* period and marked only by smoothed and finely polished pottery of A I type, is recognised in one deep stratum. The sounding could not be carried down to virgin soil. Among the finds from the upper levels are a

practically complete bowl like Wace-Thompson fig. 45, and a fragment of a female figurine with a head and hair-style related to Tsountas pl. 32. 1.

Yalouris reports the discovery of late tombs at Khoúni in the interior of *Aetolia* and at Amphilokhia and the ancient Thyrrheion in *Acarnania*; inscriptions and other finds have been brought in to the museums of Agrinion and Návpaktos. Continuing the excavations of the rectangular building at *Kassope* in the southern Epeiros S. Dakares has cleared the central court and the ranges surrounding it, with the twenty-six octagonal Doric columns and three further rooms. In a corner room the side of a stone staircase, which led to the upper storey, and the pavement of the original floor have been uncovered; all the other rooms have bases of tables in the centre. Water-pipes, various architectural members, and other finds have come to light. Dakares is satisfied that this building was not a prytaneion but a public xenon and that the occupation came to an end in the first century B.C. The upper courses are shown to have consisted of large baked bricks alternating with tile-faced timbers; the large stoa to the south of this building has also been tested, and seems to have been of similar construction. Accessions to the collection of antiquities at *Nikopolis* include an unfinished life-size male head in marble and four inscribed funerary stelai, of which one reads Μάρκος Μάρκου | ἐφηβο-φύλαξ ἐτῶν ἑξ' | χάρει. Dakares has discovered traces of prehistoric curved buildings and a perforated stone axe at *Thesprotikón*.

D. Evangelides has continued the Archaeological Society's excavations at *Dodona*, completing the clearing of the square building and of the slope by the theatre. The former underwent many reconstructions. In its fourth-century form it had a peristyle, probably an internal court. After the destruction around the end of the third century it acquired a propylon on its south side. At a later date, after yet another destruction, a new oblong temple-like building was erected, and meantime other changes were made in the court. Evangelides is inclined to attribute the various destructions to the times of the Aetolian Dorimachos, Aemilius Paullus, and the Mithridatic wars. Within the NW corner of this building a prehistoric stratum has been uncovered with a hearth and numerous Early Helladic sherds. The finds from the excavations here include oracular lead plaques and an important inscription recording the admission to citizenship of two women in the reign of King Neoptolemos in the fourth century; this inscription gives us hitherto unknown names of peoples of the Epeiros. Of the rectangular building near the theatre the four outer walls are preserved with internal and external buttresses on some of the sides; the entrance is probably on the south. In its north part were two internal rows of three bases at regular intervals, the second one being at a lower level and having Ionic columns. The purpose of both these buildings still remains obscure. Other finds include more oracular plaques and various bronze objects. The most notable is a small bronze figure from the rim of a krater, in the form of a man reclining on his left elbow and holding a drinking-horn in his hand; it belongs to the beginning of the sixth century, and is probably of Lakonian workmanship like so many of the bronze figurines found at *Dodona*.

Evangelides has also made a small excavation at Glykḗ near *Paramythiá* at the ruins of a basilica of the time of the Despotate. Two Roman graves are reported by Dakares on the west edge of *Ioánnina*, and four cist graves were discovered by soldiers 32 km. away by the Kalpáki road. The latter contained bronze weapons and ornament and rock crystal and amber beads; some sherds of the second prehistoric phase were found in the vicinity. Dakares considers these burials to be of Mycenaean date—a discovery of considerable interest for the archaeology of the Epeiros.

The excavation of the cemetery at *Vergina* in Western Macedonia has been continued by M. Andronikos, five more mounds being excavated and yielding pithos burials and many handmade vases, with bronze and iron objects similar to those discovered in the preceding year. It is thus confirmed that the entire cemetery is of the early Iron Age; the oldest mounds are in the north part. Protogeometric sherds have also been found. In two of the mounds intrusive Hellenistic burials were found, one consisting of a chamber 3 m. long with a low bench and a shallow painted frieze; it thus appears that the mounds were re-used in Hellenistic times. Among the most interesting finds is an amphora with dichrome decoration of bands and stylised branches, similar to one from Olynthos, and thus suggesting a date in the second half of the sixth century for the mound from which it came. Andronikos supposes that the position of the early settlement is that of the Hellenistic one north of the known palace of Palatitsa. Tombs of Macedonian type, some with Doric façades and painted decoration, have been disclosed in quarrying at *Áno Kopanós* in the cemetery of the ancient Kition. Ph. Petsas reports that with the lowering of the water level in *Lake Ostrvo* a grave circle of orthostates, with a diameter of 11.50 m., was revealed at *Árnisia*; it includes some ten cist graves, while other graves can be distinguished outside the circle. These seem to belong to the prehistoric cemetery previously noted thereabouts.

At *Salonica* the museum in the Yeni Dzami was opened to visitors in April. The vestibule contains sculptures and architectural pieces, mainly of archaic and classical date. The main hall (Fig. 11) is occupied by copies of classical statues and Hellenistic and Roman works down to the time of Theodosius the Great, including the most notable new discoveries. A selection of vases and terracottas is displayed in two show-cases. Sarcophagi and other objects are exhibited in the yard. Work is continuing on the upper floor. Other acquisitions include the lower part of a fifth-century B.C. Ionic column found at the Syndrivani Square, and gravestones of Roman date—among the

latter one of Philomousos and Thymele found near the Arch of Galerius, a grave relief of a woman named Hoplis with a frontal bust of the dead, and a marble altar of C. Furius Hermias with a relief of a young man in the guise of Hermes, equipped with sandals, caduceus, and club. Kh. Makaronas reports that the Arch of Galerius has been cleaned, repaired, and cleared of later accretions, and that the 'Via Egnatia', now lowered to the Roman level in this sector, has been diverted south of the Arch of Galerius. Walls of the time of the tetrarchy, attributable to the Palace of Galerius, have been revealed in the area SW of the arch, together with architectural remains in the vicinity of the octagon. Another late Roman vaulted tomb with four cists has come to light by the Leoforos Stratou; it had an enclosed cult area above, with a hole in the vault for the passage of libations. More Roman graves and a carved marble sarcophagus with an Eros and garlands have been discovered near the White Tower. From classical tombs at Néa Mekhanióna on the south a bronze hydria and a black figure oenochoe with bulls have been recovered.

Petsas reports that at Toúmba in the nome of *Kilkis* a large vaulted tomb of Macedonian type has been discovered, with carved monolith jambs and a funerary couch; five undisturbed burials, dated by coins of Theodosius I and Honorius, seem to belong to a subsequent period of re-use. Two funerary reliefs with female busts and a gravestone of the early second century after Christ have been recovered at Pyrgadíkia at the head of the *Singitic Gulf*; two further inscribed stelai, one of A.D. 220



FIG. 11.—SALONICA: MAIN HALL OF THE MUSEUM.

and the other of a citizen of Acanthus, have been recovered at Planà in the same neighbourhood. At *Amphipolis* D. Lazarides has excavated at various points in the ancient cemetery and uncovered twenty-five graves of different types, the majority being of the Roman period. The most interesting was a cist grave with paintings of birds and floral ornaments on the inside; it contained a gold wreath, iron weapons, and various offerings of terracotta, and probably belongs to the second or first century B.C. Among the other finds here are inscribed grave stelai and statuettes, among which are no less than twenty-six of Aphrodite with a dolphin. Lazarides has also recovered from the vicinity of *Amphipolis* a gold diadem with two lyres in relief, a pair of gold medallions (one with a relief head in three-quarter view), some fourth-century red figure vases, and an early Hellenistic silver tetrobol of Histiaca.

In the vicinity of *Serres* Lazarides reports chance discoveries, which include a tomb with a pedimental relief stele of a Thracian family bearing a date in the month Gorpaios A.D. 132, and at Mési Rodópis a fourth-century B.C. relief of a seated woman. At *Stavroupolis* in the region of Xánthi Makaronas has cleared the vaulted tomb discovered a couple of years ago; inside the chamber were found the two leaves of the marble door, similar to those of Langada, Vergina, and the Heroon of Kalydon. The chamber contained two handsome marble funerary couches with double pillows at either end; the feet of the couches were painted in encaustic like the throne in Rhomaïos' tomb at Vergina. The chamber is over 3 m. square, and is peculiar in having a vaulted 'dromos' nearly 5 m. long. The whole construction is in local marbles; and the interior had no coat of plaster, the painting being done directly on the marble surface—a treatment hitherto unknown in Macedonian

tombs. The tomb had been robbed, and only some fragmentary figurines were found; Makaronas dates them to the first half of the second century B.C.

THE ISLANDS

In *Thasos* the French School has completed the excavation of the agora and rebuilt four of the Doric stoa columns. Further excavation of the Demetriades property reveals occupation from archaic to Byzantine times. Of the handsome archaic polygonal walls in local marble, some standing 2.50 m. high, the oldest are dated by associated pottery to the early sixth century. Between the ancient commercial harbour and the Dionysion a shop area in use from the sixth century B.C. to Byzantine times was sounded. The triple arch of Caracalla has been restudied. Of local marble, it stands on a socle 16.27×2.07 m. and four piers of different size and orientation. Details and dimensions of its entablature were determined. On its east side the dedication on the architrave naming Caracalla, Julia Domna, and Septimius Severus dates the arch between A.D. 213 and 217. On the south the arch is met by a marble wall running from the direction of the temple of Herakles. Excavation of the Hellenistic-Roman cemetery revealed an oblong funerary building, and at its side fragments of relief sculpture and a female statue of the early Hellenistic period. Near by a small vase was found to contain 134 silver and bronze coins of Thasos, Khalkedon, and Byzantium.

In *Samothrace* the excavations under the direction of K. Lehmann were concentrated on the area adjacent to the east side of the New Temple, the early Hellenistic Doric marble building that dominates the south part of the sanctuary. This now presents itself in its entirety so far as it is preserved. The bedding of a road descending from the direction of the Ptolemaion to the south end of the sanctuary along a polygonal terrace wall, which formed its boundary to the south and SE of the New Temple, was uncovered. East of the north part of the cella of the New Temple, outside its foundations and near to them, was found an unusual group of stones. In the centre there is a square limestone block with a deep central hole made for the insertion of a tall vertical object, assumed to have been a monumental torch. To the north and south this stone is flanked by other stones at a distance of about half a metre. At the south a roughly cut marble block was found, with heavy traces of wear on its surface, which is on a level considerably deeper than that of the Hellenistic temple; and at the same level its northern counterpart is in situ beneath later coverings. Here the state of preservation shows that the early marble blocks were covered by earth at a later period and that a second stepping-stone, with a surface 0.14 m. above that of the earlier period but still 0.40 m. beneath the upper edge of the foundation of the Hellenistic temple, was embedded in this earth. In a third period this upper stone was in turn covered by a floor evidently intended to support a second successor of the original stone and having a surface at the level of the building. At the same time both stone settings were enclosed by frames made of large roof tiles stuck sideways into the ground. There are then two sacred stepping-stones twice renewed on higher levels which flank a torch and are evidently of ritual significance. It is assumed that the three periods of these stones correspond to the three major building periods of the temple, the first probably belonging to its original archaic state. Analogous stones as stands for the accuser and accused in the Court of the Arciopagos and the witness stones in other Attic courts, with the fact that votes of allegiance and pledges to secrecy were common in mystery initiation, suggest that the stones in Samothrace were used for a kind of sacred trial connected with initiation into the higher degree, the *epopteia*, which took place, as had been concluded from evidence previously obtained, in this building.

To the east of the New Temple, in a fill of the Roman period near the SE corner of the building, one large piece and numerous smaller fragments of the central floral akroterion of the rear façade were found. The akroterion in Vienna found in this spot eighty years ago by the Austrian excavators was a Roman substitute for this Hellenistic original. In the course of excavation in the north part of the sanctuary in front of the archaic initiation hall (the Anaktoron) and to the NW of the rotunda of Queen Arsinoë a massive archaic terrace wall has been uncovered; it was a retaining wall against the river in connection with the original building of the Anaktoron about 500 B.C., and runs from SW to NE oblique to the orientation of the building and evidently following the original course of the river. At the north it abuts on the façade foundation of the Anaktoron at a point just north of the northernmost of its three doors. Sporadic finds include terracottas and a gem with the image of the Anatolian 'Kybebe' type. The goddess extends her arms, from which fillets hang down or are fastened to the ground, and wears a patterned garment recalling the Ephesian Artemis; she has parted hair and a thin high polos. Surface finds near the New Temple included a curious group of flat omphalos-shaped marble objects of small size and possibly ritual purpose. A heavy iron finger ring recalls Lucretius' allusion to Samothracian iron pieces which he saw used for experiments with magnetic stone and of Pliny's reference to gilded Samothracian iron rings worn even by slaves, presumably symbols of initiation which could be worn by free men and slaves alike. A fourth-century B.C. honorary decree seems to be the earliest preserved Greek stone inscription of certain Samothracian origin. It contains such forms as τᾱς πόλιος τᾱς Σαμοθράκων, and ἐοντέσσι πρ[...], and is evidently in the Aeolic dialect. Lehmann suggests it may be evidence of an Aeolic origin for the Samothracian Greek settlers, in contradiction to the stories of a Greek colony from Samos. A fragment of a Thasian marble block from a large base or altar preserves part of a dedication to a

king in monumental early Hellenistic letters, perhaps from the altar to King Lysimachus known from inscriptions. Other fragmentary Greek and Latin catalogues of mystae and epoptae are reported. Work of conservation includes the clearing of the eastern part of the temenos and the restoration of its missing contours by tracing the outline with reset ancient foundation blocks and the filling of the interior terrace to a regular level. The museum building has been extended by an added exhibition and storage wing. In *Lemnos* B. Brea has collected the material for the publication of the prehistoric settlement of Poliochni.

In *Chios* town by H. Anárgyroi N. Kondoleon has uncovered part of an Early Christian basilica. In its apse were found two tombs built of ancient blocks, one of which bore part of a late-third-century B.C. honorary decree for a man who was responsible for the dedication in the gymnasium of a history of the first beginnings of Rome, including μῦθοι πρὸς δόξαν Ῥωμαίων.

A. P. Stephanou reports a new inscription from Chios town preserving an epitome of part of

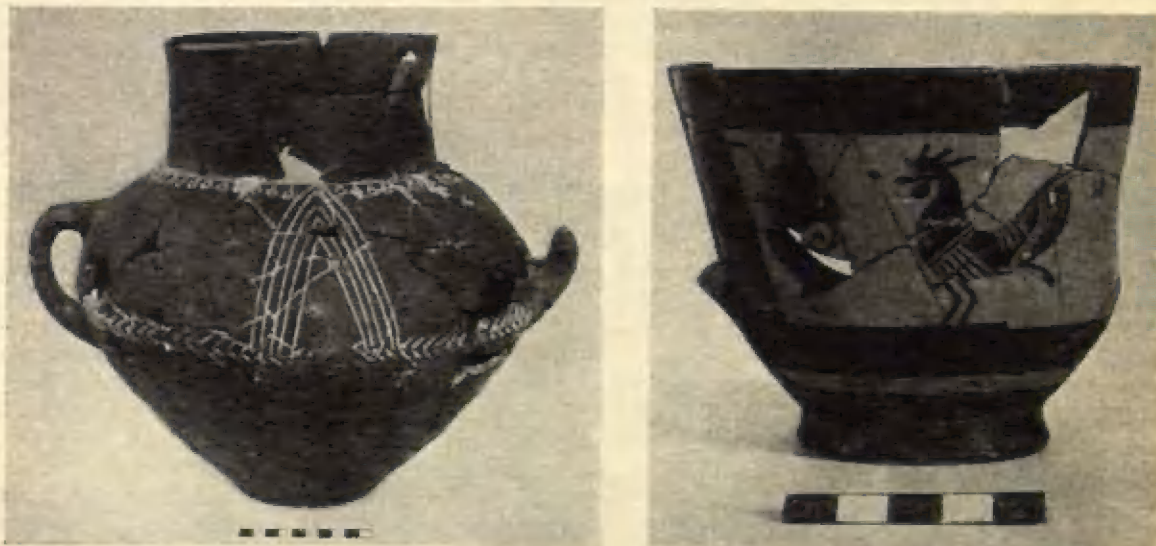


FIG. 12.—CHIOS, EMPORIÒ: (a) EARLY BRONZE AGE VASE; (b) BLACK FIGURE KANTHAROS.

the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* II 603–670). The first line is badly effaced, but in the following he confidently restores

- Πολύξεινος Ἡλεῖος
ναῦς ἐξήκοντα.
Μέγης Δουλιχίεϋς
5 ναῦς τεσσαράκοντα.
Ὀδυσσεὺς Ἰθακὸς ναῦς δεκαδύο
Θάας Αἰτωλὸς ναῦς
τεσσαράκοντα.
Ἰδομενεὺς Μηριόνης Κρήτες
10 ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα.
Τληπόλεμος Ῥόδιος
ναῦς ἑννέα.

Stephanou dates the inscription to the third century B.C., suggesting that it is part of a version for use in schools. Variations in details from the accepted text of the Catalogue and the place of origin make the stone particularly interesting and important. Building operations in the town south of Vounáki uncovered a votive deposit from a Demeter sanctuary. The dedications include miniature vases, figurines, a loom-weight inscribed with a dedication to Demeter, and Chian kernoí dating from Hellenistic times and earlier. Archaic tombs containing vases and figurines are reported from Lithi and Phytà.

The excavations begun in 1952 by the British School on behalf of the Chios Society of Great Britain at *Emporiò* in South Chios were continued during June and July of this year under the direction of M. S. F. Hood and with the assistance of J. Boardman. New trenches were opened in the Early Bronze Age settlement on the slopes below the acropolis which projects into the sea on the south side of the harbour. These have been carried down in places to a depth of 5 m. through successive levels of occupation without reaching the bottom. The houses have rectangular rooms with walls built of rough rubble, as at Therml in Lesbos. A level of destruction by burning yielded many complete or nearly complete vases on or above floors of houses. Several of the vases have rich incised decoration, the incisions often being filled with white paste (one Fig. 12a). A section of

town wall 5 m. thick belonging to an early phase in the history of the settlement has been uncovered. At its widest extent the Early Bronze Age settlement occupied a large area, including the acropolis itself, as well as the slopes below and the south shore of the harbour. No undisturbed levels of the Middle or Late Bronze Age have been found, but sherds of matt-painted Middle Bronze Age and of 'Mycenaean' Late Bronze Age pottery (the first recorded from Chios) indicate continuity of occupation into those times.

Walls visible on the acropolis before excavation proved to belong to a late Roman fortress with a double line of ramparts on the landward side. The thin outer rampart was evidently in the nature of a terrace wall supporting a platform paved with large beach pebbles, above which rose the main wall 2 m. wide. From the main inner wall projected three rectangular towers of varying size; the two larger, at any rate, of these towers were hollow, with rooms inside them. The main gate of the fortress faced the harbour on the north, but a subsidiary gate gave access to the beach on the south side of the acropolis. An area inside the fortress was cleared and revealed a gravel-paved street running parallel to the main wall, with rooms or buildings on each side. From the evidence of coins found on the floors it appears that the fortress was abandoned during the third quarter of the seventh century, the period of the great Arab sea invasion culminating in the first siege of Constantinople (A.D. 664-8). The largest of the three towers of the fortress had been destroyed by fire, and from the room inside it were recovered a number of pithoi and amphorae. Some of these amphorae were cylindrical, others more or less globular with wavy combed decoration round the shoulder.



FIG. 13.—CHIOS, EMPORIÒ: TEMPLE AREA.

These and other vases from the buildings inside the fortress provide interesting new evidence and dating for the pottery of the period.

A curved piece of walling in a field below the acropolis and just beyond the limits of the Early Bronze Age settlement proved to belong to a circular baptistery with a cruciform font sunk below the level of the floor. The font was lined with marble, and the walls of the baptistery had been decorated with painted plaster imitating variegated red-and-green marble slabs. The baptistery was attached to the SW corner of a large basilica church with apse and side aisles. Mosaic paving with simple geometric designs in five or six colours was identified in the narthex and north aisle. Baptistery and basilica were presumably destroyed together with the fortress during the seventh century. Fragments of life-sized marble statues from the area of the basilica suggest the presence of some large public building or villa here before the church was built. A very late inscription found built into the floor of the modern church describes the construction of a ναός doubtless referring to the early Christian basilica, 'on the ruins of the ancient city of Emporeios'. If Emporiò was already called by that name in antiquity it seems probable that it was the emporium or export centre for the mastic gum peculiar to this south part of Chios, where it is still largely grown. That mastic was already a staple product of the island by Roman times is clear from ancient writers, and Pliny speaking of mastic in general says: 'laudatissima autem Chia candida'.

Observation of terrace walling on the slopes of Mount Prophetes Elias above Emporiò led to the discovery of a hitherto unknown ancient city. The main road of the city is clearly visible leading up to the Temple area in a conspicuous position on a saddle of the mountain (Fig. 13). The plan of the Temple with its altars was apparent on the surface before excavation. The history of the sanctuary goes back into the seventh century B.C. when there seems to have been nothing but a 'basis', probably a stand for offerings, in the open air. The Temple itself, a simple two-roomed

building, measuring about 10 × 6 m. outside with the entrance on the east, dates from the sixth century. It is built with large squared blocks of the white stone of the mountain, and the walls with their foundations are standing a full three courses to a height of nearly a metre above the floor. The inner room or cella enclosed the earlier 'basis' or stand for offerings, by the side of which was placed a low base evidently intended to support a cult statue. Outside the Temple a few metres to the north was a hollow 'bothros'-type altar, built of squared blocks and apparently contemporary with the Temple. A second altar was added in front of the entrance of the Temple on the east in or after the fourth century B.C. About this time alterations were also made within the Temple, and the original 'basis' was incorporated in a larger platform for offerings which filled the whole NW corner of the cella.

From the Temple were recovered a large number of votives, mostly vases and clay figurines. Nearly all the pottery found in the Temple is of Chian manufacture, and includes many shapes hitherto unknown. Of the few imported pieces most appear to be East Greek, and there is little recognisably from the mainland of Greece. The earliest pottery, dating from about 600 B.C., is of 'Naucratic' fabric, and the shapes include chalices—some fragments figuring sphinxes—and a votive plate showing part of a standing female figure armed with spear and shield and intended no doubt to represent the goddess Athena, to whom perhaps the Temple was dedicated. A late-sixth century kantharos, unique in shape and style of decoration, is painted in black figure with a cock (Fig. 12b). An interesting series of thymiateria with pierced lids may date from the fifth century. The pottery from the last period of the Temple, after the construction of the second altar, consists mainly of simple goblets reminiscent of the archaic 'Naucratic' or Chian chalice. At all periods wine amphorae seem to have formed part of the dedications.

Fragments of two female statuettes, one of limestone the other of white island marble, belong to the sixth century. The latter in particular is of fine Ionian, probably Chian, workmanship. Other finds from the Temple include the upper part of a lyre player in faience, and a group of nine little lead griffin protomes, about 0.10 m. high, of fine workmanship and dating from the sixth century (Pl. IX. 2). The griffins have spike attachments, evidently for fastening them to a solid structure or mass. It has been suggested that they might have encircled the head of a wooden cult statue of the goddess which stood on the base in the cella.

Continued excavation at Emporiò is planned this year, and it is hoped to undertake soundings at a site on the NE coast of the island identified from air photographs and confirmed by ground survey, probably that of Delphinion captured and fortified by the Athenians after the revolt of Chios during the Peloponnesian War.

At the Heraion on *Samos* E. Buschor resumed exploration of the temple and the area to the north. Scanty Late Neolithic pottery was recovered, but no building traces. NW of the temple the prehistoric course of the Imbrasos was determined; it apparently ran SE under the temple. A gravel bed and embankment were found by the NW corner of the Rhoikos temple, near it a megaron in which three building periods were observed, a cistern, and an open place. Two phases of buildings and some child burials in the area all seem to be of the period of Troy IV and V, the early second millennium. About 40 m. to the SE under the prothesis of the great temple a building of the same date previously discovered has been further excavated. The massive walls with rectangular corners are interrupted by narrow slits through their thicknesses. Over the Bronze Age levels between the temple and the North Stoa isolated traces of the fill of the Rhoikos period yielded pottery and other finds of the seventh century.

On *Delos* cleaning below the floor of Sarapieion C yielded a group of amphora handles of a type hitherto unknown on the island; they are of the mid-second century B.C. and give a terminal date for the pavement. Final work on the Oikos of the Naxians with a view to publication brought to light new fragments of gorgoneion antefixes and Naxian marble tiles, one bearing as builders' placing mark the letter koppa. Cousteau's under-water survey of the coast revealed no ancient wrecks, but part of an anchor over 1 m. long was recovered. Miss V. Grace has completed the arrangement of the stamped amphora handles in Delos museum.

Kondoleon continued excavation for the Archaeological Society on *Tenos* by Xóbourgo. The building tentatively identified last year as a Thesmophorion has been cleared (Pl. VIII. 1). The identity seems now certain, although no inscriptions have come to light. In the western part of the sanctuary a Gallery of Pithoi was uncovered after last year's discovery of two pithoi in situ. One has been restored nearly complete; it figures in relief on the neck winged figures with another larger winged woman seated in the midst. Successive zones on the body figured horses, lions attacking horses and a hero fighting a lion, and a procession of chariots and hoplites (Pl. VIII. 2). In another part of the sanctuary a larger relief pithos fragment was found figuring several zones of men and women dancing to the music of a double flute and on the neck a man facing, perhaps greeting, a woman. Fragments of another pithos preserve continuous meander bands. The sanctuary underwent various architectural changes in the fifth century. A strong wall visible above the sanctuary is confirmed as part of the city wall; behind it was found the lower part of a relief pithos with chariots in its lowest zone and hoplites and tripods preserved in fragments from the upper part. Other important pithos fragments figure a procession of women wearing poloi, winged horses, etc.

On *Kimolos* Kondoleon in a small private excavation investigated the known gravefield at *Límni* (*Helleniká*) on the west coast of the island (Fig. 14). The excavated tombs were of the Geometric period, and of the fifth century and later. The latter had for the most part been plundered in antiquity, but the Geometric tombs were untouched and rich in offerings. They were cut in the rock beside the sea, and each contained a number of cremation burials. From the twenty-two Geometric tombs were recovered over 200 vases, which make one of the richest collections of vases from tombs in the Cyclades. In a modern wall nearby was found a grave stele, the upper part of which bears in low relief the breasts and hands of a woman. The representation of the head is not clear, and the lower part was not decorated, though it may have been painted. It cannot be dated later than the seventh century B.C. In the wall of a private house in the *Khóra* of *Keos* has been recovered a fragment of a white marble relief frieze figuring a seated and helmeted *Athena*; Kondoleon dates it to the last quarter of the sixth century.

Kh. Khristou reports that various architectural pieces of Roman date, inscriptions, and vases found in the course of work on the new power station at *Alivéri* in *Euboea* have been transferred to a temporary collection in the gymnasium there.

In *Kerkyra* B. Kallipolites has prepared a wing of the Old Palace buildings as an archaeological museum, in one gallery of which architectural exhibits from the island and fictile revetments from the *Artemis* temple are on view. The *Gorgon Pediment* remains for the time in a storeroom, but other antiquities are accessible to students, and among objects newly mended for exhibition is a black glaze Lakonian krater of the early fifth century. A group of Hellenistic graves 4 km. from the



FIG. 14.—KIMOLOS: (a) CEMETERY AT LÍMNI; (b) GEOMETRIC TOMB.

town at *Kanália* was excavated. Triple laurel leaves in gold foil were found by the heads of some bodies, and by another burial an inscribed stele was found in situ.

After the tragic succession of earthquakes in the Ionian Islands last summer Kallipolites rescued part of the antiquities in the ruined museum of *Kephallenia* and housed them in a hut. They include the vases of the Late Mycenaean collection and the small finds from Goekoop's excavations, but other losses are heavy. Miss S. Benton proceeded to *Ithaca* at the earliest opportunity, and in conjunction with Kallipolites removed the surviving finds from the ruined *Vathy* museum to a building on the other side of the harbour: only one show-case was a total loss. The contents of the *Stavrós* museum, which has sustained no serious damage, have been transferred to the village library. M. Khatzidakis recovered about 150 icons from the destroyed museum in *Zakynthos*, but reports that fifty of the finest have perished. Of the numerous churches of the Venetian period three can be restored. Some hundreds of icons have been recovered from the churches; carved altar screens have been salvaged, and some forty square metres of late Byzantine frescoes—some not hitherto known.

On behalf of the Archaeological Society and the General Direction of the Dodecanese I. Kondes has brought to light part of the ancient fortification of the great harbour of *Rhodes* with a circular tower on the NE edge of the mediaeval city, and continued his excavation of the stoa on the north of the acropolis. Remains of Hellenistic houses have been investigated in the city. Near *Malóna* various finds and two inscriptions recording sacred laws suggest the proximity of a sanctuary of *Dionysos*. Near the shrine of *Apollo Erethimios* has been found a mid-third century bronze statuette of *Zeus*. In the town of *Kálymnos* a tomb of the same date containing gold ornaments came to light. In the museum of *Kos* the collection of sculpture of the archaic to Roman periods is now exhibited. The museum in the mediaeval *Kastro* of the city is being prepared for the display of classical and Byzantine architectural finds, inscriptions, and the reliefs from the Hellenistic altar of *Dionysos*. Work of restoration of the Early Christian and mediaeval antiquities of *Rhodes*, *Kos*, and *Astypalaia* and other islands is also reported.

CRETE

The year 1953 has been no less successful than the preceding one. In the *Herakleion* Museum capacious underground magazines have been constructed, and the new wing with eight well-lit galleries is being completed. The museum will thus have twenty galleries, of which twelve will be used for public exhibition and eight for the collections for study; the new show-cases are now largely in use, and the old ones have been remodelled and are being used for the study collections. The *Prinias* sculptures have been reconstituted, and the *Apollinaris* mosaic has been brought in from *Knossos* and relaid. The Historical Museum, which contains the Byzantine and mediaeval collection of the *Herakleion* Museum as well as a first-class history and folklore exhibition, is completed and open to the public. Dr. N. Platon is to be heartily congratulated on the progress made in *Herakleion*, as also on widespread repairs and improvements in the smaller museums of *Crete* and on the archaeological sites; in the course of restorations at *Tylissos* chronological points and the peculiar lavatory system have been elucidated and new plans made for the final publication. The Venetian harbour fort at *Herakleion* has been restored, and Platon has been indefatigable in his endeavours to save the later mediaeval monuments of the town from extinction.

St. Alexiou has continued the excavation begun in 1951 at *Katsambà* with funds from the Archaeological Society. In the Late Minoan cemetery on the west bank of the *Kairatos* four more rock-cut chamber tombs have been dug. The first, with a horseshoe-shaped chamber, had already been looted in antiquity; besides some cups it contained a piece of blue-painted wood, no doubt from a larnax, and a shark's tooth. The second tomb had a low bench in the interior, on which lay a skeleton; the chamber also contained a second skeleton and vases, which include a Palace Style amphora, and there were seats and a niche in the dromos. A third tomb had a square chamber, on either side of which was a bench with a skeleton oriented east; vases, including three Palace Style amphorae, and bronze implements were found in it; here also the dromos had seats. The last tomb proved to be larger and more handsome, with a finely worked façade. It contained three dead in a contracted position inside wooden larnakes, one of which shows white colour. The pottery includes an exceptionally fine group of Palace Style vases. In the SE corner of the chamber was a large three-handled amphora with unusual painted decoration consisting of boar's-tooth helmets with a crest and cheek-pieces. In the middle of the chamber was a marvellous jug decorated with birds and fishes, two burners, two unusually large alabastra, and a black tripod vase. At the back was a large jug with ivy and papyrus patterns and a three-handled Palace Style amphora with octopus decoration. The larnakes also contained some vases.

Alexiou has also discovered extensive traces of neolithic settlement on the height above, and excavated a house and a rock shelter with neolithic burials. The former is a large rectangular building with rough stone walls divided into a number of smaller rooms. Besides stone equipment and implements much handsome incised pottery came to light, together with some barbotine ware. At *Vitsilià* a neolithic rock shelter has been discovered and is to be investigated.

At *Knossos* two more large rock-cut tombs were excavated by M. S. F. Hood in the Middle Minoan cemetery at *Ailià* on the slopes east of the *Kairatos*, close by the stairway and the large tomb cleared in 1951. The earlier of these tombs was circular, with a diameter of 6-7 m., closed by a massive stone wall on the west (entrance) side, with another wall dividing it into two compartments down the middle. It contained upwards of fifty burials in position, mostly inside pithoi (one shown Fig. 15*b*). Seals and pottery place this tomb within the limits of M.M. II. The second tomb, with three compartments divided by stone walls, contained burials in larnakes (Fig. 15*a*). From it, and especially from the larnakes, came a large number of small finds and six sealstones, including a scarab in rock crystal, and a steatite cylinder with spiral decoration, which is the earliest cylinder seal of undoubtedly Minoan manufacture recorded from *Crete*. A lentoid of pale chalcedony has a fine engraved scene of a wounded bull with a spear sticking in its back. Other finds from this tomb were a silver pendant in the shape of a squatting man, a plain gold finger-ring, and a gold ring with a lily design on the bezel. There were also many bronze rings, ear-rings, pins and bracelets, and beads of amethyst, rock crystal, lapis lazuli, and cornelian. Objects and pottery date the tomb to M.M. III. A rock cutting in a field east of the *Kairatos* opposite the Temple Tomb was investigated; it may be a plundered Minoan shaft grave. A limestone 'Double Axe Stand' was found high in the fill.

On the Sanatorium site on the south side of *Knossos* a group of late Roman tombs was excavated by J. M. Cook in June, and in September Hood uncovered mosaics, which seem to indicate the presence of an Early Christian basilica in the same vicinity. Scattered antiquities and inscriptions have also been brought in from the Sanatorium area. A small cremation tomb of the Geometric period was brought to light in field works near the main road by the Sanatorium; about 20 vases from it have been reconstructed complete, and other finds include a gold pin and a bead of gold and amber. Several poor Roman graves have also been exposed at the same point, together with blocks from a large Roman built tomb. A fragment of a Late Minoan bath or larnax found on the surface immediately west of Hogarth's houses has a thin straight column in low relief, with what appears

to be spiral fluting indicated in paint (Fig. 15c). A map of the Knossos area on a scale of 1 : 2,500 has been completed by Mr. D. Smollett.

Road widening at H. Ioánnis between Knossos and Herakleion cut into a L.M. II 'Warrior's Grave', with traces of a blue-painted wooden coffin, and a large array of bronze weapons, including a cruciform-hilted sword with ivory pommel and a spearhead over half a metre long. The tomb was cleared by Hood. With the weapons were two fine sealstones, a lentoid of pale banded agate engraved with a lion devouring a bull, and an amygdaloid of black-speckled agate with a lion couchant. The only clay vase from the tomb was a lamp, but by the side of the warrior stood a gold cup, the first to be recorded from Crete (Pl. IX. 4). This is made from a single piece of gold, and has a rim diameter of 0.11 m. In shape it resembles the gold cup from the tholos tomb at Marathon, and bronze and silver cups from Knossos and Mycenae; but it is richly decorated in repoussé with running spirals set above arcades, exactly like the design on a silver jug from Shaft Grave V at Mycenae.

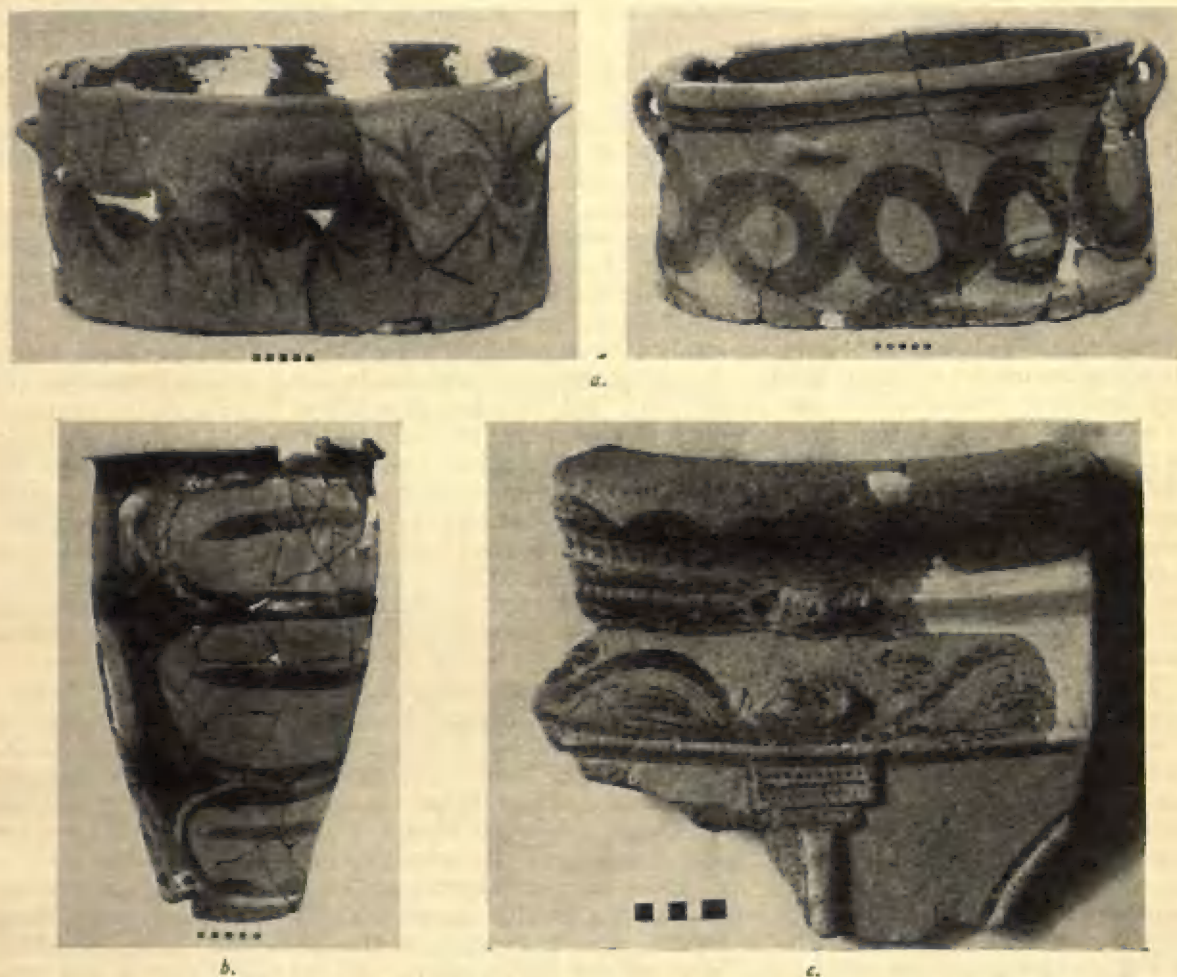


FIG. 15.—KNOSSOS: (a), (b) LARNAKES AND PITHOS FROM MIDDLE MINOAN CEMETERY; (c) LARNAX FRAGMENT.

By the main road at H. Ioánnis J. Boardman cleared a small Protogeometric tomb and the side chamber to the dromos of another which had been dug away during the war. Finds included pottery, an iron dagger, and bronze fibulae. The graves form part of a Protogeometric cemetery which was investigated before the war.

Prof. Sp. Marinatos has extended his excavation in the vicinity of the L.M. I mansion at *Vathy-petro*, and located the potter's kiln. The complex, with a paved yard, measures 15 × 30 m. Many small fired parallel channels with a coating of mud plaster have been discovered, and also a broad wall believed to be that of the kiln itself. The French School has completed the exploration of the houses in Quarter E at *Mália*. On the south of House Zβ and under the house itself a wall of irregular masonry 1.60 m. thick has been cleared; it dates from the first period of the Palace, and probably continued on the other side of the east-west street in this sector. The street itself continued eastwards, flanked by pavement, for a hundred metres to a little hill where some walls and a three-room house have been noted; the town thus stretched as far as the present chapel of H. Nikolaos. Another street with a pavement of sets or cobbles and a raised footway, flanked by walls a metre high, has been cleared on the east. On its south side was a house of the second period, which was

violently destroyed; it had a paved court with walls in fine masonry, which was entered over an ironstone threshold from the street, while a second threshold gave access to another room at the back. Farther east has been found a more modest house with a stuccoed room containing a column base and a block or altar—an arrangement found in other houses at Mália. A fragment of a vase decorated with nautilus, murex, and shell pattern in relief came to light in a deposit of M.M. IIb, thus showing that the marine style so familiar at Phaistos occurs at Mália also.

At *Krītsā* on the edge of the Lasīthi Platon has dug two vaulted Protogeometric tombs, apparently part of a larger cemetery, and discovered bronze ornaments, iron instruments, and vases; the dromos of one tomb contained a jug and numerous small cups for libations to the dead. An investigation by Platon and Dr. Levi of the site of the ancient city of *Lyttos* revealed the presence of important buildings and a Christian basilica. On the site of the ancient agora inscribed bases came to light in addition to those with honorific inscriptions to Roman emperors previously discovered by Levi; two funerary inscriptions have also been collected. A second-century B.C. grave at *H. Nikólaos* produced a series of interesting female figurines with fine drapery and hair styles, together with unguentaries and other vases.

Traces of Minoan buildings have come to light in *Siteia*; an intact Middle Minoan figurine contemporary with those from Piskokéfalo came to light here. A cave-like tomb of M.M. IIIa date and L.M. III graves have also been found. Platon has continued the excavation of the Minoan villa on the road to Piskokéfalo, and uncovered the whole façade, which is built of courses of huge blocks to withstand the floods of the stream which flows past it. The long stairway at the north end leading up to the megaron is flanked by a room that projects like a bastion from the façade. Beyond the magazine uncovered last year another large room has been discovered, thus bringing the total number of rooms on the lower floor up to five. A second long stairway of thirty steps, which apparently formed the southern limit of the villa, has been uncovered; it had two flights, of which the upper one is rock-cut, and like the staircase on the north side it seems to have led directly to the stream. Exactly corresponding to the other stairway, it had a porter's box formed of two inter-connecting rooms on different levels. Some apartments have also been excavated farther up the slope, including two semi-basement rooms connected by a low door whose lintel is still in position. The main rooms seem to have been on the upper floor and approached by a small narrow staircase. The pottery is L.M. I. A second cave-like tomb has been found near Piskokéfalo; it contained ten burials accompanied by vases, of which about eighty have been recovered intact; one of the door jambs was found to be a stone stool taken from a Minoan building. At *Praisos* two tombs have been excavated; though looted in antiquity, they produced much interesting pottery, including Orientalising, and iron spearheads. At *Adrómyloi* near Siteia various remains have been noted, including a cemetery with Protogeometric and Hellenic graves; and at *Ravdià Digeni* an ancient quarry has been discovered; it is apparently of archaic date, and contains huge unfluted column shafts, capitals, pillars, and other blocks.

The Italian School under Dr. D. Levi has continued work at *Phaistos*, gradually disengaging a new and imposing wing of the Palace on the SE of the Theatral Area, and bringing further light on the little known Middle Minoan or Kamares phases of the Palace. On the east of Room XLIX, which was explored in past seasons, another room (L) has been disclosed; this room confirms previous observations of the successive building and destruction phases, as also the existence in these phases of a primitive Palace rather than isolated buildings. Here also beneath the buildings of the third and last stage—the only one hitherto known—of the primitive Palace an immense mass of stone-hard cement was encountered, impinging on a damaged floor level marked by a handsome pavement of alabaster gypsum; this pavement originally extended as far as a bench or platform with stuccoed sides and laid slabs on top, which was backed against the north wall. The north wall had a dado of fine alabaster slabs and blue painted stucco above. In the north part of this area, where the alabaster pavement had practically disappeared the floor rested on an earlier mass of fallen cement filling the long entrance corridor of the earliest phase of the Palace; this corridor has a beautiful pavement of white alabaster in perfect preservation. A small cupboard at this lowest level, found with its stucco complete, contained ten fine painted clay and stone vases. NW of Area L a sloping corridor has been uncovered, and another notable group of clay vases found.

An old sounding in Area XXVII has been enlarged, and it appears that in the second phase the later Areas XXVII and XXVIII formed a single room with a partition wall; among the finds here was an intact great pithos with lively polychrome decoration—perhaps the finest of this era yet discovered in Crete. The whole area was excavated down to the level of the first phase, and more than a hundred significant objects were found in situ on the floor. In the second level in Area LI a cupboard let into the wall and a stucco bench were uncovered, and more than a dozen magnificent large decorated vases were found intact here, together with capacious jars, a pedestal with polychrome and relief designs, a burner, an alabaster cup, and other objects; on the opposite side of the room was found a large cylindrical tankard containing dice or gaming pieces and a dozen little alabaster goblets. In the lowest level here a low stone bench or hearth was uncovered; on it were some vases containing ash or charcoal, including a boat-shaped grater; near the north wall were two stucco tables, whose original supports were of wood, standing about head high. More new pavement slabs

have been cut in the ancient gypsum quarries of H. Triáda for restorations in the Palace, and the floors of two rooms in the vicinity of the already restored lustral basin have been relaid; a cavity in the rock came to light under the pavement of Area LXXXIII, and was found to contain a ritual deposit of vases, including a fine glazed and decorated cup which offers a closer dating for the construction of this wing of the second Palace.

In Amári, in the vicinity of the ancient *Sybrita*, a series of poros slabs, with carved triglyphs above, has come to light in roadmaking; six of them bear proxeny decrees. In *Khaniá* a L.M. III chamber tomb has been opened; in the floor were three small pits containing the bones of eight or ten people; some interesting vases were also found there. A group of Protogeometric tombs, with a series of vases and iron weapons, instruments and ornament, has been excavated by Platon at *Módi* in the vicinity of *Khaniá*; the vases show a wide range of forms, and the tombs are of especial interest in view of the lack of Protogeometric in this region. Among other casual discoveries reported by Platon are a cache of bronze chisels and other implements, probably of L.M. I-II date, found at *Varváro*, a duck vase from *Nírou Kháni*, and a deposit of stone vases by the Early Minoan tholos A at *Plátanos* in the *Mesará*.

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THE British excavations at Mycenae in 1953 had the following main objectives: the further exploration of the Prehistoric Cemetery outside the Cyclopean walls to the west of the Lion Gate, the area south of the Perseia Krene where a fine wall of ashlar poros was discovered in 1952, the houses to the north and south of the House of the Oil Merchant, and further investigation of the Cyclopean Terrace Building. At the same time work was begun on the excavation of the area within the Acropolis between the South House and Tsountas' House. The excavations were supported by a research grant from the American Philosophical Society, with contributions from the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, the British Academy, the Bollingen Foundation, and the British School at Athens, under whose aegis the work was conducted.

In the Prehistoric Cemetery several tombs of the Middle Helladic period were discovered. On the northern edge of the cemetery an interesting group of graves was found, one of the latest Mycenaean period, L.H. IIIC, and two of the developed Geometric period. With the larger of the latter, a cist grave, nineteen vases were found which included undecorated vases of excellent fabric and a shallow bowl of 'Pic Ware' which demonstrate the contemporaneity of these styles. These vases, together with two others from a Proto-Geometric grave dug into the ruins of the House of Shields, form a series illustrating the gradual evolution of culture at Mycenae from the end of the Bronze Age into the Iron Age. They show that there was no sudden break in its development, but only a slow evolution as in Attica. The 'Dorian Invasion' was not a cultural revolution.

The ashlar wall of poros south of the Perseia Krene was found to be the supporting wall which held up the base of the mound of earth piled over the dome of the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra'. The rock drops on this, the east, side and so a revetment wall was here necessary. On the west, where the rock rises, no such wall was needed. It was found that a mound had also been piled over the dome of the 'Tomb of Aegisthus', which had been covered with a thick layer of yellowish clay. These mounds have a radius of twenty to twenty-five metres, and this agrees with the results obtained in 1939 about the corresponding mound over the Treasury of Atreus, which was also supported by a wall at its base and had a radius of about twenty-five metres.¹ Retaining walls of this type were noted by Stamatakes as having existed round the bases of the mounds which had originally covered the domes of the Lion Tomb² and the tholos tomb at the Argive Heraeum.³ Gell, in his *Itinerary* summarising his researches between 1801 and 1806, in his plan⁴ of Mycenae places a tumulus on the site of the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra' and remarks that it was 'either a tumulus or the covering of another chamber like the treasury'. At that date the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra' was not known. Neither Gell nor Leake saw it. According to Schliemann, the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra' was first excavated by Veli Pasha in 1820,⁵ but that is too late a date, because Veli Pasha was ruler of the Morea only from 1807 to 1812.⁶ His excavations at Mycenae must therefore have fallen between those dates. Schliemann quotes a Greek source giving the date as 1808,⁷ which may be correct. At all events, from 1802 onwards excavators like Lord Elgin's agents, Veli Pasha, and Lord Sligo were active at Mycenae removing what they could find either in the Treasury of Atreus or elsewhere. So it seems reasonable to assume that between 1807 and 1812 Veli Pasha attacked the tumulus over the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra' in the hope of finding a tomb, and so destroyed its dome. Its dromos was then unexcavated and still covered by the ruins of the Hellenistic theatre. Pausanias does not mention a theatre at Mycenae, but he was shown a site called the 'Tomb of Atreus'. It is probable that this was the mound over the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra'. An open bee-hive tomb would have been a treasury to Pausanias like the Treasury of Atreus and the Treasury of Minyas. A mound with a wall at its foot would have been to him a tomb, for he describes (VIII. 16. 3) the 'Tomb of Aepytus' in Arcadia, which Homer (*Iliad* II, 604) knew, as γῆς χῶμα οὐ μέγα λίθου κρηπίδι ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον, and he quite likely saw the poros wall at the eastern foot of the tumulus seen by Gell over the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra'. The identity of Gell's tumulus with the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra' seems certain, because the French *Expédition de Morée* in its plan of Mycenae,⁸ which much resembles Gell's, places on the site of his tumulus the excavated tholos of a beehive tomb.⁹ If this suggestion can be accepted, then we shall be justified in identifying Gell's tumulus as the mound covering the dome of the 'Tomb of Clytemnestra' and in believing this mound to have been pointed out to Pausanias as the 'Tomb of Atreus'. Such a mound would have resembled Pausanias' 'Tomb of Aepytus', and if in his time it was called the 'Tomb of Atreus' this identification would place all the monuments recorded by Pausanias (except the subterranean treasuries) in the area close to the Lion Gate. Then we shall have identified all the monuments of Mycenae mentioned by the traveller.

In the house north of the Oil Merchant's house a great number of carved ivories was found. Among these are several plaques with fine lions, including one showing a lion attacking a calf. These lion plaques may have decorated a small casket. There is the head of a Mycenaean warrior wearing a boar's-tusk helmet like those previously known at Spata and Mycenae¹⁰ and some flat

plaques with similar warriors' heads. Among the small decorative ivory inlays probably intended for furniture there is almost every known Mycenaean decorative pattern, but most noticeable is the great number of model figure-of-eight shields in ivory of all sizes, from which it is proposed to call this house The House of Shields. With these ivories were five splendid stone vases, three unbroken (Pl. Xc), and two partially recomposed. There are also fragments of at least five others. One fragment of white stone bears shallow drilled sinkings in its surface for the insertion of inlays. Several pieces of such inlay, both in crystal and in variegated stones, were found. There is also part of an Egyptian alabaster vase of 18th Dynasty date and some fragments of polychrome faience vases which are probably of Syrian or Phoenician origin.

In the house to the south of the Oil Merchant's house, which was a basement house, there was in one room in the basement a store of vases. The kitchen ware and painted vases were against one wall, and the unpainted drinking-cups and bowls against another wall. In several rooms were many carved ivories. These, like those in the House of Shields, had probably once decorated furniture and wooden chests and caskets in the living and bedrooms on the upper story, which had collapsed and fallen into the basement when the house was destroyed by fire. The finest ivory is a plaque (Pl. Xa) with a pair of sphinxes in a heraldic attitude similar to that of the lions on the Lion Gate with their fore paws resting on the capital of a fluted column. There are three other plaques with sphinxes, and it is proposed therefore to call this house The House of Sphinxes. Other ivories include a plaque with argonaut friezes, and two with the spiral and lotus pattern so well known from the Orchomenos ceiling and Mycenaean frescoes. The decorative inlays include most of the well-known Mycenaean decorative patterns, but there is only one example of a figure-of-eight shield.

In both houses many ivory models, over sixty, of Mycenaean columns were found. Some were used for applying to a wooden background, but others are in the round and have removable capitals. The latter, with several rectangular blocks of ivory furnished with tenons and sockets, almost seem as if intended for constructing model buildings. There are columns of the Lion Gate type, fluted columns with 'Pergamene' capitals, spiral columns, and a column in wood with the pattern of the columns of the Treasury of Atreus.

The carved ivories from both houses form a most important mass of material, and certainly no comparable collection of ivories has been found for at least sixty years. There are far more carved ivories from these houses than there are from Spata,¹¹ Menidi,¹² or the Mycenae tombs excavated by Tsountas.¹³

These houses date, from the pottery found in the House of the Oil Merchant and in the House of Sphinxes, from the period known as L.H. IIIB, which is to be dated from about 1340 to 1210 B.C.¹⁴ This date is important, for it also dates the stone bowls, notably the fragment with inlaid ornament, the faience, and the ivories. Another consideration is the following. The size and richness of these three houses built in an undefended area well outside the protection of the Cyclopean walls indicates that at that time Mycenae must have been not only wealthy with an active foreign trade but also a powerful state and enjoying profound peace. No one would have ventured to build houses like this in an open area had there been any risk of attack from land or sea, 'Peoples of the Sea' or 'Dorians'. We must modify the theory, often advanced, which draws a distinction between the undefended Cretan palaces and the Cyclopean citadels of the Mainland and suggests that the first were safe from attack, guarded by strong fleets and the 'invulnerable sea', whereas the others were always liable to attack by marauding 'Dorians'. We now see that the houses of the citizens of Mycenae were just as luxurious and undefended as the palace of Knossos.

In the House of Shields was found an inscribed clay tablet in the Linear B script similar to those found in the Oil Merchant's house in 1952. In the House of Sphinxes in the doorway of the store-room which contained vases were found seven seal impressions, all from the same signet (Pl. Xb). Perhaps they had been used to fasten the door of the room. On the back of each impression there is an inscription in the Linear B script. Thus in a row of three Mycenaean houses clear evidence of writing has been found in each house. This suggests that writing and reading were more widely practised in Mycenaean Greece than has hitherto been believed. This is an important fact for the whole question of early Greek literacy, but its implications cannot be discussed here.¹⁵

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¹ Wace, *Mycenae*, pls. 8, 9, p. 125.

² *Alt. Mitt.*, 1878, p. 273.

³ *Alt. Mitt.*, loc. cit. Compare the Bodia tholoi, Valmin, *Swedish Messenian Expedition*, p. 207.

⁴ Pl. 3.

⁵ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 42.

⁶ Finlay, *History of Greece*, VI, p. 39.

⁷ Schliemann, *op. cit.* pp. 49 f. Lord Sligo and Veli Pasha are said to have excavated in the Treasury of Atreus in 1809 (*B. M. Cat. Sculpture*, p. 17).

⁸ II, pl. 69.

⁹ The 'Tomb of Alkmene' excavated by Agesilaus near Haliartus was probably, as suggested by Evans (*Scripta Minora* I,

p. 107), also a mound with a wall at its foot.

¹⁰ Bossert, *Alt. Kreta*,² 226, 227.

¹¹ *B.C.H.* 1878, p. 204 ff., pl. XIII ff.

¹² Lolling in *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi*, pls. VI-IX.

¹³ *Ep. Apx.* 1888, pp. 162 ff., pl. 8.

¹⁴ Furumark's dating (*Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, p. 115) is unacceptable. See my note in the Introduction to Dr. Emmett Bennett's monograph in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 97 (1953), p. 424.

¹⁵ See Sterling Dow, *Minoan Writing in A.J.A.* 1954, Part 2, and notes by me in the March 1954 issues of the *Classical Weekly and Antiquity*.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN CYPRUS, 1953¹

NEOLITHIC

THERE was no excavation in Neolithic or Chalcolithic sites, but a notable event was the publication of the report by P. Dikaïos on his excavations in the mainly pre-pottery settlement at *Khirokitta*,² in which he reviews the relationship and chronology of the cultures preceding the Early Cypriot. A new site of the Erimi stage was located at *Palaïomylos* near Ayios Thomas by surface finds, including a headless andesite idol of fiddle shape, now in the Limassol Museum.

BRONZE AGE

Further material from the *Kafkâla* cemetery between Dhenia and Akaki reached the Cyprus Museum through confiscation of pottery looted in the south area, where the tombs are relatively small and poorly furnished. It includes some good red polished II and III and also black polished pottery. With the sponsorship of the Department of Antiquities and the assistance of Mr. G. R. H. Wright of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, Mr. Justice Griffith-Williams undertook the excavation of two of the large looted tombs in the north part of the cemetery. These proved to be Middle Cypriot, and yielded large quantities of fragmentary but restorable white painted pottery. A small intact Early Cypriot II tomb group was excavated in the south area as part of the same operation. At *Onisia* near Dikomo a Middle Cypriot cemetery was brought to light by cultivation and one tomb with typical furniture, including some bronze weapons, was excavated by the Department.

At *Enkomi* both components of the joint expedition resumed their excavations. In the summer, Dikaïos, for the Department of Antiquities, extended the area he previously excavated immediately within the northern sector of the town wall, which has now been traced by excavation for a length of 170 m. and is visible above ground level for a further 175 m. Here, to the east of the area previously excavated, was uncovered the earliest substantial building so far found on the site. It has massive walls of fortress character, the construction of which associated pottery dates to Late Cypriot I. A westward extension was added at an early stage of Late Cypriot II, but soon after, within the fourteenth century, the whole complex was destroyed in some catastrophe evidenced by a thick destruction layer. Rebuilding followed with modifications of plan and, after an interval, the town wall began to take shape along the periphery of the existing buildings. Later in the thirteenth century a further remodelling accompanied a strengthening of the wall at some points. After a second destruction in the closing years of the century, although the town wall was again strengthened at points considered weak, there was no more rebuilding inside it in this sector. From the Late Cypriot II levels and upwards, slags and other evidence of the copper industry were found. Among the finds were some cylinder seals and an ample harvest of pottery, albeit fragmentary, including specimens of the Tell-el-Ajjul bichrome ware and Mycenaean examples from IIIA onwards. But the outstanding find of the campaign was a fragmentary tablet of baked clay, which came to light during study of the sanctuary area previously excavated by Dikaïos. Together with late thirteenth-century sherds, some of the Mycenaean IIIc style, it had been used to pave a hearth. Like the fragmentary tablet found by Dikaïos in 1952,³ it is inscribed in the Cypro-Minoan script, and unlike the first tablet the surviving part of the text, possibly a poem, is perfectly preserved.⁴

In an autumn campaign the French mission under Dr. C. F. A. Schaeffer laid bare large sections of the town wall on the west side, where alone its position had not previously been fixed with certainty. Within the walls the street layout was traced in trial trenches over a wide area. In the northern half it follows a regular grid pattern with seven 3-m. east-west streets at regular intervals of 32 m., crossed by a single north-south street. The latter has been traced from the north wall for a length of 200 m. to the centre of the site. The south part of the town, which has yet to be examined, does not seem to repeat the grid pattern; the latter Schaeffer assigns to a reconstruction of the north area following some disaster. A start was made with the linking up, by new excavations, of the areas already uncovered by the two excavators and their extension along the central north-south street. A building on this street, first built in the fourteenth century, and last re-constructed after a fire about 1200 B.C., produced some interesting bronzes, from the floor of one of the late rubble-built rooms. These included two votive ingots, each with a short Cypro-Minoan dedication, and a small figurine of a Syrian deity wearing the conical *pschent*. Dr. Schaeffer also found a fragmentary clay tablet (the third from Enkomi) inscribed with a long Cypro-Minoan text, but unfortunately much worn. It comes from the surface soil in the north-east area.

At *Kouklia* (Palaipaphos), the expedition led by T. B. Mitford and J. H. Iliffe searched unsuccessfully for further tombs in the *Evreti* cemetery which yielded valuable Late Cypriot III ivories and jewellery in 1952.⁵ However, one well in the area produced important ceramic evidence of the first phase of Mycenaean influence, and another with its wealth of ivory wasters proved the presence in Bronze Age Paphos of an ivory workshop with craftsmen of the first rank. Near by at *Asproyi*, and

likewise within the perimeter of the Bronze Age city, ten tombs were excavated in a cemetery which seems to have succeeded Evreti. All these tombs, which strictly speaking are graves following the traditional shape of rock-cut tombs, belong to the Late Cypriot III A and B periods. In a third cemetery at *Kamínia*, in the same neighbourhood, a complex of hasty burials of only slightly later date were excavated. The occupants, all young and mainly female, bear witness, Mitford suggests, to a pestilence or the privations of some long siege. A recess in the city side of the fosse beneath the siege-mound (see below) was found to have been used for some thirty burials in the thirteenth to twelfth centuries B.C. The associated pottery included a jug with strainer spout and a frieze of 'Mycenaean' bulls and ducks. Further examination of the sanctuary area excavated in 1888 revealed no undug strata in contact with the massive masonry walls, the early date of which it had been hoped to confirm; the first excavators had everywhere gone down to the rock. The expedition had previously drawn blank as regards Bronze Age structures in an area to the west; an extension to the north has now been carried out by Mr. P. L. Shinnie. Here the removal of a late mosaic pavement brought to light an earlier Roman level but no earlier remains.

Further surface finds at the *Kokkinókremmos* settlement near Pyla included fragments, collected by H. W. Catling, of another large painted amphora, like that illustrated in *JHS* LXXIII, 134, fig. 2, but with stylised octopus ornament.

EARLY IRON AGE TO ARCHAIC

Professor J. Bérard, assisted by J. Deshayes, excavated a number of tombs in the *Iskender* cemetery on the outskirts of Ktima, from which a good range of geometric pottery had been secured in the course of digging air-raid trenches during the war. The tombs, which range from the eleventh to the eighth centuries, are notable for their large stepped dromoi and disproportionately small chambers; one had lateral chambers opening off the dromos. One of the chambers was used for as many as eleven successive burials. The pottery and metal finds, which are the earliest known material from the region of Nea Paphos, provide useful documentation for a period which in this western part of the island is still little known.

Four intercommunicating chambers in the *Turabi Tekke* cemetery at Larnaca⁶ were cleared by the Department, following their discovery during cultivation. The earliest contained cremations in white painted II-III amphorae, and in another a sixth-century burial overlay the disturbed furniture of its first use in Cypro-geometric III, including a sword, knives, and a pair of gold leaf-shaped frontlets of thin sheet with pounced ornament of dotted lines. Some distance north-west of the Tekke the excavation of foundations for a new Turkish elementary school located no less than forty-one tightly-packed tombs. Ten were excavated, and some material was recovered from eight others. With one exception the excavated tombs range from the seventh to the fifth centuries, plain bottle-jugs and flat-necked jars of Syro-Palestinian form being their standard furniture. Some of the latter have painted bands,⁷ and one a small bichrome bird between the handles in addition to the bands. A fixed point in the sixth century is provided by a Fikelloura lekythos of a type grouped by R. W. Cook among the amphoriskoi, with meander on the neck, rosettes on the shoulder and, on the body, dot-reticulation with crosses above a band of crescents.⁸ The same tomb contained a plain pot with a short Phoenician inscription, and a black glaze Attic kylix. In the single earlier tomb two cremations akin to the earlier Turabi tombs had been followed by burials of the later period.

Excavation by the Department of Antiquities of tombs discovered in similar emergencies produced Iron Age material of varying quality from a variety of sites, some of them now recorded for the first time. The following are the most noteworthy: A large Cypro-geometric I-II tomb-group from the *Vathyrkákas* cemetery between Karavás and Lapithos joined others in the Cyprus Museum, secured when this cemetery was first located during road works in 1940. Following an outbreak of tomb-robbing at *Aéras tou Vasilikou* near Philia two small tombs with white painted II pottery were excavated. A nice group of Cypro-geometric II-III pottery was secured from an intact tomb discovered during quarrying at *Alónia* near Ephtakómi. In following up illicit excavations at *Grotíri* near Peristerona (Mesaoria), a bichrome IV amphora in perfect condition (Pl. XIe) was found in the dromos of a looted tomb. Possibly from the same cemetery is a model chariot with well-preserved painted decoration (bichrome IV), which the Cyprus Museum acquired by confiscation (Fig. 2). The contents of two tombs found during building works at the *Dhekélia* cantonment and secured for the Larnaca Museum include a free-field jug with an interesting subject in the bichrome IV style, unfortunately much defaced: a bowman followed by a horse with a diminutive rider brandishing a whip. Building operations at *Ayios Dhómétios* near Nicosia produced two small archaic tomb-groups, including a handsome black-on-red amphora.

V. Karageorghis for the Department investigated the site at *Pomós*, from which in 1952 the Paphos Museum obtained a quantity of archaic and classical votive terracottas of all sizes. It proved not to be a sanctuary but a dump of surplus votives, more of which were found and placed in the Paphos Museum. Karageorghis also rounded off the excavation of the small sanctuary near *Méniko* possibly of Báal-hammán, which he started in 1952.

In Limassol a small group of votives, apparently *in situ*, was brought to light in the excavation

of foundation trenches for the new store of the Public Works Department, the first relic of the ancient Neapolis, apart from tombs, to come to light. Among terracottas was the lower part of a life-size limestone statue of good archaic style. Another group of terracottas acquired by the Cyprus Museum was traced to the site *Zithkiónas* near Kalokhorio in the territory of Tamassus, where a dump of discarded votives had been dug into by villagers. An interesting item in this group, which is of seventh-sixth-century date, is a model ship with a cabin in the stern, a helmsman, and another member of the crew in what appears to be the crow's nest (Fig. 1).

Some stone heads of good quality and late archaic date were acquired for the Cyprus Museum from a find of broken statuary in cultivated land at *Pérgamos*. One of the heads (Pl. XI*d*) is a little over life-size, and there are reports that an even larger head was found and concealed. The sanctuary in which this sculpture was dedicated has not been located, but it would appear to have been of some importance.

CLASSICAL TO GRAECO-ROMAN

The Kouklia expedition continued the investigation of the siege-mound raised by the Persians against the north sector of the city wall when they invested Paphos in 498 B.C.⁹ A third tunnel was found to have been cut by the defenders below the wall into the part of the fosse over which the mound was raised. Like the first tunnel examined, its function was evidently to occasion a sudden subsidence in the mound by firing the supporting timbers introduced during the digging of the sap;



FIG. 1.—KALOKHORIO. VOTIVE SHIP MODEL.



FIG. 2.—CYPRUS MUSEUM. MODEL CHARIOT.

a third bronze cauldron used to convey inflammable material for this purpose was found. From the mound itself more archaic sculpture and syllabic inscriptions were recovered, and nearby, the second of a pair of towers flanking a gateway in the wall was located.

More was laid bare of the good ashlar building of the fifth century discovered in 1952, abutting the inner face of another section of the town wall. At one point an underlying structure of different orientation was found. How long after its abandonment in the fourth century the building continued to be plundered for stone was indicated by the discovery on the site of a lead plaque inscribed with a *defixio* in Greek of the fifth or sixth century A.D.

The archaeology of Cyprus suffered a grievous loss by the death, in a sailing accident in April, of G. H. McFadden, Assistant Field Director of the Curium expedition, to which he had devoted so much of his life and fortune. At the time of his death further excavation of the water distribution system by J. S. Last was in progress, but although new staff arrived in September to resume the investigation of Curium on behalf of the Pennsylvania University Museum, excavation was not resumed on a considerable scale. Miss D. H. Cox excavated in November on the acropolis a three-room metal-working establishment, possibly a mint, of the fifth century A.D.

Two of the tombs excavated by Bérard in the Skénder cemetery at Ktima (see above) proved to be of fourth-century date. They yielded numerous plain wine-jars and a small quantity of jewellery.

Work in the Cyprus Museum on the fragmentary third-century pottery recovered in recent years from the *Kafizin* hill near Nicosia, and by T. B. Mitford on the syllabic and alphabetic dedications to its nameless oread, will be much facilitated by the publication of the material from this site which has been in Copenhagen since 1924.¹⁰

A hoard of 394 Cypriot city coins all of small silver denominations and ranging from the end of the fifth to the middle of the fourth centuries, was accidentally discovered during the construction of

irrigation works near *Méniko* and purchased from the finders for the Cyprus Museum. 353 of the coins are of the type of uncertain origin with the legend *Ba-si A-ri*, Herakles and lion and, on the reverse, Athena seated on the prow of a warship.¹¹ V. Karageorghis, who is studying the hoard, has identified new varieties of this type but nothing as yet to make the attribution of these coins certain. The bulk of the remaining coins are of a type normally assigned to Euagoras of Salamis, but Lape- thus, Marium and Amathus are also represented by two coins each.

The suggestion that the original building on the site of the so-called marble forum at *Salamis* was the gymnasium of the classical city found some support in new finds made during further clearance and anastylosis by the Department of Antiquities, with A. I. Dikigoropoulos and V. Karageorghis in charge. A Ptolemaic statue-base re-used in the reconstruction of the wall of the east stoa is the third inscription found on this site naming a gymnasiarch. The first, found in 1890, honours a gymnasiarch Hyllos of the time of Augustus.¹² A ring-stone bearing his name and engraved with a lion, of which any Augustan gem-cutter might be proud (Pl. XIa), was found in the north stoa during the 1953 campaign. The earliest structure so far uncovered is the wall underlying that of the east stoa found in a trial pit dug in 1890 and now re-excavated. The first excavators recorded the opinion that it might be as old as the fourth century B.C.¹³ This opinion has not yet been verified, but the later history of the building has become clearer. The tall marble colonnade on the east, of good Corinthian style of the second century A.D., and the lower colonnades on the other sides, also of marble but formed of miscellaneous columns and capitals of later date (twenty-four have now been re-elected), now seem all to have been introduced in a late reconstruction, perhaps as late as the sixth century A.D. In the north stoa numerous voussoirs and one almost complete arch were found. These, if restored above the columns, which they fit, would provide an arcade corresponding in height to the east stoa, assuming that there architraves, not arches, were employed. In the late reconstruction the central part of the east wall was rebuilt and at least partially adorned with glass mosaics, but of the other three walls the lower courses were re-used. The condition of the latter suggest that at the time of the late reconstruction they had long remained derelict. Previously both the higher east colonnade and the others had predecessors of stone, but belonging to two distinct architectural schemes. The columns on the east were larger and plain, while those on the other three sides did not connect with them and had stucco fluting. The latter are not necessarily earlier and certainly not as early as the fourth century B.C., as the first excavators suggested.¹⁴ The east colonnade in its previous state extended across the north and south stoae to their back walls, where it was stopped by engaged half-columns at both ends, from which it was linked to the east wall by similar stone colonnades ending in similar half-columns. In the broad portico so formed, over 10 m. wide and 50 m. long, the original mosaic floor was replaced by a marble pavement on the introduction of the marble columns. The relationship between this portico and the rest of the peristyle in the period of the stone columns remains obscure, but it is hoped to clarify this in 1954 and to determine the various building dates. Further evidence was secured of the last modifications of the building, dated by coins to the reign of Heraclius or later, and of the squatter structures which took shape within its walls after the decay of the city following the Arab raids of the seventh century, but before its final abandonment. Preliminary clearance was started in selected sections of the buildings surrounding the peristyle, in the course of which a limestone *kore* torso of ripe archaic style was found, used as building material in a bench construction of late date.

Building operations in *Limassol* brought to light several tombs of the Roman period. Their contents, including in some cases lamps, coins, and inscribed *cippi*, as well as pottery and glass, are now in the local museum. Another tomb-group with Roman glass, from the area of *Soli*, was acquired for the Cyprus Museum. The museum also acquired by purchase a red ware barbotine jug of that stylish Augustan class of which there are good examples in Berlin and Baltimore,¹⁵ with three water-birds feeding from plants (Pl. XIb).

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND LATER

Excavation of the basilican churches at Cape Drepanum near *Péyia* was resumed by the Department (A. H. S. Megaw and A. I. Dikigoropoulos). A mosaic pavement in the atrium of the large Basilica I was uncovered, revealing four rather damaged animal panels: lion (Pl. XIc), bull, bear, and boar. South-west of the atrium a much smaller basilica (IA) annexed to the main building was located and partly excavated. It was noteworthy in being of the transept type despite its small size. Glass tesserae from the mosaics which adorned its three apses were found and also a quantity of small pieces of coloured marbles, which had evidently fallen from a panel of encrusted work in the north transept. Unlike the approximately contemporary examples of this work in Istanbul (St. Sophia), Ravenna, and Parenzo, which are geometric or floral, the *Peyia* panel included more than one figure. Basilica III proved to be of small size and simple plan, and to have capitals of the impost type, which came into vogue in the sixth century.

In the castle at *Kyrenia* investigation of the remains of the earliest of the three successive south walls revealed a tower of very elongated plan, with semicircular front, containing a cistern, and of better and evidently earlier construction than any of the Byzantine structures so far brought to light.

At *Famagusta* T. Mogabgab resumed, for the Department, the excavation of the Turkish fillings in the outworks of the Land Gate. The rock-cut ditch which formerly separated the gate from its ravelin was almost entirely cleared, throwing new light on the form of these defences at the time of the Turkish siege of 1571 and on the changes made thereafter.

The Cyprus Museum acquired a hoard of 3 gold and 1211 silver and bronze coins, mainly Venetian, found during building operations in *Nicosia*. The Venetian coins are exclusively of sixteenth-century Doges, and as none are later than 1570 the hoard may be regarded as a relic of the siege and capture of the city in that year.

The earthquake of 10th September caused serious but not irreparable damage to ancient monuments throughout the Paphos district. The rented premises of the Paphos Museum were declared unsafe and evacuated. Its contents have been stored pending provision of alternative accommodation.

A. H. S. MEGAW

Nicosia.

¹ I am indebted to all those named in this report for kindly communicating information concerning their excavations and research.

² *Khirkitia, final report on the excavation of a Neolithic settlement in Cyprus*. Oxford, 1953.

³ *Antiquity* XXVII, 103 ff. and pl. IV.

⁴ *ILN*, 5th September, 1953, 342; *Antiquity* XXVII, 233 ff.

⁵ *ILN*, 2nd May 1953, 710 f.

⁶ Cf. *JHS* XVII, 152 ff.

⁷ Cf. those in Myres' tomb 56, *ibid.* 158.

⁸ Cf. *BSA* XXXIV, 49, Nos. Y.16 and 17.

⁹ On the 1952 campaign see *ILN*, 18th April, 1953, 613 ff.

¹⁰ K. F. Johansen, *Weihinschriften aus dem Nymphenheiligtum des Kafizin Hügels, Kypros*. Copenhagen, 1953.

¹¹ Discussed by Hill in *BMC*, Cyprus, xliii.

¹² *JHS* XII, 196, No. 53.

¹³ *Ibid.* 117-118.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 108.

¹⁵ Cf. *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* IX, 69 ff.

NOTES

Two Archaic Terracottas.

The British Museum recently bought by auction a number of terracottas in a lot together, of which two (1953, 4-10, 1 and 2) are of more than usual interest (Fig. 1). These are virtually identical and must have been made in the same mould. They are hollow, moulded front and back, and open underneath; there is no vent in the back. The modelling of the front is summary but careful: that of the back is sketchy in the extreme; this is due not to careless moulding, but to the cursory treatment of the back of the model from which the mould was made. The clay is rather coarse but homogeneous, pale orange in colour, and contains a fair amount of mica.

They represent a woman, archaic in style, who stands stiffly on a square base, the left leg slightly advanced, wearing a strophane, a chiton, and a himation draped diagonally over the

appear to have possessed a factory to satisfy local needs. And when two identical pieces of a type otherwise unknown (as these apparently are) are found together, that probability is considerably increased. Yet there are certain grave objections to regarding them as of Cyrenaic manufacture. In the first place, the available evidence suggests that terracottas were not made in Cyrenaica until c. 460 B.C., for no pieces in Cyrenaic clay have been found there earlier in style than the Early Classical period. In the second place, the workmanship is far too skilled for pieces of that fabric belonging to the fifth century. And in the third place the clay of which these are made differs markedly from that of Cyrenaic terracottas.

Where, then, were they made? There are, unfortunately, to my knowledge no similar pieces whose provenience might be a guide. But there is one locality which is eminently satisfactory on grounds both of fabric and of style; that is



FIG. 1.

right shoulder, with one end falling down the right side. Her left arm is by her side, the hand pulling to that side the central panel of the himation, in accordance with a common archaic custom; in her right hand she holds a fruit to her body. Her lank hair is parted centrally and falls in a mass down her back, and she has a long face, with protruding eyes and a slight smile.

When were these pieces made? The treatment of the himation, in particular the absence of folds where it crosses the stomach, is characteristic of East Greek sculptures of c. 570 B.C.,¹ and of Rhodian terracottas of c. 540 B.C.² But the style of the head and the treatment of the hair bring the dating right down to the very end of the Archaic period, to c. 480-470 B.C. This discrepancy between the style of the head and that of the body is not uncommon in the popular art of the coroplast.

The question where they were made is less easily answered. That one of them was found at Benghazi (the ancient Euesperides) can be regarded as certain from the presence on it of a label on which was written, in faded ink: 'I. B. Bengasi, 1863'. Nor can there be any reasonable doubt that two pieces so similar and so associated were found together. We have no evidence that they were excavated in Benghazi by 'I. B.', but the possibility of their having been taken there in recent times can safely be disregarded. We are then left with the conclusion that these terracottas were discovered at Benghazi.

Now any terracotta is more likely than not to have been made somewhere near where it is found, for most communities

Sicily. The treatment of the face is similar to that found on a number of Sicilian types,³ and the continued use of this early form of drapery into and beyond the period of these pieces is well attested there.⁴ The clay could well be Sicilian, and the summary but careful workmanship is eminently suitable. Nor need this evidence of contact between Sicily and Cyrenaica about 480 B.C. cause surprise. For later on in the fifth century, from about 430 B.C. onwards, there is evidence of the closest possible association between the two communities in the fact that many terracottas of a marked Sicilian character were then being reproduced by Cyrenaic factories. Perhaps this contact started with the presence of Sicilians in the heterogeneous collection of immigrants collected by Arcesilas IV when he refounded Euesperides in 462 B.C.;⁵ possibly, indeed, we have here the personal possession of some such immigrant, brought with him from his native land.

R. A. HIGGINS.

British Museum.

¹ E.g. the 'Hera of Cheramyes' in the Louvre and the pieces associated with it, especially Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture*, pl. 20.

² E.g. *BMC Terracottas* (1903) B 207 = Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* III, Pt. I, 42, 4.

³ E.g. Winter, *op. cit.* 114 and 125.

⁴ E.g. *MA XXXII*, pl. XXXVIII, 9 (about 500 B.C.); Winter, *op. cit.* 114, 1 (about 470 B.C.).

⁵ See *BMC Coins, Cyrenaica*, clxxxviii.

A Greek Vase from the Thames.

The Attic red-figure kylix (Figs. 1-2) which is the subject of this note was acquired by the Reading Museum prior to 1896. It is mentioned in Stevens, *Descriptive Catalogue of Reading Museum*, 1896, p. 41, as having been dredged from the Thames.

Typical of kylikes with decoration of this type is the large drinking-horn splashed across the lower part of the figure. Close parallels to the painting occurred at Al Mina (Beazley, *JHS* LIX, 1939, pp. 2-3, nos. 6-14) and are ascribed to the late sixth century B.C.

It is not impossible that the vase arrived in the Thames



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

Closer provenance is not recorded, but the vessel was most probably found near Reading.

The kylix, which measures 5.95 in. across the rim, bears a fairly heavy deposit of lime, a feature characteristic of many river finds. The lime has been removed in order to expose the painting, which is a figure in the coarsest style of the 'Pithos' painter (Beazley, *ARV*, pp. 116-17, 952), representing a reclining, naked youth wearing a tiara, seen from behind.

during prehistoric or even in Roman times, but naturally all find of this nature cannot well be distinguished from a discarded relic of the grand tour or from a collection.

I should like to record my thanks to Mrs. A. D. Ure for help in preparing this note, and to Sir John Beazley for helpful criticism.

Archaeological Assistant, Reading Museum.

GEORGE C. BOON.

A Lakonian Krater at Corfu (Fig. 1).

This has been put together recently from many fragments in the Corfu Museum (Inv. no. 235, found before 1914 in Corfu itself). It is of Chalcidian shape, very near to that of the example in the Villa Giulia (Mingazzini, *I vasi Castellani*, no. 428, pl. 43, 5), but with the upper handle more arched and a light moulding under the foot. Height 313 mm., diameter of lip 305 mm., brownish-red clay, paint of poor quality, surface damaged. Several fragments of body are missing. For the type cf. Lane, *BSA XXXIV* (1933-4), 149.

It is interesting to record this find made on the route of exports towards Sicily, Calabria, Campania, and Southern Etruria.

D. CALLIPOLITS.

The Museum, Corfu.



FIG. 1.—LAKONIAN KRATER AT CORFU.

A Bath Inscription from Osrhoene.

In May and June 1952, as a member of the Anglo-Turkish expedition working at Sultantepe, between Harran and Urfa, I excavated a bath building in the Roman settlement at the foot of the mound. The main hall of the bath was paved with a fine mosaic, decorated with geometric patterns, some of which had affinities with motifs current at Antioch on the Orontes during the first half of the fifth century A.D. At the northern end of the pavement, incorporated in the mosaic, was a five-line hexameter inscription in a *tabula ansata* (Fig. 1). The inscription was almost undamaged, except for a diagonal break at the left-hand end (which resulted in the loss of about four letters in ll. 1/2, and of about three or two in ll. 3/5), and a small hole which obliterates three letters not far from the beginning of l. 1.

L. 1. Professor Louis Robert, who saw a copy of the inscription at Ankara, suggested the restoration of the first word as [Νύμφ]ων, as a short oblique stroke before the ω may well have belonged to an angular φ, the form found elsewhere in the inscription. Otherwise, [Μούσ]ων might equally well have been read. The Χάριτες, attendants of Aphrodite, to whom they give a bath in *Od.*, VIII, 364, are particularly suitable patronesses.

L. 3. Whether by ἰσσοσύνη the goddess of Mirth or the simple, abstract noun is intended is not clear. After the bath's active, autobiographical adjectives and ἑλωσθ' ὄντης in l. 2, I should prefer to give μελεημένον its rarer, active sense, and translate the phrase [αἰ]ν' ἰσσοσύνη μελεημένον as 'always concerned for merriment'.

L. 4. Πανέσσα, the daughter of Asklepios, would naturally find a home in a health-giving bath.

L. 5. The meaning of this line can only be that the bath was restored by the good offices of one Isaïos. During the excavations, the wall of a room on the west side of the main hall was found to run at an angle to the main axis of the building. This room may well have belonged to an earlier version of the bath.

The lettering of this inscription would perhaps, by itself, point to a fourth-century date. It certainly appears earlier than an example (also in mosaic) at Pisidian Antioch which is dated, with a margin of ten years either way, to A.D. 374. (See D. M. Robinson, 'Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Asia Minor', *TAPA LVII*, 1926, p. 234, fig. 68.) The abbreviation sign ζ is by no means unknown in the fourth century, though it is, indeed, most commonly found in the fifth and sixth centuries. (See Avi-Yonah, 'Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions', *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Supplement

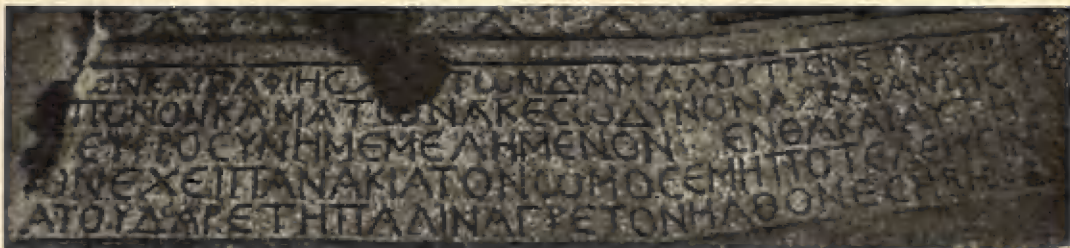


FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION FROM OSRHOENE (two photographs joined).

The text, as it seems to me, should run as follows:

[Νύμφ]ων καὶ Παρῆς Χ[αρί]των δ' ἄμα λαύτρων ἐτύχθη
 Λυσί]ππον καμάτων, ἀκοσώδυστον, ἑλωσθ' ὄντης,
 [αἰ]ν' ἰσσοσύνη μελεημένον· ἔβα καὶ αὐτὴ
 [αἰ]νον ἔχει Πανέσσα τὸν ὥμοσε μήποτε λείψω.
 [Ι]σαίου δ' ἀρετῇ παλινάγειτον ἦλθεν ἐς ἕβην.

to Vol. IV, 1940, p. 37.) There appear to be no dated examples of the use of Δ3 as an abbreviation of δέ, as found twice in this inscription.

As has already been remarked, some patterns used in the mosaic (notably that of an outline diamond with a central four-petalled rosette and a single petal at each angle) have parallels at Antioch which are dated to the first half of the fifth

century. (See Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, Pls. LXX b, LXXI b, LXXIII.)

The tone of the dedication is uncompromisingly pagan, and perhaps suggests (taken with the evidence of the lettering) an earlier rather than a later date for the bath; the fourth rather than the fifth century. Julian the Apostate was very active near Harran in A.D. 363, and it is tempting to link this inscription with the period of his reign (361-363).

The dimensions of the inscription are as follows: Height of

tabula ansata: 0.68 m.; width (by computation): 3.40 m.; average height of letters: 0.075 m.

Note.—My thanks are due to Professor W. M. Calder to whom I am indebted for many helpful suggestions, and to Mr. Seton Lloyd, for permitting me to publish his photographs of the inscription.

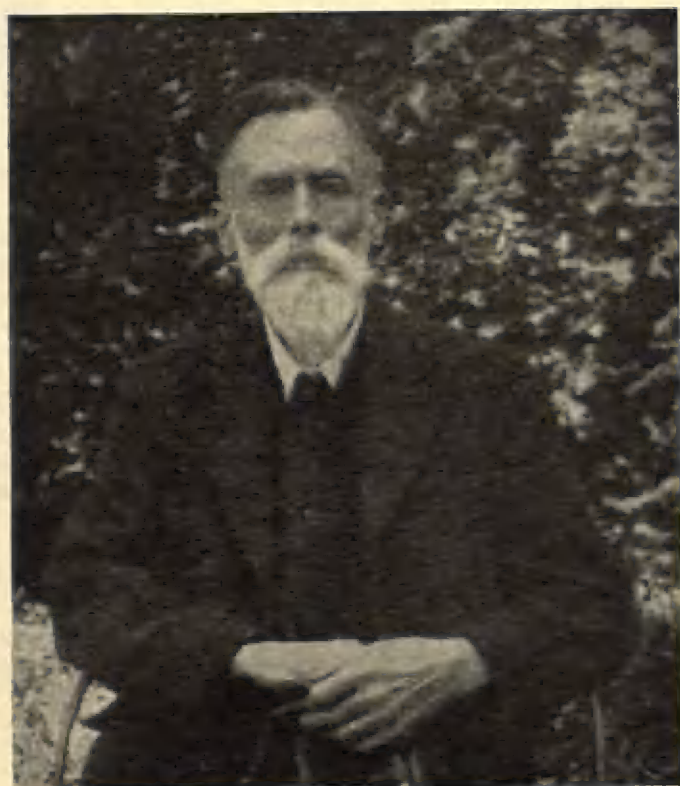
MICHAEL R. E. GOUGH.

University of Edinburgh.

J. L. MYRES

SIR JOHN LINTON MYRES, President of the Hellenic Society 1935-38, died on 6 March 1954, in his eighty-fifth year.

A Scholar of Winchester and New College, he contributed articles on local antiquities and studied geology to occupy his spare time while obtaining first classes in Honour Moderations and Greats, and in 1892 he was elected both Craven Travelling Fellow and Burdett-Coutts Geology Scholar. Throughout his life he regarded science and arts as complementary studies; a review written after his retirement ends with the words: 'The chemical formulae in the Appendix need a clear head.' His research took him to the eastern Mediterranean, to Crete, where he shared the first excitement of Sir Arthur Evans's discoveries and the recognition of Minoan writing, to Anatolia, and to Cyprus, which became his particular sphere, though never to the exclusion of other interests. In 1894 he carried out excavations there and reorganised the Museum at Nicosia, and in 1899 he collaborated with Ohnefalsch-Richter to provide the Museum with a Catalogue. He was Fellow



of Magdalen 1892-95, winning the Arnold Essay Prize in 1899, Student of Christ Church 1905-7, founder of *Man* and its first editor 1901-3, Lecturer in Classical Archaeology at Oxford 1903-7, and Gladstone Professor of Greek and Lecturer in Ancient Geography at Liverpool University 1907-10. He then returned to Oxford as first Wykeham Professor of Ancient History. By 1915 he had published *A History of Rome* (1902), *The Dawn of History* (1911; it went into its 12th edition in 1946 and was translated into Spanish in 1950), and *A Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y.* (1914), in addition to more than a hundred articles which not only added to knowledge but also in many instances introduced new methods. They are listed in his *Geographical History in Greek Lands* (1953), but a few examples will show the range: *Gothic foliage carvings* (*The Builders' Journ.* 4, 1896); *The origin and purpose of the megalithic structures of Tripoli and Barbary* (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, Ser. II, 17, 1899); *On the plan of the Homeric house* (*JHS* XX, 1900); *The early pot-fabrics of Asia Minor* (*Journ. of R. Anthr. Inst.* 33, 1903); *The Alpine races in Europe* (*Geogr. Journ.* 28, 1906); *The Sicyonae of Herodotus* (*Anthr. Essays Presented to E. B. Tylor*, 1907); *The geographical study of Greek and Roman culture* (*Scottish Geogr. Mag.* 1910); *Sarcophagi from Cyprus* (*Antike Denkmäler* 3, 1912); *Herodotus the Tragedian* (*Miscellany Presented to J. M. Mackay*, 1914).

From 1916 to 1919 he was Lieut.-Commander (Acting Commander) R.N.V.R., first in the Naval Intelligence Dept. and later in the Military Control Office, Athens. He was mentioned in despatches, and was made Commander of the Royal Order of George I of Greece in 1918 and O.B.E. in 1919. His intimate knowledge of the coast of Asia Minor, *non hos quaesitum munus in usus*

(the Turkish authorities had not welcomed curious travellers, and he had trained himself to map country with the minimum of equipment), sent him out on foraging raids to bring in news and cattle for the Navy, much as patriotic Ionians must have harried the Persian coast. Oxford after the war was full of stories of 'Black-beard Myres' and his adventures with spies and Higher Authority; they were probably less incredible than the truth, and certainly in 1939 he described nostalgically how to run a boat into harbour under the enemy's guns. It is difficult to realise that in 1919 he was already fifty years old.

The next twenty years were full of activities. He was General Secretary of the British Association 1919-32, President of the Royal Anthropological Society 1928-31, of the Folk-Lore Society 1924-26, of the Hellenic Society 1935-38, and of the British School at Athens 1934-47. The last responsibility continued after his retirement in 1939, during the difficult years of the war, and was combined with a still more ticklish job, the General Secretaryship of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, in which his pugnacity in the interests of international goodwill was a chief cause of sanity in the years of post-war hysteria. His help and advice were freely given, to New College and especially to its Library, and, as the writer remembers with special gratitude, to St. Hugh's College, to the Honour School of Geography, of which he was *pater et rerum inventor*, to the Archaeological Survey of South Africa, and to individuals whatever their academic status, provided that they shared his enthusiasm for finding things out. The steady flow of articles and reviews continued; his interest in the concrete was undiminished ('*The Structure and Origin of the Minoan Body-shield*' in *Man*, 1939, is a good example), but he was increasingly led to explore the influences which determined artistic form and the relation between poetry and art. *The Political Ideas of the Greeks* was published in 1927, and in 1930 he gathered together in the 600 packed pages of *Who Were the Greeks?* (Sather Lectures, 1927) the results of forty years of study and creative thinking about the countless influences which produced the unique phenomenon of Hellenism. They are very like his lectures, at once a Grand National and a labyrinth, from which the ant stored up illegible fodder for future sustentation and the grasshopper drew pure enjoyment—to regret thirty years later the evanescent vividness of those striking details about Vampires. Of the two categories of good lecturers, those who knew a lot and enjoyed their omniscience and those who knew a lot and enjoyed what they knew, the Wykeham Professor was *facile princeps* of the second group.

He became Sather Professor of the University of California in 1927, Hon. D.Litt. Witwatersrand in 1929, Officer of the Order of St. Sava in 1930, Hon. D.Sc. Wales and Huxley Memorial Medallist in 1933 (*The Cretan Labyrinth*, *Journ. of the R. Anthr. Inst.* 63), and Hon. Ph.D. Athens in 1937, and he received the Order of Dannebrog in 1939 and the Gold Medal of the Society of Antiquaries in 1942. His Knighthood was conferred on him in 1943. In the same year he gave the Frazer Lecture at Cambridge (*Mediterranean Culture*, 1944), and in 1953 he received the Victoria Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. BSA 37 was presented to him to mark his seventieth, and in July 1949 there was a Special Issue of *Man* in honour of his eightieth birthday. Since then his publications have included: 1950: *Dryos Cephalae* (CR 64); *Minoan dress* (*Man* 50); *Homeric art* (BSA 45); *The film in the service of art criticism* (*Eidos* 1); *Easter in a Greek village* (*Folklore* 61); 1951: *The structure of stichomythia in Attic tragedy* (*Proc. Brit. Acad.* 34); *The tomb of Porsena at Clusium* (BSA 46); *The Man and his past* (*Essays presented to O. G. S. Crawford*); 1952: *Scripta Minoa II*, in which Sir Arthur Evans's material on Linear B Script is published, itself a gigantic work; *The pattern of the Odyssey* (JHS LXXII); 1953: *Geographical history in Greek lands*; *Herodotus, the father of history*; *Ancient Groceries* (*Greece and Rome* 22).

The last title is a fitting reminder of his richest gift. He was both φιλομαθής and φιλόσοφος. No detail was too technical, remote, or trivial to excite his interest, and all were made to contribute to a sum of wisdom which included experience of the present as well as knowledge of the past. His vast learning was the reverse of encyclopaedic; when he set out to write a Catalogue of Cypriote antiquities, it became a survey of Cypriote civilisation. The power to see small things as parts of a large design and amorphous masses as orderly stages in a development, to illuminate the unknown by a happy analogy with the familiar, and to bring together things which had never been thought of simultaneously, gives his books their peculiar quality. The interpretation is so creative that it perpetually approaches the sphere of imagination, and sometimes crosses into it, but if a conclusion was challenged, he would immediately produce fifty precise pieces of evidence in its support. The result is that his books are at least as fruitful for the sceptical as for the credulous reader, and most profitable of all for the reader who is prepared to set off in pursuit of the game which he has put up. Even in the last year of his life, he refused to write his reminiscences because there were so many more interesting subjects. No one who has heard him talk would find this easy to believe; the stories, rich in themselves, were made irresistible by the wit and drama of the telling, and on one legendary occasion he ended, 'Yes, yes; like Odysseus, I have seen much and remembered more.' But it is certain that there would always have been new ideas to express, for he resembled Odysseus also in his inexhaustible resourcefulness. ἐνθ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε. . . .

D. H. G.

JOHN PENOYRE

WHEN John Penoyre retired after thirty-four years' service as Secretary and Librarian of our Society, the following appreciation of his services appeared in the Annual Report for the Session 1935-36:

'To Mr. Penoyre's loyal devotion to its interests, and his indefatigable energy and enthusiasm, the Society has been mainly indebted for its expansion during these years, for its present efficiency, after a period of unavoidable anxiety, and for the variety of its services both to members and to Hellenic Studies generally. His re-organisation of the library, his development of the photographic collections, and the transfer of these first to Bloomsbury Square and later to the present headquarters in Bedford Square very greatly increased the facilities offered both to students and to teachers; and his concurrent administration of the two Schools of Archaeology assured intimate and efficient co-operation between these institutions and the Hellenic Society.

'By the development of the new status of Student-Associates, the younger generation of scholars has been brought into earlier enjoyment of many of the privileges of membership, and has benefited by the keen personal interest and intimate knowledge which Mr. Penoyre has



always delighted to place at the disposal of those who work in the library or draw on the Society's collection of photographs and lantern slides. With characteristic foresight and energy, Mr. Penoyre announced his impending retirement a full year in advance, to minimise dislocation of routine, and to enable him to devote the current session to the revision and completion of those departments of the Society's library which owe most to his personal interest and special knowledge.

'The Council takes this opportunity to record the gratitude of the Society to Mr. Penoyre for his long and invaluable services and to wish him health and long enjoyment of the leisure to which he now looks forward.'

This tribute, alike in its content and its wording, so admirably summarises John Penoyre's services to the Hellenic Society and to its library that any addition to it can be justified only by striking a more personal note. If we try to recall an impression of him in action, it is unquestionably his energy and enthusiasm that we first remember. The energy was never obtruded: he always seemed busy doing something to improve the library, or the photographs or the slide-collections, and for many years he spent much of his week-end leisure in this task. It was then that he could be free from the interruptions of readers and visitors, to whom in working hours he always seemed to find time to offer help or a patient ear. It was a controlled and methodical energy, based on most careful planning, the fruits of which, in addition to the organisation of the two moves of the library mentioned above, are to be seen and appreciated in his Subject Index and in the systematic expansion of the Author Catalogue.

His enthusiasm was by no means limited to the administration and improvement of the library,

for in the field of Greek art he had a wide knowledge and genuine aesthetic appreciation. The same enthusiasm found wider outlets when he travelled in Greek lands, first as a student of the British School in 1900-1 and again in 1907 when he spent a long summer alone in Thasos, undertaking a topographical survey of the island and making valuable discoveries of architectural remains, sculpture and inscriptions, all described, with his own plans, drawings, and photographs, in *JHS* XXVIII (1908). Staying at the School at Athens before and after this journey he was able to keep in close touch with its activities and to see something of the excavations at Sparta in which he always took the keenest interest. Being also Secretary of the School at the time this was a valuable addition to his experience and to his many qualifications for this post. Having these responsibilities towards two committees, he had no difficulty in showing that he was equally at home in librarianship and in committee-work, although the necessary gifts for these activities do not always coincide. But he seemed to have them in full, and his genial and conciliatory manner was not a screen for weakness or indecision. He made up his mind clearly when faced with, or consulted on, problems concerning the Society or the British School, and his judgement was seldom at fault. Sometimes, one felt, he took these matters almost too much to heart, and this sensitive conscientiousness contributed without doubt to the serious breakdown in health that followed on his exertions in carrying through the move to Bloomsbury Square in 1909-10. His idea of a rest-cure, which dismayed his friends at the time, was to cross the Andes and make his way down the Amazon, with native guides only; but in the result he came back cured and eager to resume his duties, though he seldom chose to speak of his experiences.

It would be a great mistake to infer from this adventure that he liked solitude, for he was fond of company and good talk, and always interested in the young; to his encouragement of Student Associates reference has been made above. He was a lover of the countryside and of music; and that he parted with his pianola (never to be replaced) when he turned his rooms in the Temple into a depot for the collection and despatch of sweaters for the troops in the First World War is typical of his devotion to the task in hand. Many will recall the wit and persuasiveness of his letters to *The Times* in this connexion, and those who knew him recognised them as typical of the man. They revealed that blend of personal modesty and pride in doing his job efficiently which characterised all his work. It was only natural that the respect so inspired should develop into friendship, though this was not offered cheaply, and he was deeply pained by any lack of considerateness, whether in the library or elsewhere.

In conclusion, a reminiscence which his friends will appreciate. In the General Strike of 1926 he applied, characteristically, for some task in the emergency. Queuing with many younger applicants (for he had already passed his fifty-fifth birthday), he was asked by the interviewing official whether he could drive a car; on replying that he could not, he was asked brusquely, 'Well, what can you do?'; and the reply came promptly, 'I can sweep out a railway-carriage or run a Government Office.' Neither offer was accepted, but he would certainly have lived up to his promise, for his creed was that any task, large or small, is worth doing with all one's powers. And it was his steady adherence to this creed that made Penoyre render such memorable services to the Hellenic Society, which now laments his passing.

A. M. W.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Vol. XXI, 2: Polemon-Pontanene. Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller, 1952. Pp. 636. DM. 52.

The latest volume of the *Realencyclopädie* goes down to *Pontanene* (an epithet of Cybele). Since the *zweite Reihe* began at R, this great enterprise, which has now been in progress for exactly sixty years, is plodding on to within sight of its goal. Unfortunately, by the time the last *Halbband* appears, the re-writing of the early volumes will be long overdue. Among the larger articles dealing with Greek matters in the present volume are those on *Polemon*, the archon *Polyeuktos* (a succinct account by G. Klaffenbach of the various stages in the work done to narrow down his date), *Polykrates* of Samos, *Polygnotos*, *Polykarpas*, *Polyperchon*, *Pompa* (almost a monograph, cols. 1878-1993), and *Polyrrhenia*. There are some striking omissions, for instance *Polis* in the broad sense; and many articles are already out of date: *Politiographien* should have mentioned the material from Thebes and Achaea, as well as Thessaly, discussed by the late M. Feyer, *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie*, Paris, 1942. But the difficulties in assembling and salvaging material in the conditions of recent years must have been formidable, and the editor is to be congratulated on his successful continuation of this work, of which he can now fairly say *pars magna fuit*.

In fact, Ziegler has himself written the article which is the main concern of this notice, that on *Polybios*. Its 139 columns make it one of the largest in the volume (indeed, it might advantageously have been shorter). It follows the traditional pattern of an *RE* article, factual and sectional; and a list of contents enables the reader to find his way easily to the discussion of whatever point interests him. An encyclopaedia article is by definition something rather different from a separate study. Ziegler knows his *genre*, and criticisms will therefore be mainly on points of detail.

First, since it comes first, bibliography. Niese's article on the chronology of the Gallic Wars (*Hermes*, 1878) is quoted, but not Mommsen's reply in the same volume (republished in *Römische Forschungen*, II, 297); Holleaux gets less than his deserts with only two articles (which should now in any case be quoted from the more convenient *Études d'épigraphie*, Vol. I); Ed. Meyer's study of the Second Punic War is most conveniently found in *Kleine Schriften*, II; Bikerman has important *Notes sur Polybe* in *REG*, 1943, as well as 1937; an article by Knoßlach in *Klio*, 1932, is twice quoted as by 'Kurflach'; and Strachan-Davidson's *Selections from Polybius* (Oxford, 1888) were surely worth a reference, if only for their valuable introduction. However, no two men would agree on the contents of a selective bibliography, and Ziegler has provided an extremely comprehensive and serviceable list. Incidentally he has considered *er* as recent as that of Mioni (*Polibio*, Padua, 1949), Erbse (*Rhein. Mus.* 1951), and Pédech (*REG*, 1951), but Bung's monograph on Fabius Pictor, and Pédech's paradoxical essay on Polybius and Philinus (*REA*, 1952), were too late for inclusion.

In his discussion of Polybius' life and journeys, Ziegler might profitably have paid more attention to De Sanctis, who argues convincingly (against Cuntz) that Polybius was allowed to leave Italy before 150. Polybius' explorations in the Atlantic (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* V.9) Ziegler dates to 147; but Cuntz' argument against his leaving Carthage during the siege is cogent, and there is in fact no reason why the voyage should not have taken place in 146 after the fall of the city. Ziegler suggests that there is no time for this, since Polybius hastened at once to the Achaean theatre of war. This is, however, a deduction from the fact that Polybius was at Corinth shortly after its destruction (XXXIX. 2); but this event cannot be closely dated, and provides no evidence that Polybius was in haste to get back to Greece. His presence before the final catastrophe in Achaea might have seriously embarrassed him. The Achaean leaders were men for whom he had no sympathies (cf. XXXVIII. 1. 3), yet he cannot have relished a position at the headquarters of a Roman general acting against the Achaean Confederation. His personal feelings at this time are necessarily conjectural; but a voyage of discovery in the Atlantic may have offered him a not wholly unwelcome distraction from the Achaea of 146. This is De Sanctis' date for his voyage; and De Sanctis is also to be followed in the theory that Polybius visited Spain with Scipio Aemilianus in 151. Although Ziegler's considered view would put this visit in 133, when, he thinks, Polybius accom-

panied Aemilianus to the Numantine War, he twice (col. 1460, n. 1, col. 1485) seems half-way towards accepting De Sanctis' case (as expounded by Mioni). In fact, Polybius' presence at Numantia has yet to be proved. Ziegler argues (col. 1474) that to have written a monograph on the basis of information sent by Scipio and his staff would have been 'irreconcilable with Polybius' frequently asserted principles, and against all probability'. But Polybius nowhere lays down the absurd principle that a historian may only write monographs about what he has himself witnessed; and to argue that an old man of seventy was debarred from writing the history of a war at which he had not been present, except at the cost of becoming a 'stylist and mere translator', seems to do an injustice to the historian's craft. It must still be regarded as an open question whether Polybius was present at Numantia. On the other hand, if De Sanctis' version is accepted and Polybius' journey to Spain dated to 151, this hardly affords support to the theory favoured by Ziegler (and originally Schulten's), that Book XXXIV holds its present place in the *Historiae* because it serves as an introduction to the Celtiberian War. As Ziegler concedes (col. 1484), the war had begun in 153 (and the Lusitanian War the year before), and for all his attachment to Aemilianus, Polybius can scarcely have made his command in the war the feature on which to hang an oecumenical survey inside a universal history. A clue to the position of Book XXXIV is perhaps to be found in III. 4. 12 (cf. Lorenz, *Untersuchungen zum Geschichtswerk des Polybios*, Stuttgart, 1931, 68); the continuation of the *Historiae* after 168 was designed to give knowledge of the various peoples after they had come under Roman dominion 'up to the period of *ταραχή καὶ κλονίς* which ensued' (the phrase means 'the disturbed and troubled time' with the implication of convulsive military movements; Hammond's translation 'political confusion and revolutionary movement' (*CQ* 1952, 132) neglects Polybius' normal usage). Ch. 5 suggests some ambiguity about the date at which this later period began, though Polybius proposes to write on it *ὁλον ἄρχῃν ποιησάμενος ἄλλην*, since he was *τὸν πλείστον μὴ μόνον αὐτόπτης* (as perhaps in Spain and at Corinth), *ἀλλ' ὅν μὲν συνέπυός* (as at Carthage), *ὅν δὲ καὶ χειριστής* (as in the organisation of Achaea). It is difficult to resist the view that Book XXXIV was to be the dividing line before this *ἀρχή*... *ἄλλη*. Moreover, Polybius' work as a whole was designed to show how the histories of the various parts of the oecumene were knit together into a single whole. Hence a conspectus of the whole was appropriate to the close of the *Historiae*. To place it after XXXIX would have been inartistic, and would have dimmed Polybius' own achievements in Achaea. At XXXIV, on the other hand, the account came appropriately before the final Achaean outburst, and the wars in Macedonia and Africa, leaving exactly five books of narrative to balance the first five which, at the outset, preceded the account of the Roman constitution in Book VI.

Ziegler's discussion of Polybius' studies adds little to Von Scala, but avoids his occasional excesses of ingenuity and lack of balance. Here perhaps more could have been done. The literary background of the Hellenistic school of tragic history should have been sketched rather more fully along the lines suggested in B. L. Ullman's article in *TAPA* 1942 (not mentioned by Ziegler), with some discussion of Polybius' concessions to the theory as well as his criticisms of it. Had Ziegler gone into this more thoroughly, he would hardly have reached the conclusion that *ἐπὶ τῷ συγγραφῆναι*, who reported marvels with a view to inspiring piety among ordinary men (XVI. 12. 9), were theological writers. Polybius' many passages dealing with *ταραχὴ* (e.g. II. 58. 12, cf. 56. 10, 59. 3, III. 58. 9, XV. 34. 1, etc.) show clearly that the reference is to 'tragic historians'.

On the composition of the *Historiae* too Ziegler's account is open to criticism. He rightly rejects Erbse's recent case for dating their composition in a single bloc towards the end of Polybius' life (though he omits to note the two passages which are decisive against this view, viz. III. 4. 1 and IX. 9. 9-10). But he quotes no evidence for his assumption that by 151 Polybius had carried the composition of his *Historiae* down to the battle of Pydna. Nothing is to be gained in this difficult matter by outpacing the evidence; and it remains true that there is no passage later than Book XV which compels or even prompts us to suppose that it was composed before 150. Book VI presents

a special problem, on which little need be said here, since it will be discussed by C. O. Brink and the present reviewer in a forthcoming number of *CQ*. Ziegler's version of the separatist view assumes two layers, one written before 160, the other before 150, and is essentially that of Kornemann (*Phil.* 1931); it represents a retreat from the full separatist view of two editions, the second reflecting a failure of confidence in the stability of Rome, as revealed by political events in the second half of the century. But once one has gone as far as this, it seems more logical to admit that Book VI is a single whole, if a rather muddled one. The supposed contradictions in fact vanish when considered in their proper context. The automatic action of the mixed constitution in redressing any excess, as described in 18. 6-8, is merely a mechanism which works so long as that constitution is intact, without in any way guaranteeing its permanence (*cf. CQ* 1943, 75); like all other constitutions, the *πολιτεία* will decay in its turn *κατὰ φύσιν*. On the other hand, the statement in ch. 51 that deliberation at Rome is still in the hand of the Senate (51. 6), and the account of the future decay of the Roman constitution in 57. 5, both in fact refer to the mixed constitution, and not, as Ziegler believes (col. 1496), to aristocracy; for it is a characteristic of the mixed constitution that deliberation is in the hands of the senate (12. 3), and hence a sign of its decay when deliberation passes into the control of the commons. Once these main stumbling blocks are gone, the remaining discrepancies in Book VI are no more than can reasonably be attributed to a certain muddle-headedness on its author's part; and the way is clear to a better understanding of what Polybius was trying to say in this essay on political science.

Unfortunately Ziegler has nothing to contribute to this matter; and some of his incidental suggestions at this point seem not very happy. It is a long-standing difficulty that the passage cannot be found in which Xenophon identified the Spartan and Cretan constitutions (VI. 45. 1), and that the *Resp. Lac.* stresses the originality of Spartan institutions; nevertheless, it seems hardly likely that the Xenophon whom Polybius mentions along with Plato, Ephorus, and Callisthenes is a corruption of Xenion, an obscure writer on Cretan affairs (col. 1494, n. 2). The more probable explanation is that Polybius was here concerned essentially with Ephorus, and merely quoted the rest loosely and even inaccurately.

Ziegler has made a valuable collection of Polybius' views on history (cols. 1500 ff.). But in one important field he does his author serious injustice. It is well known that Polybius distinguishes between *αἰτία*, *πρόφασις*, and *ἀρχή*, and that his usage differs from that of Thucydides. Now *αἰτία* are defined (III. 6. 7) ¹ as 'those things which shape in advance our purposes and decisions', *τὰς προκατασκευασμένας τῶν κρίσεων καὶ διαλήψεων*. Thus the *αἰτία* of the war of Macedon against Persia are: (a) Xenophon's retreat; (b) the crossing of Agesilaus to Asia. It was the consideration of these incidents that led Philip to his decision to make war, alleging vengeance on Persia as his *πρόφασις*; and the actual crossing into Asia was the *ἀρχή*. Likewise a constitution is one of the greatest *αἰτία* leading to political action (VI. 2. 9); for it is especially because of a state's constitution that its rulers make their *ἐπινοίας καὶ ἐμβολὰς τῶν ἔργων* (VI. 2. 10). Ziegler misunderstands all this when he asserts (col. 1512) that Polybius 'die *αἰτία* durchaus ins geistige, in das *δυσωπθῆναι*, *κρίνον*, *πρόσθεσθαι* der handelnden verlegt' (col. 1512). There is nothing *geistig* about the retreat of the Ten Thousand. To Polybius an *αἰτία* is an event (or fact) which leads some person or persons to take a decision; but it is, in itself, neither the decision nor the consideration which led to it. That Polybius sees in wars and other complicated public events the result of straightforward, one-sided decisions, based on the consideration of *αἰτία*, and justified with *πρόφασις*, is a fault of discernment springing from his excessive veneration for reason as a mainspring in human affairs; and one can fairly criticise his failure to allow for reciprocity and the interaction of events in his scheme of causation. But within the limitations of his view his definitions are clear, and Ziegler introduces a confusion into them when he describes the aims of leading individuals and communities as (col. 1512) 'die eigentlichen *αἰτία*, die Motoren der Geschichte', and then having fathered upon Polybius a definition not his own, accuses him of lack of clarity.

Ziegler's discussion of *Tyche* in Polybius seems to be generally just, but perhaps attaches too much importance to the qualification of certain expressions with *καθ' ἑμὲν ἢ ἰ* and *ὡς ἑμὲν*, as evidence that Polybius is merely talking in metaphors, and does not really believe in *Tyche*. Who today can say with confidence what 'belief' meant for Polybius? Nevertheless, I should find it hard to think that he did not regard the events of the fifty-three years which consolidated Roman power throughout the

occurrence as due to some objectively existing power; see, for example, I. 4. 4-5 (where incidentally Ziegler makes two false shots at translating *ἀγώνιστον ἀγώνισμα*: 'ein solches Wunderwerk zustande gebracht' (col. 1515); 'einen solchen Kampf ausgefochten' (col. 1536); it means 'put on such a show-piece', *Tyche* being regarded as a play-producer (*cf. CQ* 1945, 9 n. 1)).

In conclusion, two further points, one slight, the other fundamental. 'Who lent whom books?' asks Ziegler in connexion with the meeting between Polybius and Aemilianus (XXXI. 23. 4), and bases his answer on the fact that at that date Roman houses scarcely possessed libraries of any note. He has overlooked that Aemilius Paullus, as the owner of Perseus' library (Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 28. 8) was a noteworthy exception to this truth; hence Scipio was probably the lender and Polybius the borrower (*cf. Von Scala, Studien des Polybios* I, 176). Polybius' influence on Vico, Machiavelli and subsequent historians is duly noted; but 'über diesen Kreis hinaus hat er keine weitergehende Wirkung geübt'. Surely this is an understatement; for, as Delatte has demonstrated (*La constitution des États-unis et les Pythagoriciens*, Paris, 1948), Book VI of Polybius must take responsibility as one of the *αἰτία* of the tripartite, mixed constitution which plays so significant a role in the United States (and the world at large) today.

My copy of *RE* XXI. 2 duplicates cols. 2465-96, and omits cols. 2433-64; and I have met the same kind of irritating fault in post-war copies of *RE*. It is perhaps not unreasonable to bring this complaint to the notice of the publishers of a work which, despite a subvention from the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, costs the British purchaser £4 11s. 6d. per half-volume.

F. W. WALBANK.

Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood. Ed. M. E. WHITE. (*The Phoenix*, Supplementary Volume I.) Toronto: University Press, 1952 (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). Pp. xvii + 278, with portrait as frontispiece. 48s.

It is a pleasure to greet this volume of studies dedicated to a great scholar on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. The work of Professor Gilbert Norwood in the field of classical scholarship, and in wider fields, is well known everywhere, and this handsomely produced and printed collection of essays is a worthy tribute to a man whose influence on the study of Classics, both through his teaching and his writings, has been profound. The bibliography with which the volume begins will be of great interest not only to the student of Pindar or the Greek dramatists, Terence or Virgil, but also to those who will welcome the opportunity of joining Norwood on all sorts of excursions in the world of ideas.

The width of Norwood's interests is indicated by the diversity of the essays in this volume. We begin with Homer, pass through the world of the Greeks and Romans to Tacitus, and conclude with Goethe and Milton. The content of the book is so considerable that it is impossible to attempt any discussion of individual contributions; I can do no more than give a mere list of authors and subjects. G. M. A. Grube writes on the gods in Homer; Leonard Woodbury on the 'seal' of Theognis (19-26); W. B. Stanford on *λυκάλης φρασίν* in Pindar, *Pyth.* 4. 109; S. M. Adams on the three-movement form of the *Persae*; L. J. D. Richardson on the inner conflict (the clash between the Athenian poet and his Persian characters) in the *Persae*; Ivan M. Linforth on Soph., *OC* 129 f., 1211 f., 1751 f.; R. A. Browne on two points of dramatic technique in Euripides' *Medea*; W. P. Wallace on the Spartan invasion of Attica in 431 B.C. (Thuc. 2. 18); Kathleen Freeman on problems presented by Antiphon's *Choreutes*; E. A. Havelock on the reasons for the trial of Socrates; M. D. C. Tait on the method of hypothesis in the *Phaedo*; Norman W. Dewitt on Epicurus and Menander; J. M. Edmonds on the study of the *Cairns* MS. of Menander by infra-red; E. R. Dodds on a papyrus fragment (P. Mich. Inv. No. 5) of a Greek novel; J. T. Muckle on Clement of Alexandria's attitude towards Greek philosophy; Lily Ross Taylor on Lucretius' imagery from the theatre; O. J. Todd on the chronology of the autumn of 63 B.C.; H. Bennett on the restoration of Virgil's farm; Robert J. Getty on *Liber et alma Ceres* in Virg., *Geo.* 1. 7; E. T. Salmon on Horace's ninth satire; W. Leonard Grant on elegiac themes in Horace's *Odes*; H. L. Tracy on thought-sequence in the ode (Pindar and Horace); W. H. Alexander on Sen., *Ep. Mor.* 46. 1; Gilbert Bagnani on the wealth of Trimalchio; L. A. Mackay on Tac., *Agrie.* 36. 3; T. H. Robinson on the prophet in Israel and in Greece; H. J. Rose on metaphor, ancient and modern; Joshua Whatmough on an under-estimated feature of language; Barker Fairley on Helena in Goethe's *Faust*; A. S. P. Woodhouse on Milton's pastoral monodies.

R. D. WILLIAMS.

¹ It is to this passage that Polybius refers back in XXII. 18. -7, not to some lost passage (Ziegler, col. 1512).

Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson on his Seventieth Birthday. Vol. 1. St. Louis: Washington University, 1951. Pp. lix + 876; pl. 111 + 94 text figs. \$25.

This mammoth book has its drawbacks: it is too heavy to hold, or to carry about, and much too expensive to buy; moreover, this is only the smaller half. A mere list of authors and titles would make this review too long, so it will have to be selective. A reader could be expected to remember that he was reading *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson*, without having it printed on every page; the name of the various authors would have been more useful to him. Some of the photographs are good, others not so good, and most seem to have been assembled without any regard for the size of the plate. Why is the lovely mirror handle on pl. 51 so small, an invisible object in a waste of expensive, shiny paper? Must the superb athlete on pl. 59 be coupled with that revolting drawing? Still, the Editor had an impossible task, let us be grateful to him for the many, beautiful things he has collected for us. It is an important book and contains much good matter.

Professor Childe plays first with *The Significance of the Sling for Greek Prehistory*. He makes Greek Prehistory sound simple. It isn't, you know. Middle East, slings, light pottery versus Egypt, arrows, dark pottery. Greece clearly started with light pottery, and Professor Childe says slings came there before arrows. There were quite a lot of arrows at Neolithic Dimini. The reviewer picked up a hafted, obsidian arrow-head, a bow-shot from the fortress walls. It must be connected with Melos, the source of the Obsidian, whose first inhabitants probably used metal, and the early connexions of Melos are with the Middle East, not with Egypt. The reviewer is a little troubled about sling-stones; as Professor Childe says, they may so easily be something else.

Seltman publishes a new bull's head rhyton (p. 6, pl. 2). How hard it is to form a clear picture of Minoan style from first-hand evidence of originals with good pedigrees. Restorations are spread far and wide, so are drawings, but good, detailed photographs of originals found in scientific excavations hardly exist. Seltman's illustration of the bull's head from Knossos is almost invisible, but the treatment of the hair seems to be impressionistic and there is little modelling. The style of the Knossos bull agrees with Karo's photos of the silver bull's head found in the Shaft Graves, but is less like Seltman's bull. Seltman is no doubt right in thinking that the new head, with its stylisation and advanced modelling, is later than the Knossos head, perhaps much later.

This reviewer was left dizzy and breathless after thirty pages on the Minoan Cretans by Lilian Lawler (p. 23). Strabo and Athenaeus are favourite authorities and, apparently, as important as Homer and Evans. Post-Minoan monuments are unquoted, but in Minoan times the dance is everywhere, even on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, where one intrepid votary goes dancing with a bull on his shoulder, not a cuddly calf, mark you! but a stiff, awkward bull, trying to bring off a flying gallop.

Miss Hansen gives an interesting account of Prehistoric Skyros (p. 54).

The devoted editor, G. E. Mylonas, has crowned his already stupendous labours by a personal tribute of forty pages (p. 64), to show that there was no cult of the dead in Bronze Age Greece. The alleged Grave Circle at Malthi is treated with due severity and also the alleged cult at Dendra. This is useful in view of the attribution of this one doubtful instance to all other Mycenaean graves, by G. Thomson. Mylonas might have stressed the difficulty of distinguishing between burning and decay. It is probably the best explanation of the 'toasted' corpses at Leucas.

D. Levi (p. 108, pls. 4, 5) publishes a peculiar tomb group from Charvati in Attica, not found in a scientific excavation. The steatite mortar has close parallels in tomb 19, 79 at Enkomi (*Svedish Cyprus Expedition*), with a Mycenaean context. The type of vessel, of course, lasted on: there is a Geometric example in Ithaca (*BSA* XLIII, pl. 46 B c). The lady on horseback is unique and in astonishingly good preservation, but she may be genuine and of the period. If her style passes, that of the male rider will not go with it. The contours of his horse are abrupt, and geometric-looking, and so are his features. I know no other rider who takes his horse by the ear. Boys don't like it, men resent it, and horses just will not have it. Grasp your horse by the mane if you like, clasp him round the neck if you must, but leave his ears alone, if you want to stay with him.

The sentences of S. N. Marinatos, *Δωδεκάθετος Βασίλης* (126), as translated by Mr. Yavis, run easily, but their exact meaning is elusive. Some of the ideas, dimly discernible, are attractive. Enneoros = nine years' cycle, must be right as an adjective both for Aecacus the Rain God and for fat beasts. Gold of

Mycenae, won by mercenary service in Egypt: who then worked it? M. must tell us, and in Greek.

Jean Bérard (135) tells us in twenty pages that he wishes to push the Dorian Invasion up to 1190 B.C. He quotes many texts and examines much archaeological material, but surely he misreads the relevant evidence, Stubbings' article on the Mycenaean pottery of Attica and the Kerameikos Museum. From these it is clear that Early Attic Geometric pottery is an indigenous growth, showing no trace of foreign influence. The Athenians invented a story to account for the Pelasgikon Teichos, an uncouth wall, which they uncovered on the Acropolis, but why should we believe it? Aristophanes knew better. It should be called the Kestrels' Wall; kestrels live in it.

It is a pleasure to read the vigorous, picturesque style of J. D. S. Pendlebury's posthumous article 'Egypt and the Aegean' (185). It sums up the position in 1940 admirably.

Does the Professor remember the day when this author, the Editor, and the reviewer sat at his hospitable table near Olynthos? Her thanks for the memory.

Henry Field gives a sketch on Ancient Man in South-western Asia (232). He quotes de Morgan on the barrenness of physical and archaeological Iran. This statement must now be revised after Burton-Brown's discoveries in Azerbaijan.

Sydney Markman (pls. 11, 12; 259), on temple models, should have quoted the model at Ithaca (Robertson, *BSA* XLIII, pl. 45), which is Geometric in style, and certainly is painted to represent tiles.

Mr. G. P. Stevens (331, pl. 12) is, of course, right in comparing the shape of bronze plating (*Olympia* IV, pl. XXXVIII), to confirm his reconstruction of tripods on poros blocks on the Acropolis at Athens, but he should go farther. Bronze legs on a stucco-covered support are not going to look well, especially with tabs of bronze nailed to the stucco. Some of the bronze plating of the right shape, actually found on the Acropolis, would look much better and be firmer. Legs, plating, and blocks should be brought together, and very likely, many if not all tripods with legs made of plated metal, should be reconstructed on solid foundations in Mr. Stevens' way.

Having dallied too long already the sculpture section must be treated shortly. Mme. Karouzou has given us a good view of lovely material, generally well displayed in good photographs and drawings (565, pls. 45-53). She is especially to be congratulated on the restoration of the mirror on pl. 51.

It is splendid that the Vatican athlete has recovered his legs, pl. 59.

E. Langlotz has a well-illustrated article on an Artemis head (638, pls. 63-6).

We are glad to hear from C. Picard that it is Apollo, not Athena, on the Axos mitra (655). We never doubted it.

Miss Gisela Richter has a message for us about gems of Aspasios (720, pls. 85, 86), and so has E. Kunze (736, pls. 88-90), when his sharp eyes detect Etruscan bronzes in Greece. We like George Chase's apes (724, pl. 87), and commend them to the attention of D. Levi.

The reviewer cannot expect *JHS* to permit her to write a book on this *Festschrift*, but she hopes that she has said enough to show that it is a serious contribution to learning.

SYLVIA BENTON.

Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums.

Eine Geschichte des griechischen Literatur von

Homer bis Pindar. By H. FRÄNKEL. New York:

American Philological Association, 1951. Pp. xii + 680.

Price not stated.

A new history of Greek literature is always an event, but when the results of twenty years' research in the fascinating field of early Greek thought has been finally compressed into one large and handsome volume, the interest of other than professional scholars is likely to be aroused. For it is not a work of scholarship in the narrowest sense which Dr. Fränkel has laid before the German reading public on both sides of the Atlantic, though profound learning is revealed on almost every page. As the book is intended for the general reader as well as the specialist, footnotes and the other panoply of scholarship are reduced to a minimum, though when the author permits himself to quote a reference or to discuss a point of textual criticism his comments are invariably pertinent and illuminating. His practice of rarely quoting passages from Greek authors in the original, but in his own German (and usually verse) translation, is certain to provoke criticism, but is in keeping with the general character of the book and the wider public to which he seeks to address himself. The main emphasis of the work is throughout on content rather than criticism, but few will quarrel with the author's valiant attempts to make the early poets interpret themselves.

The opening chapters on Homer are among the best in the book, for much light is shed on the bardic method of composition by an interesting comparison with modern Serbo-Croatian

practice. The double content of long-past and contemporary matter in Greek epic has puzzled all Homeric scholars, but F. shows how it is still an important part of the art of the professional rhapsode to include ancient and often only partially understood material in novel lays. F.'s analysis of the Greek hexameter by pauses is new and persuasive, but he has the grace to add that poetry cannot be explained wholly on mechanical principles. F. understands Hesiod without descending to dogma, and traces his influence in most subsequent Greek thought.

Greek poetry's sudden lapse into self-consciousness is sympathetically treated in a long chapter on 'Die alte Lyrik', though we are reminded that the mood was often latent in Homer. The section on Sappho includes several pretty renderings of the Odes, as well as an acute appreciation both of her greatness and, what is perhaps more significant, of her weakness as an artist. Her potentiality was to destroy every moral standard, and thus far she could be said to anticipate Protagoras. Simonides' animal types point a Hesiodic moral. But whether one could go so far as to see in them a reflection of the basic notions of early Greek philosophy, as F. supposes, seems more than fanciful.

The striking resemblances between archaic poetry and that of the Hellenistic age are often referred to, though the differences are mentioned too. F. pays tribute to Solon's remarkable versatility both as a man and a poet, and favours us, in spite of the manifold textual difficulties, with a spirited rendering of the astonishing twenty-fourth fragment, which recalls a passage from Greek tragedy.

The fifth chapter deals with the beginnings of philosophy and prose, and oddly enough with the Homeric hymns. The latter are manifestly out of place here on all but chronological grounds, and as if aware of their incongruity F. dismisses them in a few pages. He pays an eloquent tribute to Ionian philosophy, and enters into a detailed discussion of the radical concepts which underlay the naïf theses of Thales and Anaximander. He mentions Orphism in connexion with Pythagoras, though scarcely enough either here or elsewhere, and is evidently well versed in the literature of ancient mathematics.

The new lyric of Ibycus, Anacreon, and Simonides is noble both in style and sentiment, and anticipates the best work of the classical period. F. clearly admires Simonides enormously and persuades the reader to share his enthusiasm.

The kernel of Parmenides' philosophy is to be found in 'metaphysische Natur', but he never, as some have supposed, denied the existence of the world of appearance. He owed much to Xenophanes, who was also 'extrem geistlich in seiner Theologie, und extrem weltlich in seiner engen Kosmologie'. Zeno and Melissus are strangely dismissed in a few lines, but the philosophy of Heraclitus is discussed at length. Heraclitus finished what Hesiod had begun in his *Theogony*, but always set the accent on the positive side. Not everyone will agree with the author's view that Sophoclean tragedy is Heraclitan in spirit, though the suggestion merits consideration.

A long section is devoted to Theognis, and for once Fränkel finds himself obliged to include more critical matter in the notes. He believes that sufficient genuine lines survive to permit us to estimate the poet's contribution as a thinker, and shows how his 'praktischer Realismus herrscht vor'.

The book ends with a detailed and instructive comparison of some of the best known odes of Pindar and Bacchylides. A general discussion of the history and production of choral lyric is followed by an analysis of two short Pindaric odes preparatory to an intimate discussion of Pindar's treatment of myth in the ninth Pythian, and a comparison of his methods with those of Bacchylides in the Theseus ode. The latter, in spite of its surface brilliance, suffers in the comparison, for 'es fehlt Pindars Würde und Bedankentiefe'. The difference in level between the two poets is further marked in the first Pythian and the Hiero ode. Fränkel devotes some space to the Heraclitan conceptions which he believes underlie Pindar's water and fire symbolism. But such imagery comes naturally to a poet of Pindar's genius and needs no pedigree.

The chapter ends with a fair estimate of the contribution of archaic Greek thought as a whole. To attempt to judge its achievements in the light of fully developed classical literature is to misunderstand it completely. In some ways the classical era represented a decline. Dr. Fränkel regrets that he did not feel able to include Aeschylus in his history, though he is the first to admit that the tragedian had a capital right to be there. But the book is already long, and to have included the drama would have increased its size out of all proportion.

This book was an heroic undertaking, and a mere reviewer can only admire and acclaim the courage and scrupulous thoroughness with which the author has gone about his task. If any major defects exist (there must inevitably be some inequality in a work of this scale) he has failed to find them,

though he must beg leave to voice one somewhat insular regret. The publication of any major general work in German must inevitably prejudice its popularity with scholars and 'Nicht-philologen' alike. It is to be hoped therefore that a translator may soon be found so that in due course its wide learning and stimulating views will become available to the English reading public everywhere.

The volume is provided with full indices, and is beautifully and accurately printed. Misprints were noted on pp. 139, 199, and 263 only, while an acute accent sometimes accompanies the various cases of 'ein'.

J. R. T. POLLARD.

Heroic Poetry. By C. M. BOWRA. London: Macmillan, 1932. Pp. ix + 590. £2.

Sir Maurice Bowra has a happy way of making a complicated subject attractive and comprehensible. In *Heroic Poetry* he moves lightly from Hammurabi to Lenin and from Greenland to Japan, pouring from Amalthea's horn quotations¹ and summaries of unfamiliar poems in apt juxtaposition to the old and familiar, with acute and sensitive comments on their resemblances and differences. The 'mass of material' which he deprecates is an attraction rather than a discouragement, even if the reader may sometimes doubt if this spear is Akkadian or a Soviet synonym for a machine gun. After a first chapter which limits the subject by a close definition of the anthropocentric interest essential to heroic poetry and excludes for instance India, Africa, and Ireland, we have three chapters on content: the action, the hero, and the world in which he acts. The next five chapters deal with poetic technique, ways of describing recurrent doings, use of formulae and repetition, treatment of simultaneous action, and other ways of easing the burden of poet and audience, varied according to the length of the poem. The last six chapters put the poems in history by discussions of the dates when heroic poetry appeared among different peoples, the lives of bards, the spiritual, social, and political conditions which influence their interpretations, means of transmission and causes of decay. It is obvious that this is an heroic task, whose short compass reflects in its 'crowded eventfulness the bursting ardours of the heroic soul', and the reader is inevitably aware that he is being led across very thin ice over very deep waters of controversy. Sometimes the danger is revealed by a 'probably' or by a hint that, for instance, the Jute question lurks behind the nationality of Hengest or that some people have doubted the authenticity of the end of the *Odyssey*; more often a defiant choice is made in preference to safer examples (*Snares to catch woodcocks?*), and Odysseus' three meals in one night or the four horses before whom Andromache set grain and wine sooner than before her husband make one fear where all seems safe. In such a book there must be endless details which could be questioned, and it would be captious to object to them.² What matters is that except when discussion is confined to the surviving poetry, and not even then if questions of text or authenticity are involved, the doubt underlying almost all the evidence, small and great, cannot but cast doubt on the conclusions.

In this *Journal* Homer deserves priority. Pre-Homeric poetry may have been shamanistic (p. 19). This came as a shock, since though epic language might have this origin, it seems impossible for the stories to have been preserved by it. However, the evidence that shamanistic poetry in general preceded heroic is admittedly slight, the special inspiration attributed to

¹ It is inherent in the scope of the book that knowledge of no language can be assumed in all readers. The author has chosen the hard way of giving English verse translations which generally reproduce the form of the original so far as our stress accent allows. This is bound at times to blur the sense. Alliteration is particularly Procrustean, and his apologies for the obscurity of A.S. mannerisms are more deserved by the renderings than by the poet. 'Mer-sheets' or 'a boat under bergs; the boys all ready Stepped on the stem' are more alien than 'a sea-dress, a sail' or 'the boat was under the cliffs; the warriors promptly embarked.' The poet did know and love ships, *nec opponere Ulyxi Beowulfian verear*.

² Examples of very trivial points are: p. 36. Iamb. tetram. cat., Aristoph. *Ach.* 836, etc.; but who would not prefer Philip's? P. 46. Cic. says the poems exist, and condemns their falsification of history, *Brut.* 16, 62. P. 279. These repeated similes are quite exceptional; similes of one line or more total nearly 800 lines in *Iliad*, and I have noted only nine other lines repeated. Pp. 394-5. Myc. III use of a pair of spears in war is supported only by one broken sherd (*AA* 1927, 250) on which two lines may be spears or the rails of the chariot; there are other post-Myc. features which might have been mentioned.

Orpheus, Musaeus, and Boyan hardly proves that their heroes were magicians, and on p. 377 shamanism is relegated to Meillet's pre-Greek hexameters. Homer is without argument the author of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* pretty well as they appear in our manuscripts. A dimming of visual impressions in the *Odyssey* suggests that he may have gone blind late in life (p. 421), and the bard of the *Hymn to Apollo* may somehow identify himself with him; it is hard to see what else a Greek audience would find in ll. 165-75 than a reference to the great bard of Chios (p. 434). There is a paradox in his strict use of formulae compared with a richness and subtlety which show far greater precision and care than any improvising poet can give. The difficulty of the metre is suggested as a cause, but the author prefers a more daring explanation; 'Perhaps he learnt his craft in the old tradition, but in his lifetime the alphabet appeared, and he had the insight to see the great advantages it brought in turning the old technique to a nobler and richer purpose' (pp. 240-1). The *Odyssey* is less easily broken into episodes than the *Iliad*, and 'It is tempting to think that Homer, who knew the art of the short lay, used it to some degree in the *Iliad* but passed largely beyond it in the *Odyssey*' (p. 367). The famous contradictions, such as the premature parting of Hector and Andromache and the ignoring of the Embassy, come from a supreme artistic sense of the dramatic requirements of the situation, made possible by the peculiar conditions of recitation (pp. 311 f.). But the possibility of an illiterate Homer is put higher on pp. 357 f., where after discussing the indubitably oral epics of this century, *Osman Delibegović* and *Manas*, he passes to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: 'As we have seen, their very extensive use of formulae indicates that they were composed in a tradition of improvisation and their many devices of narrative belong to an oral art. If we cannot deny that they are oral poems, we can surely admit that they reached their present form through some such process as may be observed among the Kara-Kirghis and Jugo-slavs. . . . All four cases show that an oral poem may be well and nobly shaped and that it is not only literate poets who know how to compose on a large scale.' A German critic might detect an *Ur-Bozza* or suggest that Homer held high office in Chios. Homer makes skilful use of set passages and his long similes show an advanced art. He is unique in his use of a story within a story. The tremendous force of Achilles is compared with the 'modest, untutored effect' in a Russian *bylina*. His gods, not only by their inspiration and help but by the contrast of their easier, less noble lives, dignify and complete the heroic character. Only the death of Sigurth in the *Elder Edda* can at all compare with the *Iliad* in 'authentic tragedy'. In general, Homer the artist shines like a moon among stars. His material background chiefly reflects the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, with some older elements and a little contemporary adaptation (p. 394), and the 'whole living world which in its ease and humanity is equally different from the Athens of Pericles and the Sparta of Leonidas' (p. 536) is therefore presumably the world of Agamemnon not of the poet. In Chios the Sons of Homer, known to Pindar and Plato, 'both recited the Homeric poems and composed poems of their own' (p. 431), and poets on the edge of the Greek world were inspired to imitate him, producing, however, not true heroic poetry but narrative poems (p. 553). If this primrose path may be dangerous for the unwary, it offers much to interest and provoke the specialist, and it has the great merit of asking more questions than it answers.

The first and last chapters show how difficult the mere definition of heroic poetry is. There are no objective criteria; a poem may treat, with fair accuracy or extreme freedom, stories of the present or the distant past, of private quarrels or national causes; there is no measure for the amount of comedy, romance, or magic which it can contain without losing its character; it is usually but not invariably in metrically uniform lines; the poet may be illiterate or he may use writing. All that can be done is to take the poems commonly considered heroic and see how many of the characteristics commonly considered heroic each shows. The competition between Seth and Horus (Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 14-17), gods though they are, has some affinities with the catching of the otter in *Kutune Shirka*, and Spanish ballads or the later oral poetry of the Uzbeks (pp. 548, 551), even though touched by romance, might be thought to have as good a claim as such a lyric piece as the lament for Boris Godunov (p. 33) or *Beowulf* with its moralising and ecclesiastical flavour. The division of heroic poetry in Chapter XIII into primitive, proletarian, and aristocratic suggests that types so widely different in their setting might more fruitfully be studied in relation to the other forms of poetry, and even prose, to which each is akin. Anglo-Saxon religious poetry, for instance, shows that the poetic technique of *Beowulf* was not restricted to heroic poetry. But *Iliad* and *Odyssey* remain a problem; were they intended for princely or popular audiences?

At the end the reader will ask how far the author has succeeded in his avowed aim of continuing the subject where the Chadwicks stopped. He has brought in new material and discussed new subjects. Particularly relevant to Homer are his accounts of bardic families in Russia and well-authenticated long oral epics, which I am wholly incompetent to discuss, his reconsideration in the light of this new material of the effect of literary on oral tradition, and his emphasis on details of special interest, such as the landscapes belonging to countries from which the peoples had migrated. It is more doubtful whether a closer synthesis is yet possible. The more recent material, especially some of the proletarian poetry, increases the variations which the author rightly stresses. The book does show most clearly the difficulty of a synthesis and the danger, in so Protean an art, of arguing from what did happen in one country to what may have happened in another.

DOROTHEA GRAY.

Kriegerische Fachausdrücke im griechischen Epos: Untersuchungen zum Wortschatze Homers. By HANS TRÜMPY. Basel: Helbing u. Lichtenhahn, 1950. Pp. xi + 290. 13.50 Sw. fr.

Dr. Trümpy undertakes a study of technical terms for warfare in Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns, to determine the relative date of words within the epic vocabulary, which is accepted as a unity, by the evidence of their etymology, formation, interrelation, and later use. In archaeology he sees a means of dating things as well as words, and he lays down some working rules—that deductions from one passage must not be transferred to another, that epithets must not be considered *ad locum*, that allowance must be made for old terms given new meanings, and that linguistic conclusions based on archaeology must not then be used to interpret the archaeological evidence. Programme and principles are excellent, but only highly specialised knowledge in the two subjects could make success possible. T. has read many books about Homer and archaeology, but he is not an archaeologist. He knows that Helbig was indiscriminating, Reichel philo-Mycenaean, and so on, but he does not know where to find the patiently accumulated evidence which has established at least a few facts and a skeleton chronology, even if the loss of some vertebrae leaves it doubtful whether it is long or short. When his authorities disagree, he cannot look behind them to their evidence or see when new evidence has made it possible to discard an old theory. He finds even greater disagreement between philologists and, though he is more at home in their vocabulary, he too often chooses the alternative that suits him (e.g. p. 84 . . . 'so möchte man in *ἄπλον* gern ein *Pendant* sehen'), or cuts off the branch he is sitting on by accepting both (e.g., p. 162. If the name *Ἐδωάδιον* at Sparta proves that *μῦθος* was Doric, *μῦθος* at Gortyn does not prove that it was Mycenaean). Developing the scheme of W. Porzig in *Die Namen für Salzinhalt im Griechischen und im Indogermanischen*, he speaks of *Indogermanic* or pre-Greek, *Mycenaean*, *Aeolic* or pre-epic, and *ionic* or epic or late (p. 235). I find it difficult to follow what he means when he says that a word like *φρόδιος* is pure Aeolic or *κῶρος* Ionic, as distinct from a form like *καρμῶνις* or a word probably devised for a particular fashion like *καρμῶνις*; but it is in the correlation of philological and archaeological periods that the worst confusion reigns. *Mycenaean*,¹ of word-origin, is regularly illustrated from Schliemann's Shaft Graves, i.e. it is the language of Myc. I-II and that ancestor of Arcado-Cypriote (pp. 70-2) which seems to be used on Linear B tablets (Vol. LXXIII, 101 f.). *Aeolic* usually means the Warrior Vase, but once the parallel is the geometric pair of spears. Since we have Early Aeolic on p. 165 and Late Aeolic on p. 141, we might assume that the former is Myc. III (confusingly called post-Mycenaean on p. 88) and the latter proto-geometric and geometric. But are we to suppose an important linguistic change between Myc. II and Myc. III? Finally, we are told on p. 172 that there is no need to suppose that any words were derived from early *ionic* epic, because all weapons take us back to the Aeolic or Mycenaean epochs. What do we know about the weapons of pre-Homeric Ionians except (i) their presumed share in the common Bronze Age culture and (ii) their possible affinity with Attic Geometric, which the evidence from Smyrna now rather tends to confirm?

The result can fairly be illustrated by a summary of the section *Der Panzer*, pp. 9-18, 32-4. (My comments are in brackets).

¹ Porzig deals with methods of forming abstracts in broad periods, *Urgr.*, Pre-epic and Late, *op. cit.* pp. 179-80. 'Diese Schichtung bezieht sich . . . nicht auf das Alter der Bildungsweisen an sich'. The addition of Mycenaean gives the terms a new chronological meaning, which depends wholly on the archaeological evidence for arms and equipment.

1. It is agreed that there were no corslets in the Shaft Graves. Saglio and Nilsson saw breastplates on the Warrior Vase, but Nilsson says that γύαλα belong to the Ionian equipment. Wiesner says the garments on the Vase are of leather. Kunze denies bronze corslets on the Cretan Shields. Nierhaus and Lorimer make representations of bronze corslets begin in seventh century. (The apparent disagreement is largely verbal.)

2. The *Iliad* describes ein glänzenden Metallpanzer.

3. χιτών is Semitic: Nilsson says that there was no Phoenician influence on Greece before twelfth and little before tenth century. χαλκοχιτώνες was a military derivation from the civilian χιτών. (This should date χαλκοχιτώνες to late eighth century; nothing is said of possible contacts in the Late Bronze Age.) θάρηξ is thought by Walde-Pokorny and Boisacq to be I.E.: Chantraine, Nehring, Schrader, Kretschmer, and Ernout-Meillet say it is not. On semantic parallels T. prefers to connect with Old Ind. *dharak-* (Boisacq, Sansk. *dharakah*) = *that which contains*. If this is correct, θάρηξ in Alcæus is an impossible form, and must be borrowed from Ionic with false assimilation to σάωνα-type.

(It seems that the evidence is conspiring to make θάρηξ late, but:)

4. θωρήσσα, θωρηκτής are derived from θάρηξ, have been in the vocabulary long enough to establish themselves and change their meaning, and do not outlive epic. Therefore they, and *a fortiori* θάρηξ, are old; therefore, since there were no corslets in the Shaft Graves, they are Aeolic. Consequently (a) θάρηξ is dismissed as an hyperæcolism introduced by an Alexandrine editor and 'nothing prevents us' from making the words Aeolic, and (b) there were Myc. III bronze corslets which happen not to have been found, as there were thought to be no bronze helmets until one was found at Dendra. (Why quote the evidence, if it is to be disregarded?)¹

T.'s working rules are unconsciously derived from Milman Parry, but Parry is mentioned only in note 365 to p. 135 to be triumphantly confuted: κωδίσκωπα is used of μάχη seven times out of eight in speeches; the poet or non-combatants use βακρυέσσα, etc., but fighters do not abuse battle. This is misleading. μάχη in κωδίσκωπα, etc., are used by Diomedes, Sarpedon, and Meriones, not very cheerfully, and by Hermes disguised as a Myrmidon; also by Agamemnon dissuading Menelaus from fighting, by Zeus rebuking the goddesses for their pugnacity, and twice in narrative. Elsewhere no one praises fighting of any kind, but if κωδίσκωπα had been used when Achilles sadly watches the others fight (A 601; cf. Σ 248) or Zeus debates whether to let his son die with honour (Π 436), how pathetically appropriate it would have been thought.² Strong disapproval of Parry's possible overstatements makes T. (against his principles) look for subtil differences of meaning *ad locum* between similar words, ignoring such obvious identifications as πόλεμον δλίσσπον ἔγρυε—μάχην δλίσσπον ἔχουσι. I looked up the case forms (sing. only) actually used in the *Iliad* of the 19 nouns for fighting given on p. 171. The result is: *Nom.* 12 forms metrically different + 1 equivalent, μῶλος-μῆλος; *Acc.* 14 different forms + μῶλον-μῆλον-δῆρον and πόνον-μῆδον; *Gen.* 18 different forms + πόνου-μῆδου; *Dat.* 13 different forms + δμῶ-δύτῃ and χαρηῖ-μῆκα. T. gives weight as proof of age to the recurrence of words in the same positions, although in fact words like σίθηρος, which cannot be very old, have their preferences, but he does not mention metrical convenience as

an explanation of the synonyms κῶλος-εὔχος. Yet metrical behaviour and the quality of words and phrases generally give evidence of date; χαλκοχιτώνες has *glissenhafter Charakter* which γύαλον has not, and is not likely to be younger; ἑσθημῆς is typical, χαλκοστήμης unique, and they should not be casually equated; the phrase which survives is ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης, not to be explained away as a transfer from a non-existent *σῶκος ἀμφιβρότον. This criticism, however, may arise from personal prejudice. The other criticisms of T.'s reasoning do not, and it is worth while discussing his methods of proof in some detail because his conclusions are so attractive. Out of 104 words, 14 are found to be Mycenaean, 15 Mycenaean-Aeolic, 25 Aeolic, 25 Aeolic-Ionic, 9 Mycenaean-Aeolic-Ionic, and 16 Ionic. I foresee that this will be quoted as authoritative for the next century.

It is useful to have the ancient and modern lexicographical material and a summary of later uses collected for each word.

DOROTHEA GRAY.

η und εΙ vor Vokal bei Homer. By RUDOLF WERNER. Freiburg in der Schweiz: Paulusdruckerei, 1948. Pp. xi + 96. Price not stated.

The manuscripts of Homer show a curious uncertainty in the use of η and ε before another vowel. Thus πῆλος regularly appears instead of the expected *πῆλος, while in the aorist subjective στήη contrasts with στέλεον. On the other hand, both Ἡρακλῆα and Ἡρακλέα are surprising developments of -κλε(σ)α. The author sketches the history of the problem and, rejecting previous attempts at an explanation, proceeds to a detailed examination of the evidence. He concludes that the confusion is pre-Alexandrian; η is attributed to analogical spread (Ἡρακλῆος after Ἀχλλῆος) and to the dissimilation of ε-ι to η-ι (σπῆι > σπε-ι > σπῆι). ε occurs where quantitative metathesis took place with subsequent metrical regularisation (ἦο > εῶ > εῶω) or where ε was contracted (κῆα > κῆα). ε is substituted for η before a back vowel when the form in question survived outside the epic, and εῶ was affected by quantitative metathesis, whereas words and forms confined to the epic retained η.

The dissertation shows the careful scholarship we should expect from a pupil of Prof. Leumann, but for all his ingenuity Dr. Werner, like his predecessors, is defeated by σμῖος and ἔλως, which may serve to epitomise the problem. In the first place these forms never occur before a vowel, which suggests that the last vowel is short (-εσ); and everywhere ε may be substituted for η. Now *σμεῖος and *ελεῖος are precisely the forms we should expect. Let us assume that they stood originally in the epic. The subsequent development may be phonetic or merely orthographic. It is possible that in the course of time rhapsodes ran the two ε together, and in due course this contracted vowel was represented as η. Or, according to Meillet's theory (adopted by Chantraine and Schwyzler), when two similar vowels occurred adjacently only one was written—ΔΕΟΣ. In the period of μεταγραφικισμοῦ the apparently long syllable was transcribed ΔΕΙ. Now the genitive singular needed to be clearly distinguished from the nominative: so recourse was had to the specifically Attic -εως. There remains the problem of the accusative σμῖος (ε 194), where we have to choose between metrical lengthening or analogical influence of σμῖος; which would then be confirmed for the poet of the *Odyssey* (so Debrunner). There is no end of hypotheses, but the solution offered by Meillet-Chantraine-Schwyzler appears neater to me. It is indeed difficult to understand why the author should set his face so firmly against orthographic considerations in dealing with a problem of manuscript spelling.

L. R. PALMER.

The Poet of the *Iliad*. By H. T. WADE-GERY. Cambridge: University Press, 1952. Pp. ix + 101. 21s.

Professor Wade-Gery's J. H. Gray lectures, delivered in Cambridge in 1949, are printed here together with detailed notes and two appendices (on the Catalogue and on some pedigrees). It is now possible, therefore, to assess some at any rate of the evidence for the beliefs, suspicions, intuitions, suggestions, and convictions which professedly formed the basis of the lectures. To this end the reader must refer constantly to the notes at the end of the book; without these the main text (that is, the original lectures) is of only minor significance. It would be interesting, indeed, to know why Wade-Gery decided to give his lectures on the *Iliad* a purely dogmatic or prophetic form; or rather why, if he thought that a mixed audience could only digest *pronunciamenti*, he decided to lecture on the *Iliad* and in particular on the complex problem of authorship and composition. Homeric scholarship has surely reached a stage at which new syntheses are worth propounding only if supported by full

¹ His references should be confirmed. See e.g., p. 19, 'Enkomi (Kreta)' though Kunze mentions Cyprus; p. 62, 'Nach Leaf, Bd. I. 584. 3 sind Schwertgriffe mit schwarzem Muster aus Mykene bekannt'. Leaf says that Tsountas reported handle-decoration 'which seems to suggest thongs' and conjectured from it an original use of thongs which grew black with sweat. These are small examples of many misstatements. Other misunderstandings are more comprehensible, e.g. on p. 16 he confuses Nilsson's seventh-century hoplite corslets with Hagemann's sixth-century leather corslets (Pfuhl, *Muz* III, no. 117, 140), and on p. 65 he is misled by the inlaid daggers into thinking that Myc. I-II swords were for show, not use. Conflations such as the explanation of Agamemnon's corslet as both Orientalising (Poulsen and Nilsson) and Cypriote metalwork of eleventh-tenth century (Wiesner) are unhappy. The connexions on pp. 33 and 51 should be corrected to the relative frequency of ἀσπίς and σῶκος, giving θάρηξ-ἀσπίς: θάρηξ-σῶκος = 9½ : 7, surprisingly close, since Aias never has a θάρηξ, and κορύς-ἀσπίς: κορύς-σῶκος = 8½ : 8, which is clearly not worth mentioning.

² I could find better arguments to 'prove' that μάχη in κωδίσκωπα is a survival from Mycenaean sporting duels, in process of replacement by an age which took its wars more grimly; but no one expects 'epic economy' to be absolute.

documentation, or at least by some documentation: not the least interesting thing about Wade-Gery's lectures was the feeling they sometimes gave one of being wafted back to the time of Samuel Butler or even of Thomas Blackwell.

The author assumes that the *Iliad* was composed in the eighth century and recited at the Panionia at Mykale. That this festival then existed he accepts mainly on the basis of *Il.* 20, 403 ff., the simile of the bull sacrificed to the Helikonian king. It is admitted, however, that the cult of Poseidon Helikonios was widespread outside Asia Minor in the eighth century: Helikonian Onchestos itself and its precinct of Poseidon are mentioned in the Catalogue, as Wade-Gery points out. For the existence as early as the eighth century of the later famous cult at Mykale the only real evidence is Ion of Chios *ap.* Pausanias VII, 4, 9 ff., who apparently described Hektor, great-grandson of the legendary coloniser of Chios, as having sacrificed at the Panionion. This is important as far as it goes; but even so the probability of the simile referring to Mykale, rather than to some other seat of the cult, is not great. Wade-Gery, however, evidently assigns special authority to similes: that at *Il.* 2, 459 ff., of the birds alighting in the Kaystros meadows, is held to show that the Ephesia festival, too, existed in the eighth century. Are we to suppose that the only reason why people sailed down the Asia Minor coast was to attend festivals? Even if the simile implies autopsy by the poet himself (and this is by no means certain) his ship may simply have stayed for the night by the mouth of the Kaystros, as it brought him back home from—Ithaka? perhaps not; certainly not, Wade-Gery would say: perhaps it was merely sheltering from that storm in the Ikarian sea which has recently impressed scholars so deeply. These speculations are fantastic, and from a scientific point of view practically worthless—but scarcely more so than that about the Ephesia. At any rate it is worth making the point that the simile was not, as Wade-Gery states in n. 6, 'localised at Ephesos': it was localised *near* Ephesos, but vessels may have sheltered at the mouth of the river, some five kilometres from the archaic harbour, and still had a good view of the marshland which probably always ran along the north bank. The *pene-gyris* at Delos, too, is put by Wade-Gery in the eighth century, on the strength of the palm-tree simile in the *Odyssey*—to which, however, he in fact assigned a seventh-century date. (The same kind of carelessness in arguments from dates is shown by the contention that the simile of the stained ivory cheek-piece, presupposing the revival of the ivory-trade in the 'ninth or eighth century' [R. D. Barnett quoted by Wade-Gery, p. 63 n. 6], is an additional reason for dating the whole poem 'not earlier than the eighth century'.) It is indeed quite likely that the *Iliad* was early recited at a festival, or festivals, and was actually put together with this end in view; this is a well-known possibility. Further, we know of various famous festivals not inaccessible to an Ionian *aisidos* which might have been celebrated in the eighth century. Little more than this can usefully be said.

Wade-Gery goes on to suggest that Homer derived the name of Hektor from King Hektor of Chios, but that Agamemnon of Kyme was named after the Agamemnon of the poem. This is a possibility, but who can tell? Next is considered the mid-fifth-century gravestone of Heropythos of Chios, which records no fewer than fourteen direct ancestors. On the basis of three generations to a century this goes back nearly to 900 B.C. If Heropythos' relations knew *all* his ancestors, and if the earliest named, Kyprios, came over with Amphiklos, then the Greek colonisation of Chios must be dated around 900; the author rightly repudiates the excessively low dating of the Ionian migration by some archaeologists. Since his book went to press a new probability has emerged from the earliest Proto-geometric finds at Smyrna, that this settlement, at any rate, dates from as early as 1000 B.C. The possibility cannot be ignored that Heropythos' genealogy is incomplete, and that Chios too was colonised at this early date; only more systematic excavation than has yet been carried out can determine this point.

To return to Homer himself: he could have used writing materials ('... if Etruscan chieftains could use ink in the seventh century, there is no *a priori* obstacle to Homer being able to in the eighth'—a convenient, if dangerous, form of argument); and alphabetical inscriptions, though very brief ones and on difficult material, are extant from the very beginning of the seventh century. Not only *could* Homer have written the *Iliad* down, he *did* so write it, Wade-Gery maintains, even though much of it must have been composed orally. The old thesis is here embellished by a new assumption, that the alphabet was specially adapted from the Phoenician script for no other purpose than that of recording heroic verse. Only very few will be attracted by the author's arguments here, which seem to imply among other things that an *aisidos* would not have remembered to lengthen a short vowel before two consonants unless he saw the letters written down as we do. Milman

Parry's work is very summarily considered on pp. 38 ff.; and the observed fact that a poem of the length of the *Iliad* can be composed orally is disregarded. In effect Wade-Gery tries to have the best of both worlds by assuming that Homer used the old oral technique but 'reduced it to writing'. Would not this inevitably result in the abandonment of *strict* economy of formulae—an economy which was dictated by the limitations of memory in true oral composition and recitation, but which from any other point of view would appear, at times at least, to be a distinct handicap? And should there not, then, be an occasionally detectable stylistic difference between the traditional, truly oral elements, the existence of which Wade-Gery accepts, and those parts which Homer, the final composer, invented with stylus in hand? If the author notices such differences he does not tell us about them.

The first lecture ('The Poet's Circumstances') ends with a suggested division of the poem into three parts, to cover three days of performance. Lecture II deals with the Homeridae: they were the blood-descendants of Homer, and at first had charge of reciting the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (they 'had no doubt worked in teams', p. 31—including Kynaithos?); later the professional rhapsodes took over. The genealogy of the Homeridae was known, and therefore the date of Homer could be worked out by Herodotos, for example, who was thinking of this genealogy when he put Homer not more than four hundred years before his own time. 'Not more', because Herodotos allowed for the purposes of his argument the maximum, Hekataean generation-length of forty years; he was probably calculating, that is, from ten Homerid generations, which on the more realistic estimate of three generations to a century gave Homer a plausible date in the eighth century. This very attractive idea is followed by one less convincing, based on Plutarch *Vit. Perikl.* 13, that the Panathenaic epic recitations were properly organised by Perikles and not in the preceding century. This does not accord with the fourth-century testimonies; the possible absence to date of sixth-century representations of epic recitals (not necessarily contests) at the Panathenaia seems to me to be of limited significance for this question. The last lecture, on 'The Creative Poet', is even more discursive than the first: much of the *Iliad* was fictitious, and its historical elements were derived by Homer partly from traditional verse and partly, perhaps, from conversations with eighth-century Greek-speaking Trojans with long memories. The only unusual suggestion here is the last one, which seems to fall short of total plausibility. Some will prefer to believe that the composer of the monumental poem worked up his *metis*-plot mainly from a large mass of traditional oral saga-poetry which he re-shaped and substantially added to; some stories not originally connected with the attack on Troy had in the course of time been magnetised to a substantial Trojan core, while pieces of other traditional amalgams, notably the Pylian poetry, were introduced into the Trojan scene by the composer.

The main part of the book ends with a rather literary discussion of the gods, in which psychology, too, has played its ugly part (since the author recognises 'externalisation of the super-ego' as jargon, is it necessary for him to bother us with it?). The possibility of different strata, and so different styles, in the material is not examined. In the field of aesthetic judgement no author can ever hope for complete agreement; the present writer feels surprise, for example, that Wade-Gery knows 'no picture from antiquity which renders a poetic subject more profoundly' (n. 92 on p. 81) than the competent, factual, and cheerful representation by the Brygos painter of the ransoming of Hektor (well reproduced as fig. 3).

In general, this book is weakest where it aims to be most original; even what is commonly accepted, for example that much of the *Iliad* is fiction, is propounded in an odd way, in apparently irrelevant surroundings, and with an undesired air of significance. Specialists will find that the notes and appendices contain useful material; the more general reader, as always, will gain greater profit by widening his knowledge of the *Iliad* itself.

G. S. KIRK.

Untersuchungen zur Odyssee. By RHEINHOLD MERKEL-BACH. (Zetemata, 2.) Pp. viii + 241. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1951. DM. 18.50.

It soon becomes clear in reading this study that it presents the arguments of an advocate rather than the verdict of a judge. The author's aim is to demonstrate the artistic incompetence of the *Odyssey* in its present state and thereby to prove its multiple authorship. For this purpose he has collected most of the allegations of incompetence made by earlier Separatists and has added some of his own. Exploring these with minute care, he arrives at conclusions which differ considerably from those of his predecessors. In his opinion the *Odyssey* in its present state is a synthesis of two large-scale poems and four shorter works,

These are A, an older version of the *Odyssey* comprising most of the present Wanderings and part of the Return, written in Ionia 700-650 B.C.; R, a poem on Odysseus's revenge on the suitors, written about 650; a *Klein-epos* on Odysseus among the Phaeacians; an *Einzeltied* T, the Telemachy, written in Ionia 650-600; another *Einzeltied* on the recognition of Odysseus and Laertes; and a Katabasis of Heracles (previously suggested by Von der Mühl as a source for λ). Finally, there is, as usual, B, the work of the bungling *Bearbeiter*, who lived at Athens under Peisistratus about 550. It is also claimed that the *Telegony* had a strong influence on ω.

In arguing this thesis Dr. Merkelbach rarely pauses to consider the possibility of any better explanation than that of incompetent compilation for the various alleged anomalies. But often the so-called absurdities or inconsistencies can be reasonably explained on quite different grounds. Only a few simpler examples can be quoted here. The apparent inconsistency between Alcinoüs's promise (η 318) to provide Odysseus with an escort home 'tomorrow' (αὔριον) and the fact that he does not provide it until the second following day is removed by Bolling's suggestion that αὔριον here means 'on the day after the next sunset', a day being reckoned (as among the Jews and early Christians) from sunset to sunset. Or else Alcinoüs, always garrulously flexible in his remarks, may simply have changed his mind. But Dr. Merkelbach can only see one possible explanation (p. 164)—'two different hands'. On p. 59 he quotes with approval Bethe's unjustified objection to v 226, where Odysseus shows joy at meeting an armed stranger, when, it is alleged, his first emotion should have been fear of robbery. But why should the heroic Odysseus be afraid of a single youth and an 'all-delicate' one at that (v. 223)? Odysseus is pleased simply to see a gentlemanly-looking lad who is likely to answer his enquiries politely and intelligently. The objection on the same page to Odysseus's fiction about the Phoenicians in v 271 ff. is equally biased. Merkelbach assumes that these Phoenicians were dishonest men and that they would therefore not have left Odysseus his treasure. But Odysseus distinctly states (v. 277) that they had intended to fulfil their contract. What they would not do was to put back to Elis when contrary winds had driven them far past it. So they did the next best thing: they landed Odysseus with his treasure on the nearest available coast, and sailed on their way (presumably northwards or westwards). On pp. 3-4 he agrees with those who find proof of divided authorship in Odysseus's choice of Eurycleia to wash him. The reason given in τ 346-8 is brushed aside as valueless; and another justification—that it leads to one of the most exciting incidents in the poem—is ignored. On p. 17 objection is made to Telemachus's statement in β 214 that he intends to visit Sparta. Nestor, it is claimed, first put this notion into his head (γ 313). If one points to Athene's remark in α 285, the reply is that this is another of B's alterations of T. Again, we are told, that Penelope in her private chamber could not have 'heard' (ρ 492) that the Beggar had been struck, because no one had told her. But we know that she could hear much of what was going on in the megaron: is it too much to assume that she could have deduced what had happened to him from the various noises and remarks (cf. ρ 467 ff.)? Odysseus's statement in ε 193 that he cannot think of any plan to cope with the situation is exhibited as one of many examples of faulty characterisation, because Odysseus is the πολέμης. But is he not also the man of insatiable williness, and is it not sometimes politic to appear to be without a policy? In general, Merkelbach's view of character is rigid and narrow. Some of his severest criticisms are based on a refusal to allow for quite natural changes of attitude and intention. Most of his objections to Penelope's conduct assume that a woman does not change her mind without telling someone about it (or, more precisely, that Homer would not make his chief female character act with typical feminine irrationality without warning his hearers about it; cf. the summary criticism of Harsh's helpful theory of Penelope's conduct in ε on p. 237).

Merkelbach's case rests shakily on an accumulation of ethical and structural criticisms of this kind. Most of them are answerable in terms of human nature and archaic poetry without any necessity to assume multiple authorship. (As two further examples: 'doublets', a certain proof of divided authorship to Merkelbach,¹ may well have been a favourite device of the early Greek bards; and to treat poetic catalogues as if they were intended to be full lists like a shopkeeper's invoice is illiberal, and probably ill-founded, criticism). Undeniably some serious difficulties have not yet been solved. But what major work

of art from Homer's *Odyssey* to Joyce's *Ulysses* is exempt from these?

Yet, no matter how much one may disagree with the arguments and deductions in this book, one must readily acknowledge its value as a constructive survey of the chief analytical criticisms of the *Odyssey*. One recognises throughout, even in the severest denunciations of B, that, in the author's own words, 'es ist . . . nicht etwa barbarische Zerstörungsfreude, die uns verschiedene Hände unterscheiden lässt, sondern im Gegenteil das deutliche Bewusstsein von der Grösse der echten homerischen Poesie'. Perhaps in time Dr. Merkelbach will publish a more judicious revision, in which the genuine perplexities are not crowded out by ἀναριθμὰ κἀνθηρα.

W. B. STANFORD.

Homer. *Odyssée, Chants I, V-VII, IX-XII, XIV, XXI-XXIII*. Présentés par JEAN BÉRAUD, HENRI GOUBE, et RENÉ LANGUMIER. Paris: Hachette, 1952. Pp. iii + 476. Price not stated.

The pleasing traditional format of the Classiques Hachette, so closely similar in this edition and in Pierron's edition of 1917 (but the Greek type has been much improved), prompts a comparison between Pierron's methods and those of the present editors. By way of introduction Pierron contented himself with a five-page analysis of the contents of the *Odyssey* (extracted verbatim from his *Histoire de la littérature grecque*), together with brief factual summaries at the beginning of each book. On the other hand, he generally gave a little more than half the page to his notes on the text (which is printed above the commentary in these editions). The present editors have reduced their notes to about a third of each page. But their introduction, comprising discussions of the Heroic Age, the Homeric poems, the *Odyssey* itself, the voyages of Odysseus, the later tradition, and the language of Homer, amounts to 75 pp. Besides, each book has its own introduction averaging 3 pp., and the book is rounded off with a grammatical appendix (43 pp.) and an explanatory index to geographical and historical terms (27 pp.). The whole is a veritable compendium of information on Homeric problems. The carefully chosen illustrations deserve a special word of praise.

Teachers and students will find this an invaluable survey. More advanced scholars will do well to consider many of the remarks on Homer's style and material. As one would expect with a son of Victor Bérard among the co-editors, the geographical problems are very fully considered, Ithaca being identified with Thiaki. On the question of authorship the editors deny that 'Homer' could have composed both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* exactly as they are now; but they are hesitantly inclined to admit that, in view of the differences one can see in the earlier and later works of writers like Victor Hugo and Corneille, a single author may have composed the bulk of both poems. In most of the greater scenes, including the recognition of Odysseus by Penelope, the editors find 'une même qualité de génie et de sensibilité . . . si personnelle que jamais elle ne pût être atteinte ni même approchée dans la suite des siècles; même naturel, même sobriété, même sens profond de l'humain'.

The notes are brief. Generally only one view is given, even on the more controversial problems of text and exposition, and authorities are not cited. The philological and grammatical comments are such as one would expect from scholars advised by Mazon and Chantraine. A few misprints (on pp. ii and 464 and in the n. on 9, 489; also in the text of 5, 321; 9, 219, 230) need correction, and the printer has let the type slip rather often.

The editors are to be congratulated on an edition both elegant and accurate, both compendious and economical; and it is manifestly (as they hoped) 'au courant des derniers progrès de la philologie, de l'archéologie et de l'histoire'.

W. B. STANFORD.

Hesiodi Catalogi sive Eoearum Fragmenta. Ed. A. TRAVERSA. (Collana di Studi Greci xxi.) Pp. 208. Naples: Libreria Scientifica Editrice, 1951. Price not stated.

Since the third edition of Rzach's *Hesiod* (Teubner) appeared in 1913, our knowledge of the lost *Catalogue of the Women* has been advanced by the discovery of more than twenty papyri, preserving substantial fragments of the text and one *testimonium*. A new edition, therefore, is necessary, if only to make the new material more readily accessible to students of Hesiod. Traversa, however, has not been content with making a mere compilation, but has undertaken the task of arranging the fragments within the five books, arguing on affinity of mythological content where precise testimony is lacking. By applying this method and relegating most of the *testimonia* to the end of the

¹ Sometimes he sees a doublet where none exists: e.g. there are not two storms in i 67 ff.; the force of the north-east wind diminished enough to let them hoist sail but not to permit a change of course north-westwards after Maleia.

text, he presents us with the skeleton outline of the first four books, the fifth being represented by a single line. Dubious fragments are still, of course, numerous.

The existence of the fifth book, questioned by Rzach despite the testimony of Suidas, is now confirmed by *Pap. Hermop.-Cair.* 65471. *Pap. Mus. Berol.* 10560, known to Rzach, gives the transition from I to II, and *Pap. Vitell.* 13 the virtual end of III and beginning of IV. In both cases the division is dictated by extraneous considerations and disregards the continuity of the argument.

In attempting restorations of the papyrus texts Traversa has gone cautiously, making about twenty suggestions and admitting only six or seven into his text. Some of them, however, are not too happy. His conjecture $\pi\iota\alpha$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ in the *app. crit.* of fr. 84 (I.), 5 is sublimely indifferent to the metre (I cannot see how to put the blame on the printer), and $\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$ in fr. 14, 1 was virtually anticipated by Evelyn-White's $\delta\gamma\omega\mu\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$. His restoration of fr. 45, 14, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{o}\delta\alpha$ ($\kappa\iota\alpha\iota$ [$\tau\acute{o}$ $\delta\epsilon$] $\rho\theta\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\tau\iota$ $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ $\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon$), is certainly wrong for three good reasons: (1) Hunt (and Traversa) gives space for approximately five letters between $\pi\acute{o}\delta\alpha$ and $\alpha\iota$; (2) instead of $\kappa\iota\alpha\iota$ we need $\delta\epsilon$ or its equivalent, since the two parts of the Minotaur are in antithesis; and (3) $\delta\epsilon$ is the opposite of the sense required (cf. $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{o}\delta\alpha$). I suggest $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{o}\delta\alpha$ [ς $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$] $\delta\alpha\rho$ [$\delta\epsilon$] $\rho\theta\epsilon$; the rest of the line, I think, alludes rather to the bull half, e.g. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\tau\iota$ $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$. A comparison of Traversa's text here with that of Hunt shows also that in such details as the marking of doubtful letters Traversa is quite unreliable.

The treatment of the older material is at times too hasty and uncritical. Fr. 56, 1v δ' $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\tau\iota$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (after Rzach), needs to be reconsidered. $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$, an old emendation of $\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ of *schol. Laur. Ap. Rhod.*, gives bad sense, and since *Ap. Dysc.* ends the quotation at $\tau\omicron\upsilon\iota\varsigma$, we should perhaps follow suit. $\delta\tau\iota$ $\theta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$, $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ looks like the scholiast's gloss. Again, fr. 33, 2 calls the second child of Helen $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\tau\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon$, but neither Traversa nor any other editor, as far as I know, has seen anything wrong. The *Catalogue* attributes only two children to Helen and Menelaus (cf. *schol. Laur. Soph. El.* cited by T.), and so we cannot mark a lacuna between the two lines, but must emend to $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\tau\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon$. The proposal on p. 34 to delete fr. 33, 1 and insert 33, 2 after 32, II, 1 does not alter the difficulty.

In other respects, too, this edition shows signs of haste. Mistakes are frequent (Traversa's advance apology for them will not mollify *Faustino lettore*), and other errors common: e.g. the text of fr. 53, 2 ff. seems to be a conflation of two different restorations by Evelyn-White, and to have lost the main verb in the process. On p. 115 Vergil is misquoted, and some of Traversa's own latinity, e.g. *cognita esset* on p. 63 and *agnoscerent* on p. 98, will raise the purists' eyebrows.

In short, while this edition has made some contribution to the study of the *Catalogue*, particularly in the arrangement of the fragments, the prevalent carelessness seriously reduces its value.

J. H. QUINCEY.

Anthologia Lyrica Graeca. Edidit ERNESTUS DIEHL. Fasc. 3.—*Iamborum Scriptores.* Editio tertia. Pp. vi + 162. Leipzig: Teubner, 1952. DM. 5.60.

The first two fascicles of 'the new Diehl' were noticed in this journal two years ago (LXXII, 1952, 125-6), and the general remarks there made hold good in most cases for this third fascicle also. Like its predecessors, it has been seen through the press by R. Beutler of Munich, who must be responsible for many of the newest additions, although I have found only one note (on Hippon. 1, to be referred to again below) to which he has added the symbol ' (Beu.) '. The ground covered is the same as that of the third fascicle of the second edition (1936—referred to as 'D²'): *A. Iambi recti*, with Archilochus and Semonides as the main authors, *B. Iambi claudi*, mainly devoted to Hipponax, and *C. Meliambi*, comprising Cercidas and Philoxenus of Leucas. The headings are in the new form (e.g. *Ἀρχιλόχος ὁ Πάριος*), the inconvenience of which (not to put it more strongly) is illustrated by p. 119—*Ἀνάνιος ὁ Ἰών* (?) and p. 138—*Διφίλος*.

The principal additions to the text are the anonymous iambics of *P. Lond.* 1568 C and 487 B (pp. 68-72) and the new fragments of Hipponax and their scholia from *P. Oxy.* XVIII 2174-6 (numbered I-XII, to avoid changing the numeration of D²—pp. 104-18); minor additions are the promotion of Archil. fr. 126 Bergk from the commentary to the text as fr. 94A, six new iambic *adespota* (9 a, b, c; 25 a; 29A a, b—all unimportant), three new fragments of Hipponax (65A, B, C—all found by O. Masson in a MS. of Tzetzes at Trinity, Cambridge), the promotion to the text as Hermecias fr. 2 of a line from Hephaestion (π. ποικιλ. 3.5—cf. Bergk, *PLG* iii², 639), and a new choliambic *adespota* (8—unimportant). The Strasbourg

epodes appear with some new readings as Archil. [79], [80] (the brackets also are new); Hippon. 14A has been improved from *P. Oxy.* XVIII 2174, fr. 24; O. Masson has improved the reading (though not the intelligibility) of Hippon. 15; and there are new readings in Cercidas (especially fr. 3). Seven fragments of Hipponax from D² (18, 19, 26, 40, 47, 63, 69) and some from Bergk have found their proper places in the new papyrus fragments (I-XII). On the other hand, the second version of Archilochus' epigram on his lost shield (formerly 6 b) has disappeared; and other omissions include the first four words of Archil. 49, the last two lines of Archil. 92 b, and the first line of Hippon. 1. This last excision is Beutler's own work; he accepts Pfeiffer's attribution of the line to Callimachus (fr. 191, 1 Pf.) against Diehl's own objections. (I am not convinced that the words $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\alpha\delta'$ $\iota\pi\pi\acute{o}\nu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in Callimachus are not a quotation from Hipponax—they seem to have little point otherwise.)

The *testimonia* have received some additions (notably Archil. 55, 56), but not enough (e.g. some indication of the subject to be understood with the verb should be given at Archil. 22— $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\sigma\upsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ —and Hippon. 52— $\delta\gamma\omega\mu\alpha$), and the commentary has been thoroughly revised, though more attention might have been paid to Lasserre's *Épodes d'Archiloque* (mentioned in the bibliography to Archilochus—p. 1—but perhaps received too late for detailed use), Bowra's *Six Greek Elegists* should have been mentioned under Archilochus, and it is a pity that Hermann Fränkel's *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* did not reach the editor in time to be of help to him.

The following points of detail may be noted (the number denotes the fragment, and the reference is to the commentary unless otherwise stated): Archil. 2—the possibility that $\delta\epsilon\phi\iota$ = 'ship' should be noted; 9—the new note 'nota Horati *adi profanum vulgus*' is irrelevant; 10.3—Sophocles fragments should be quoted from Pearson, not Nauck; 25.4—the new reference to Rhian. 2 belongs to fr. 26; 40 *testim.*—Plato scholia quoted from Hermann (an improvement on D², which still quoted Bekker, but why not the Harvard edition?); 51 *testim.*—I. M. Edmonds' (for 'J. M.'; note 'Jurenka', 'J. U. Powell' in same note); 56—there should be a reference to the articles by Bowra (*CR* LIV, 1940, 127-9), D'Arcy Thompson (*ib.* LV, 1941, 67) and Sandbach (*ib.* LVI, 1942, 63-5); 67, 74—the reference to Jaeger's *CR* article should read '60', not '43', and on 67.3 it should be mentioned that he proposed $\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\omega\iota\sigma\iota$ for $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\iota\sigma\iota$; 77—there should be a reference to Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*; [80]. 7—the new reference to Hor. *Epod.* 10.10 is irrelevant; 92 b—there should be a reference to Moore, *Selections from the Greek . . . Lyric Poets*, Harvard 1947, 23 (proposed new reading of 92 b, 2-3—perhaps by W. Jaeger, cf. Moore's preface); 120—there should be a reference to Schol. B on *Il.* XXI, 237 (cf. Scheibner, *Aufbau des 20. und 21. Buches der Ilias*, 1939, 120 n. 2); *ib.* *testim.* (near the end)—read 'Callim. fr. 384, 39 Pf.' Semon. 7.43 text—read $\tau\eta\nu$ δ' & (so D²); *ib.* 58—read 'Liddell'; 19—read 'Tyrrhitt'; 29—note that H. Fränkel, *op. cit.* 275 n. 13 (where 'Fig. 28' is a slip for 'Fig. 29') has proposed a better explanation of this fragment than any yet given. Scythian. [4]. 2—the metre requires δ' $\delta\epsilon$ (so D²). Castorio 2 text—the absurd misprint $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\alpha$ has been repeated from D² (read $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\alpha$). Hippon. 6 ff.—there should be a reference to Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, App. A; 18 text—read ' = fr. VII 10'; 34—the new references to Aesch. *Cho.* 733 (presumably = 784-5 OCT) and Kretschmer, *Vaseninschr.* No. 48 (the latter already in D², Addenda) are not very relevant; 41.3—the new reference to Callim. fr. 197 Pf. is hardly relevant; 42.2—the symbol for 'codices' seems to have been left in by inadvertence; 45—a good example of how eyes and mind properly used (here, as so often in this fascicle, the eyes and mind are O. Masson's) can cut through the densest jungle of misunderstanding; *ib.* 2—it might perhaps have been mentioned that this is the first appearance of the word $\tau\eta\pi\epsilon\mu\eta\varsigma$; 56.1—the *testimonia* should have been brought into line with the commentary; 61—for 'pap. v. 10238' read 'fr. 191, 32 Pf.'; 77—D²'s note 'detorsit poeta exordium Odysseae et Iliadis' with its shocking *suggestio falsi* should have been omitted, as other silliness which disfigured D²'s notes have been; III. 11—there should be a reference to Hemberg, *Kabiren*; IV. 9—Knox should not be deprived of the credit of having seen that $\delta\epsilon$ $\iota\pi\pi\acute{o}\nu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ was more likely than Lehrs' δ' $\iota\pi\pi\acute{o}\nu\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$; VIII. 11—most of D²'s note on fr. 18 would have been relevant. Ap. Rhod. 3—wrongly punctuated (there should be a colon after the first word of each line, as in a lexicon). Anon. in Turpil. 87 text— $\mu\acute{\omega}\tau\iota$ has been repeated, apparently by inadvertence. Philox. b 25 text— $\delta\omicron\iota$ (—) should stand before (—) $\omega\epsilon\tau$ and not before $\epsilon\gamma\omega\gamma$. Most of these points are trivial by comparison with the value of the book as a whole; the real test of the new edition will come with the next fascicle, which will have to deal with Alcaeus and Sappho.

J. A. DAVISON.

Histoire du Texte de Pindare (Études et Commentaires XIII). By JEAN IRIGOIN. Pp. xiv + 464; pl. 1 + 9 text figs. Paris: Klincksieck, 1952. 1800 frs.

I find it hard to write with due moderation about this enthralling book. Dr. Irigoín tells us that he set out to study the language of choral lyric from Alcman to Pindar, that he was led through that to study the history of Pindar's text, and that this book is the result of advice given to him by Professors Dain and Chantraine. In it he seeks to apply to the history of Pindar's text the principles which Dain had already employed in his *Histoire du texte d'Élien le tacticien* (Paris 1946; cf. Dain's *Les manuscrits* (Paris 1949)); he has also written a detailed study of the metrical scholia, to which he refers in his bibliography as 'à paraître'—one can only hope that we shall not have to wait long for it, since it is obviously a work of the first importance for metricians and students of the history of an obscure branch of scholarship. After a well-considered bibliography (pp. ix–xi), a list of *sigla* and other abbreviations (xii–xiii), and a brief introduction (1–2), in which the services of Drachmann, Abel, and Turyn are emphasised, the book is divided into three parts of unequal length and value (the fifth and fourth centuries—3–28; the Alexandrine period—29–90; the edition of the Epinicians—91–426). A short summary by way of conclusion (427–30) is followed by a list of Pindar MSS. (431–42), including eighteen 'manuscripts reconstitués' and two hundred and two existing MSS., most of which Irigoín has himself examined (Schroeder, it should be noted, listed one hundred and eighty-five). Finally, there is a very full and helpful index (443–62).

The first part takes the reader back to Pindar's own MS., which Irigoín believes, on the rather dubious evidence of the Timotheus papyrus, 'était écrit comme de la prose', and works down from there to the last pre-Alexandrine editions, in which he finds evidence not only of metagrammatism but also of some degree of unintentional 'ionisation'. Since he attempts to study the pre-Alexandrine transmission of Pindar in almost complete abstraction, the inadequacy of the evidence dooms this to be the weakest part of the book; but even within the limits of the evidence he has not considered the possibility that Pindar's MSS. may have been preserved along with his house.

The second part begins with Zenodotus (the words τὸ ἔσχατον in *Ol.* 5 inscr. are claimed with too little hesitation as referring to his edition),¹ and travels by way of Aristophanes of Byzantium (who is credited not only with the establishment of the text but also the division into books and the invention of the colometry; on this last point, see Irigoín's *Recherches sur les mètres de la lyrique chorale grecque: la structure du vers* (Paris 1953)), Aristarchus and his successors and opponents, and Didymus (a study of whose methods reveals for the first time the real strength of Irigoín's scholarship, and enables several now anonymous scholia to be derived from his commentary), to a detailed study of the earlier papyri (down to the second century A.D.). In this, the section on the *Poetans* is especially to be noted: Irigoín shows that the most probable order is IX, X (or X, IX), VIII, VIIb–I, II–VIIa, XII (which perhaps belongs to VIIa), XIII.

The third part contains the real meat of the book, the detailed study of the transmission of the text of the Epinicians from the second century A.D. to the earliest printed editions. Though needing the closest attention if one is to follow it, because it has been written 'against the grain' so to speak (Irigoín worked backwards from the known MSS., but writes forward), this is a really brilliant piece of scholarly detective work, which challenges comparison with such classics of the art as Carter and Pollard's *Enquiry*, and which by a careful use of all possible lines of enquiry—palaeographical, codicological (to adopt Dain's ugly but useful word), philological, historical—puts the history of Pindar's text into a quite new shape (how new may be seen almost at a glance by comparing Irigoín's plate with the *stemma codicum* in Turyn's edition, p. vi). To summarise far too briefly, but I hope not too unjustly, Irigoín's complex and careful arguments: the Epinicians were chosen to represent Pindar in the school curriculum (and a new edition of them, probably in codex form, with a commentary drawn from the works of earlier editors, was made) in the latter part of the second century A.D.; from it descended three papyri (Turyn's 1, 4, 5) and the archetypes (to be dated ca. 400) of the Ambrosian and Vatican recensions. Of the Ambrosian archetype we know only what can be learned from the MS. A, copied (perhaps directly) from a very battered uncial MS. about 1280 (Irigoín demonstrates that Turyn's late dating of this MS. is wrong)

and completed from a MS. of class 3 (see below); there are strong reasons to think that Planudes knew A, and I should be inclined to hazard the suggestion that A may even be in Planudes' handwriting. About the sixth century the Vatican recension divided into two branches: a full text (containing at least as much as is now in D, i.e. the four books of the *Epinicians* with the first lines of *Isth.* 9) and an abridged text (*Olympians* and *Pythians* only), both texts with full scholia. These were still uncials, and they were transliterated separately into minuscule about 1000; the nearest common ancestor (NCA) of the abridged text is of about this date. The NCA of the complete text is later (1050–1100, at which date its scholia were abridged), and approximately contemporary with the earliest discoverable 'prototype' of the abridged text—a MS. prepared by an unknown scholar, most probably in Thessaloniki, by the critical methods which passed for scholarship at that date and place (Irigoín calls this MS., which can be reconstructed down to its *mise en page*, Thessalonicensis—it is Turyn's γ or 'recensio Gottingensis'). The other prototype of the abridged text (Δ) is slightly later (about 1100) and almost certainly Constantinopolitan; the earlier prototype of the full text (β—1075–1150) may be rather earlier than λ. The second prototype of the full text (3—not the same as Turyn's 3, on which see below) is probably of the twelfth century, but is only known from two MSS. of *excerpta*, the non-Ambrosian parts of A, and Turyn's 3 (or 'recensio Parisina'), which Irigoín shows to be in fact the edition of Maximus Planudes and to be datable about 1280. Of the MSS. descended from Planudes' edition, V in particular is shown to have connexions with Thessalonicensis, through the edition of Germanos (ca. 1275), of which it is in part a copy. Irigoín shows (against Turyn) that Planudes' edition was used by Moschopoulos, and that Moschopoulos' own edition contained only the *Olympians*, and was completed from other sources by an unknown scholar about 1450. Further, it is shown that Triclinius made two editions of Pindar, the earlier represented by the MS. α', the later by a group of MSS., of which μ' is perhaps the best; as befitted a Thessalonian, Triclinius used a descendant of Thessalonicensis (ρ, a scholarly edition reconstructed from P and Q), but he did not confine his researches to any single MS., and his claim to be regarded as the first modern textual critic, first put forward by Wilamowitz and supported by Aubreton (*Démétrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle* (Paris 1949)) is shown to be amply justified. Space forbids the full analysis of Irigoín's results, but I should like to point particularly to the surefootedness with which he guides the reader through the 'maquis qu'est le texte du manuscrit D' (321–30), and to his magnificent work on the late MSS. and early printed editions, especially his solution for the problems presented by Callierges' Roman edition of 1515 (Chap. vi, especially pp. 408–20).

The best course for a reader wishing to obtain a quick view of what Irigoín has done for the history of Pindar's text would be to look up the references to Turyn; he would then see that some of Turyn's most suspect opinions (e.g. the relationship of his 3 or recensio Parisina to the reconstructed MS. β (139 n. 2), or his view that K is a copy of F (314, cf. 318–19) are defended, but that in most cases Irigoín refers to Turyn in order to correct him, especially on the dating and filiation of MSS.; here particular attention should be drawn to Irigoín's use of watermarks for dating (e.g. in the cases of I, C, and K). A correction which may be of particular interest to students of textual criticism relates to Turyn's report that at *Ol.* 14.18 N reads δαῖδαμελον; Irigoín comments (269 n. 1) 'au f. 71^r un trou, qui a fait disparaître les lettres -ων/-ε, laisse apercevoir le milieu du mot ελλα[σ]θη du f. 72^r (O VI sch. metr., ép. 1 [Dr. I, p. 153, 2])'.

But it is not only the history of Pindar's text which is illuminated by Irigoín's book; the history of Byzantine scholarship acquires new detail and increased reality from his beautifully clear descriptions, and he even allows us to be present for a few tantalising moments in Byzantine classrooms while the great teachers of that age are expounding Pindar. On every count we owe a great debt of gratitude to Irigoín; and any future edition of Pindar or work on the history of Classical scholarship in the Middle Ages which does not take this book into very careful account will stand self-condemned.

J. A. DAVSON.

Recherches sur les mètres de la lyrique chorale grecque: la structure du vers. By J. IRIGOIN. Paris: Klincksieck, 1953. Pp. 105. Price not stated.

If we select at random any one type of dactylo-epitrite verse commonly used by Pindar and Bacchylides, we are likely to find that it shows a strong tendency to exhibit a 'bridge' at a given point throughout certain poems and at a different point throughout other poems. Thus the verse e-D-e tends to assume

¹ A point of detail: in this chapter (33) and the next (44) Irigoín treats the second *Pythian* as incontestably meant for a victory in some local games; he has evidently missed Bowra's article in *HSCP* 48, 1937, 1–28 (now *Problems in Greek Poetry*, 1953, 66–92).

Some books whose general argument is defective partially compensate their readers by a scholarly treatment of incidental details. This is not one of them. The style is clear and straightforward, and there seem to be comparatively few mistakes of fact. But the author's irritating habit of making points which he might well have made directly by quoting English, or occasionally French, popular works, does not make good his apparent indifference to the great body of scholarly literature on this subject. He once refers to Wilamowitz's introduction to his translation of the *Oresteia*; but this is the only mention of anything in German, and the text itself shows no sign of the author's acquaintance with this writer's introduction to Greek tragedy or his *Aischylos: Interpretationen*. Even in a popular work of this kind, such indifference to scholarship has unfortunate results. O. quotes Aeschylus in a whole variety of translations, mostly in verse and mostly more or less free or imprecise.

nor do his own prose renderings, when he uses them, suggest that he possessed the technical competence which a writer even of a popular book about so difficult an author should possess. O.'s preoccupation with the complete plays to the exclusion of the fragments not only inhibits him from giving his reader as much as a hint that Aeschylus wrote other plays besides those we have and those which made up the trilogies to which they belonged, but also makes him unwilling to do more than glance at the difficult and, to the serious reader, inescapable problems that are raised by the Danaid and Theban trilogies and, above all, the *Prometheia*.

One cannot doubt that, had the author lived to carry out a final revision of this book, it would have been much improved; indeed, the editor in his preface suggests that O. might have published no more than a 'full-scale study of the *Orestia*'. In particular, the brief and unsatisfactory chapter on the *Prometheia* would no doubt have been expanded, or never published. But on the evidence of the printed volume it is permissible to doubt whether the writer possessed the scholarship and independent critical judgment that would be needed to produce a popular account of Aeschylus in any way comparable to, say, the late H. Weir Smyth's *Aeschylean Tragedy*.

HUGH LLOYD-JONES.

The Agamemnon of Aeschylus. The Greek Text performed at Cambridge, February 1953, with a verse Translation by SIR JOHN SHEPPARD and an introduction by D. W. LUCAS. Pp. viii + 118. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1952. 6s.

Sophocles' Electra and Other Plays. A new translation by E. F. WATLING. Pp. 218. London: Penguin Books, 1953. 2s.

Sophocles' Ajax and the Women of Trachis. A translation in verse by L. J. MORISON. Pp. vi + 104. Eton College: The Savile Press, 1951. 5s. 6d.

Euripides' Alcestis and Other Plays. A new translation by P. VELLACOTT. Pp. 165. London: Penguin Books, 1953. 2s.

These four volumes of translations, all of them worthy of study by the expert as well as by the general reader, show an interesting diversity of style and of approach to the problem of rendering the words and spirit of Greek tragedy in English. Sir John Sheppard's version of the *Agamemnon*, already published elsewhere in part, is based mainly on Headlam's text. It is interesting therefore to compare it with Headlam's translation and to mark its greater clarity and vigour, while it loses nothing in point of accuracy. Both in lyrics and in the blank verse used for the iambic portions, Sir John contrives to combine an easy and contemporary, yet poetical, vocabulary into periods which reflect the dramatic values of the Greek and convey not only the details of Aeschylus' imagery but also the intricately developing pattern of the play itself. So happy a result must depend in part upon the translator's life-long acquaintance with the works of Aeschylus, and also on his ability to distil his experience in both blank and lyrical verse which seems neither stilted nor archaically remote to the contemporary ear. This line or that might be bettered in other versions; and there are no doubt many to whom Mr. Macneice's free verse may seem better suited to present Aeschylus in modern dress; but no lover of the *Agamemnon* will read this version without pleasure and profit. A very short and almost trivial illustration must suffice to show its quality—(vv. 563–6. *χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λόγοι τις διανοστέοντι* οἶον παρῆχ' ἀφάρτων Ἰδαία χιόν' ἢ θάλασσα, εἴτε πόντος ἐν μεσημβρινῇ κοίταις ἀνέμων ηὐμῆσις εὐδοίει πρῶτον).

—then freezing cold,
When Ida was all snow—it killed the birds.
Or sweltering heat at noon, when not a breath
Of wind stirred, not a ripple, and the sea
Sank in his bed and slept.

As in his earlier volume in the Penguin Classics, which contained the Theban Plays, Mr. Watling employs a modern idiom and style in which he is well at home. His versions have directness and vigour which will not estrange the ear of the reader of modern poetic drama, when he turns to the plays which have inspired many of his favourite authors. Mr. Watling's feeling for poetry and for the dramatic values of Sophocles' work is sure; and the leading threads which bind together episode and stasimon and their component parts are clearly emphasised for the Greekless reader. The very directness of his approach tends to inconsistencies: in the iambic portions prose alternates with a rapid free-stressed verse which does not submit kindly to analysis; and a poetic vocabulary is interlarded with abbreviations and phrases common in daily speech, with an effect very different from the breath-taking perfection of Sophocles himself: For example, it seems out of

key to translate *Aj.* 542 (δεῦρο προσπόλων) ὅγ' αὐτὸν δαπνερ χερσὶν εὐδύνων κυρτῇ by 'One of you bring him here, whichever of you is looking after him'; but at the great moments Mr. Watling does much better than this. In the lyrics there is little beyond the use of paragraphs to represent the repetitive balance of strophe and antistrophe, but the reader cannot fail to understand Sophocles' intention in the translated version, even if its impact is reduced. The images are mainly rendered with accuracy and force—e.g. *Aj.* 477–8 'Who'd be that man? To huddle over the coals of flickering hope. Not I.'

Mr. Morison's version is at once more complete, consistent, and 'poetical' than Mr. Watling's and less dramatically effective. He would take an honourable place amongst nineteenth-century translators for his careful blank verse and consistently elevated vocabulary, and for the skill with which he makes use of a variety of lyric metres; but to the Greekless reader at least his sentences and phrases will often seem more obscure than evocative, more often grand, elevated, and remote, than compellingly alive and relevant to Everyman in his modern humour. He is at his best in the lyrics, where his sense of poetry and use of rhyme and metre give poise and balance to the odes, and at his worst in stichomythia. Their versions of *Aj.* 596 (ὃ δ' ἀνὰ Σολοῦς) will serve to illustrate the weaknesses and strengths of both translators, though Mr. Watling, in his attractive stanza, is perhaps more than usually laconic.

Watling:

O glorious Salamis, beauty of the world
Set fast for ever in the washing waves,
Pity us here,
Stretched on our grassy beds. How long?
Months without number,
Year after weary year,
Waiting for nothing but our cold
Dark everlasting graves.

Morison:

O glorious Salamis, enthroned on high
Amid the waves that lash thy shore,
Conspicuous to every eye,
Thou hast thy seat: and I all sore of heart
Long while through these uncounted months
Have tarried, by time's weary course
Depressed and in the camp have lain
Here in the pasture-fields of Ida's plain
And have no hope left but to reach anon
Hades' dim realm abhorred.

Both books provide brief stage directions and introductory notes. It is a pity, though no doubt a matter of policy, that in both Mr. Watling's book and Mr. Vellacott's in the Penguin Classics the lines are not numbered.

Mr. Vellacott has translated *Alcestis*, *Hippolytus*, and *I.T.* Like Mr. Watling, he uses a contemporary style to lessen the strangeness of Greek drama to the reader, but in iambics he mostly abandons even free verse for plain but often effective prose. The result is a reliable version, faithfully rendering the sense of the Greek and more often than not well phrased for acting on the stage. Strophe and antistrophe are distinguished in the choruses, though there is little metrical correspondence and in some places—*Hipp.* 1102 ff. for example—expansion of one element makes it quite disproportionately long. In contrast with Mr. Watling, Mr. Vellacott's tendency is to over-elaboration and especially to the insertion of adjectives not found in the Greek text, to underline his meaning; but despite these qualifications, the reader cannot fail to mark those qualities which distinguish Euripides' work from that of the other tragedians. Whether or no this style of translation will continue to satisfy is not certain; but the Penguin Classics deserve the greatest praise for the high standard of fidelity and good taste which they achieve. Amongst other benefits not the least is perhaps the renewed interest with which they set the student of Greek literature to reconsider his favourite translations of an earlier age.

P. G. MASON.

The Imagery of Sophocles' Antigone, a Study of Poetic Language and Structure. By ROBERT F. GOHEEN. Princeton: University Press, 1951 (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). Pp. 171. 20s.

Mr. Goheen finds in his study of the language of *Antigone* six dominant image-groups, which 'serve to arouse and establish connections of thought, emotion and judgment from part to part of the play'. These images, however, have a double value: they have 'the denotative value of their particular use, in a limited context', and they serve 'to characterise the points of view of different characters in the play and set them in sharp

opposition on fundamental matters'. They also help us to understand 'the basic issues or facts of human experience' which the poet regards as relevant to his theme.

The author considers first what he calls the 'money sequence', and points to the frequency with which Creon uses words such as *πλοῦς* and *μωδός*. This is especially apparent in the scene with Teiresias, in which Creon is quick to level accusations of bribery against those who oppose him, but has been foreshadowed already in the speech about money as the root of all evil which he makes on hearing that his edict has been broken. Next is the 'military sequence', another favourite image of Creon, revealing that his view of government is that of a military dictator, who demands unquestioning obedience from his subjects. The quality of Creon's thought is 'concrete in vision, and expression, admiring the orderly, impatient of what cannot be brought under an elementary, direct kind of order'. Imagery drawn from animals and the taming of animals is more frequent than either of the preceding two, and symbolises the view that as men are to brutes so are the gods to men. Creon again makes much use of this, and it throws light upon his attitude to the relations between governor and governed. The same imagery appears also in the Parodos (conflict of eagle and snake, chariotteering and the race-course), the first Stasimon (man taming wild animals to his yoke), the third Stasimon (*ποσειδῶν* is taken as a metaphor from the driving of horses), and the fourth Stasimon, which contains images derived from the yoking of animals. Perhaps Mr. Goheen is over-subtle in seeing what he calls a subconscious 'Freudian slip' in the choice of the word *σάβη* (literally of a dog fawning) in Creon's line 1214 *παιδός μ' ἢ σάβην φέδωγος*, but it shows that he is wide awake to the overtones of language. The last two image-sequences which he finds are the marriage motif and the tropes from disease and its cure. The treatment of the first of these is interesting, especially in the way in which it is shown how in Antigone's mind there is a fusion between the ideas of marriage and death. There is also a discussion of the ship of state metaphor, which gives coherence to Creon's opening statement of policy, and recurs from time to time throughout the play.

In two concluding chapters the author carefully analyses the language and structure of Stasima I, II, and IV, and deals with some of the problems raised by the play. He finds in Antigone's language a directly emotional and extra-rational mode of expression, and considers that she has immediate moral intuition, whereas Creon is, to begin with, rational and sensible, but intellectually limited. The play is seen in its simplest terms as a 'conflict of two persons in respect to a burial', and this conflict is made to involve the deeper issues of ethics, politics, religion, and philosophy, in particular a probing into the celebrated *vóros-phóros* controversy. A postscript suggests ways of enquiring into some of the secrets of Sophocles' style, rightly rejecting both the method of cataloguing individual words without relation to their context and the vague, subjective approach, using the commonplaces of praise, and encouraging research into the functional use of imagery and the light it throws upon the emotional attitudes and intellectual perceptions of the characters.

It seems to the reviewer that the author has done his work well and that it was worth doing. He is painstaking and suggestive, at times too subtle, but is never content to assume that a metaphor is dead without going for the literal meaning of each figurative expression and relating it to its context and to similar expressions throughout the play. It is not, however, an easy book to read. It abounds in such phrases as 'evaluative response' and 'multivalent awareness'; and the argument would have gained a hundredfold in clarity if it had been presented in terse, concrete, and more precise English. There is an exhaustive bibliography comprising some 150 books and articles and a good *Index locorum*. The notes deal with detailed points of interpretation. It is good that the author regards Antigone's last speech as wholly genuine, and keeps *vóros* at 602, but he labours in vain to defend *ποσειδῶν* at 368 and *παιδός* (reading *λεπτός* and deleting the stop before it) at 614.

R. W. B. BURTON.

Sophokles und das Humane (Sonderabdruck aus dem Almanach der Österreich. Akad. der Wiss. 101). By ALBIN LESKY. Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1952. Pp. 26. Price not stated.

Lesky takes as his starting-point the thesis developed by Schadewaldt in his paper *Sophokles und das Leid* (1944) that man reaches his fulfilment in suffering. While rightly emphasising the isolation of the Sophoclean tragic hero, he sees a further principle at work: Sophocles' characters strive to overcome this isolation and seek after fellowship with each other in love and understanding. This theme is illustrated first by an analysis of the prologue of *Ajax*: the stricken hero is revealed *en tableau*, alone amid the carnage, displayed by a mocking Athena to

Odysseus, who draws from the scene a lesson that is fundamental to our understanding of Sophoclean tragedy—

ὅρω γὰρ ἡμῶς οὐδὲν ὄντας ἔδωκε πάλιν
εἰδῶν δασυτέρω ζῶμεν ἢ καύρηι σκιδόν.

This realisation of the nothingness of man forms a bond uniting the figures of tragedy, and the humanity of Odysseus is further revealed at the end of the play when he realises that there must be a limit to hatred of a fallen foe, that after all it is not *καλόν* to continue it, and that it must give way to its opposite.

Next follow some enlightening remarks on *Antigone*. The spring of the heroine's actions is not so much a spirit of rebellion against the authority of the state represented by Creon, but an overmastering emotion of love for her kin by blood which has sundered her from the living and dedicated her to the dead. There is an interesting discussion of the famous line *οἷοι συσέχθην ὀλοῖα συμφορῶν ἔργον*, in which Lesky gives due attention to the word *ἔργον*, indicating that *συμφορῶν* is something deeply ingrained in Antigone's nature, and not a pose adopted to meet her special situation, by which she hopes to score a debating point against Creon; and he finds in this line the kernel of the clash between the two, the irreconcilable conflict between the nature that loves and the nature that hates.

Trachiniae contains a similar portrait of an isolated soul striving for union with a loved one, Deianira's sympathetic nature being revealed as much in her attitude to the captives as in her love for Heracles; and in *Electra* Lesky sees in its most mature form the passing of a tragic figure from loneliness to fellowship with her loved brother, a fellowship with the living, not, as in *Antigone*, with the dead. Oedipus too, in the midst of his shrinking from human contact, nevertheless stretches out his hands for his daughters, a groping after love which finds its fulfilment in old age within the grove at Colonus. It is in the character of Theseus in *Oedipus at Colonus* that Lesky finds Sophocles' most complete portrait of the humane personality, in thinking of whom we may recall the familiar words of Terence.

In addition to developing his main thesis, the author does well to point out that in the plays of Sophocles the gods appear on the whole to be indifferent to the questionings of mankind, an attitude which distinguishes him sharply from both Aeschylus and Euripides. This paper is a good example of recent trends in Sophoclean studies which seek to show that the poet is most likely to yield up a tithe of his secret to those who in reading his plays concentrate upon the relations between man and man.

R. W. B. BURTON.

Herodotus, Father of History. By JOHN L. MYRES. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953. Pp. viii + 315, with 25 text figs. 30s.

All who enjoyed the lectures of the Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the 1920s, on 'Greece and Persia' and kindred subjects, will be glad that Sir John Myres has published this book, to supplement or replace the well-worn notebook crammed with undergraduate handwriting. And for those more numerous readers of H. who, for whatever reason, did not hear the lectures, there is even more cause for gratitude. Parts of this book almost reproduce the lectures, as at least one earlier reviewer guessed for himself. But brevity by no means results in dullness. There are, as always, ideas and *aperçus* on every page; and new readers of H., who may find themselves in danger of losing the wood amid so many fascinating trees, will find a valuable companion to Herodotean studies in the 'Tabular Analysis' (pp. 118-34), and the main section, 'Historical Notes on the *Histories*' (pp. 135-300).

I do not feel equally sure about the preceding chapter, 'The Structure of the *Histories*'. The structure is described as 'pedimental', in a manner which will be familiar to readers of Sir John's articles on the *Iliad*, the *Shield of Heracles*, etc., of the thirties. No one will doubt that H. gave his *Histories* a planned artistic structure, but that he never inserted a story merely because it seemed too good to leave out, or found his plan disorganised (like other people) by an unexpected discovery, is harder to believe. Moreover, human affairs often have their own 'pedimental structure', which will out, even in the most artless narrative; e.g., home—abroad—home, or childhood—active life—old age; and narratives of the advance and repulse of an aggressor not least. Nothing would be easier than to trace pedimental structure in an official narrative of the 'Benghazi Stakes' of 1940-42, or of the campaigns in which Pinsk, Minsk, and Dvinsk reappeared, in 1944, in the communiqués from which they had vanished three years earlier. Readers must make up their own minds whether it is due to conscious planning that the story of Aristagoras at Sparta is 'enframed between his arrival and his departure' (p. 175); and on H. VII. 20-138, Sir John concedes that 'the latter half' of a

pedimental structure 'is (as so often) less formally presented than the earlier'.

There are a few verbal slips. Pausanias I. 32-3 is wrongly cited as authority for the Athenian tribal order (p. 210); *Dicaearchia* (p. 164) is not named by H., but imported, very relevantly, from Eusebius; Hecataeus, in V. 36, deprecates insurrection, not 'evacuation' (p. 197); and the 'left' and 'right' of an order of battle are more than once those of one looking at an oriented map, and not those of the combatants (Greeks at Lade, p. 197; Persians at Plataea, p. 293). There is also a considerable number of misprints, chiefly in proper names and in references; small matters, but not what one expects of the Clarendon Press.

The illustrations are attractive, and not least p. 67, where we have, reprinted in permanent form at last, the first sentence of Herodotus' work, 'dressed' in the manner of an eighteenth-century title-page.

But the great thing is that Myres' notes on Herodotus are published, including his observations on H.'s geography and on 'The Man: his Life and Travels'. Over thirty years ago, Alan Blakeway was telling a freshman about a paper read by the Professor to an undergraduate society, on Herodotus' Luggage. The freshman, to whom 'J. L. Myres' had hitherto meant only *The Dawn of History*, remarked, 'He sounds rather like Herodotus himself.' Blakeway said, 'I cannot now think of Herodotus except as Myres.'

Sir John knows and appreciates his Greeks, too. It would be interesting to know how much the Professor owed to the Lieutenant-Commander at Samos, who once had occasion to signal—in clear—to London that he was reduced to supporting his Greek commandos by selling 'stolen' (i.e., captured Turkish) beef to the British Navy. It is a pity that his *akme* fell too early to take him to Greece in the Thermopylean days of 1940; even though all the tragedy and *stasis* known to Thucydides were to follow thereafter.

A. R. BURN.

The Male Characters of Euripides. A study in realism. By E. M. BLAKLOCK. Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1952. Pp. xvi + 267. 35s.

Professor Blaklock starts perhaps at something of a disadvantage in that characterisation in Euripides is a well-worn topic and a stand-by for generations of examiners. Yet his book is never dull and justifies its writing, even though a good deal of its space has to be given to stating the views of others. A full treatment of his thesis would call for an examination *pari passu* of Euripidean women; these in fact come in for attention in so far as Jason cannot be treated apart from Medea or Orestes from Electra, while the classic case of Iphigeneia's change of character at Aulis gets incidental mention (pp. 93 f.: 120 f.). The contention of the work is that, with the exception of the *I.T.*, Euripides' main interest was in character and not in plot. One reads this rather as a manifesto of reaction to prevailing views, for, stated absolutely, the proposition is hardly demonstrable, if only because for so versatile a playwright the term 'main interest' is bound to be an elusive one. The emphasis on character is not constant, but varies from play to play, as indeed his exception of the *I.T.* indicates. Thus the more elastic views on this side of Euripides (see, e.g. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy*, pp. 252 f.; 330 f.) stand essentially uncontroverted. Nevertheless, this book has value; the author has a reasonable range of literature, at least in English, to draw on, although his bibliography has few, if any, entries after 1946 and some surprising omissions of works readily available before that date, notably E. R. Dodd's paper 'Maenadism in the *Bacchae*' (in *Harvard Theological Review* 33 (1940), 155 ff.) and his edition of that play (Oxford, 1944).

An unpretentious but readable introduction leads on to eleven appositely-titled chapters on Admetus ('The Athenian Husband'), Jason ('The Hero that Was'), Hippolytus, the Sons of Erechtheus (here Demophon, Iolaus and the other males of the *Heracleidae* are, very properly, handled side by side with Theseus and Adrastus from the *Suppliants*), Menelaus ('Helen's Husband'), Agamemnon, Herakles ('The Epileptic'), Ion, Orestes, the House of Cadmus, and, lastly, Pentheus and his associates ('The Natural Man'). Some of the minor characters such as Thoas, Eurystheus, and sundry Old Retainers (see, however, p. 154) receive scant attention, though others (e.g. Pylades, p. 187) come off better; one wonders perhaps if the author had the *beau rôle* primarily in mind in formulating his thesis. He is at his best, I think, in his treatments of Admetus, Ion (here he well emphasises the effect of the Delphic atmosphere on a sensitive boy), and Herakles. For Admetus he leans rather heavily on J. L. Myres' essay (in *JHS* 37 (1917), 195 ff.), though taking cognisance of J. T. Sheppard's criticisms (*ibid.* 39 (1919), 37-47) and meeting Verrall's views with suitable comment. He makes judicious use of Browning's

adaptation of this play, while a few biblical quotations are incorporated here and elsewhere with tact and in such a fashion as to help the argument rather than impair it.

For the *Herakles* he collates the details of the epileptic symptoms in the play with modern text-books on this disease with such effect that he can argue convincingly for a ranking of this play with Euripides' best. In the light of this analysis (he does well to underline, with J. T. Sheppard in *CQ* 10 (1916), 73, the repetition of key-ideas, e.g. *ἡρόκλεις* in *H.F.* 631, 1094, 1424, to vindicate the unity) it ceases to be a problem-play, and can be enjoyed for the remarkable and powerful study that it is.

Space precludes comment on the other chapters, but he has some pertinent observations on the unbalanced outlook on the more intimate side of family life prevalent in fifth-century Athens and kindred matters. Perhaps in places he stresses the political in Euripides a little too much, but he avoids eccentric judgments and picks his guides well, though it is interesting to see him taking his stand firmly beside Meredith (*CR* 51 (1937), 97 ff.) in defence of the concluding scene of the *Phoenissae*. He is alert to the value of comparison with the very different treatments of later authors such as Seneca (pp. 42-3) and Racine (p. 43, Hippolytus: p. 164, *Andromache*) for the study of Euripides. One likes, too, the remark (p. 164): 'Euripides' Orestes, without much alteration, might have provided a shell-shocked figure for *Journey's End*.'

This is a competent study, with a usefulness independent of the validity or otherwise of its central contention.

JOHN G. GRIFFITH.

Aspects of Euripidean Tragedy. By L. H. G. GREENWOOD. Cambridge: University Press, 1953. Pp. vii + 144. 18s.

Mr. Greenwood's elegantly presented opusculum shows the old Verrallian hobby-horse at its cavortings again, the tune altered but the steps much the same. That animal never had a counter to the criticisms it provoked at its nativity: see, e.g. J. R. Mozley in *CR* IX (1895), 407 ff., especially the last paragraph but two (pp. 412-13). Yet for Mr. Greenwood a 'major difficulty' in Euripidean study is that 'whereas the poet's representations of the nature and actions of the gods . . . conflicts sharply with what appear to be his own religious beliefs, nevertheless these gods and their activities are presented as an integral and irremovable element of the whole'. Faced with this, his solution is to suppose 'first, that the plots of the plays . . . are fantasies: that is, series of events which E. neither himself thought nor wished the enlightened among his audience to think, such as actually occurred or could have occurred. And secondly, that this is all: that there is no second version of the plot, no "real story" underlying what is on the surface' (p. 1).

If ingenuity could have commended this kind of approach, Verrall and his henchmen would have succeeded in doing so long ago. As, by general consent, they have failed, it remains to ask whether their questions were properly posed, or were even significant at all. To be worried by the difference, real or alleged, between E.'s own apparent views of the gods (the author sets out what he takes these to be on pp. 20 f.) and their actions in the plays is of a piece with the cast of mind that raises the 'flat-footed' kind of question about E. being 'for' or 'against' Dionysus, Artemis, or other relevant Olympians; such gods are beyond predication of good or evil and reconciliation of their conduct with human standards need not arise. The god is, as Teiresias says in the *Bacchae* (314-18) 'what we make of him' (cf. Dodds, *Bacchae*, *Introd.* p. xlii), and so *πᾶσι μορφαὶ τῶν θεῶν*. Thus I am hard put to it to find a point of contact with Mr. Greenwood's problem, and must excuse myself from pronouncing on his 'fantasy theory' and the pendant criticisms of the 'rationalist' and 'symbolist' approaches which form his first three chapters.

His fourth chapter is taken up with a treatment of the *Suppliants* and does not depend of the presuppositions of the earlier part entirely. I am, however, puzzled by his claim that Professor Kitto, in his book on Greek Tragedy, though not 'going so far', supports much of the author's contentions on this play. Kitto—so Greenwood p. 93 n.—is to be added to those who regard this as one of the plays 'whose face value is not their true value'. Now Kitto (*op. cit.* pp. 221 f. and elsewhere) makes it a quite straightforward pacifist study on the theme, if one may so put it, 'quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achiivi', with no hint of an esoteric interpretation. Greenwood, however, tells us that 'ostensibly' E. is supporting the alliance with Argos in 424 B.C., but is in fact attacking it (p. 107). To argue his point Mr. Greenwood has to make much of the political allusions; Kitto firmly discounts them (p. 228). Consistency with the second of Mr. Greenwood's initial propositions (see above) apart, do others find it hard to discover the Highest Common Factor of these two views?

In his last chapter ('Realism and Greek Tragedy') Mr. Greenwood has observed what he takes to be a convention whereby (p. 132) in several plays a lyric section is followed by an iambic passage during which the action is not advanced at all; the speaker merely elaborating, in a lower emotional tone, the thought of the foregoing song: e.g. the lyrics of Soph. *O.T.* 1297-1368 are followed by the iambs of 1369-1415. In such a function the iambs never apparently precede the lyrics. Mr. Greenwood does not elaborate on the significance which may underlie this, for he uses it only to illustrate the 'non-realistic' (which seems to amount to 'convention-bound') character of Greek Tragedy which he is discussing. If explanation is needed, may it not perhaps be an unconscious memory of the evolution of tragic form: the original lyric dialogue having been expanded by firstly trochaic and then iambic passages, so that the lyric-iambic sequence in static situations reflects the development? Or, if the music had predominated at the expense of the words in the lyrics, the iambic 'explanation' may have followed to make all plain before the next phase of the play.

Much labour has evidently gone into this book, which is modestly and pleasantly written. The thought, however, rather passes the present reviewer by, so that after considerable re-reading he finds himself saying with the flummoxed Frenchman at the Bridge-table: 'Mes enfants, je nage.'

JOHN G. GRIFFITH.

Un emploi archaïque de l'analogie chez Héraclite et Thucydide. By ANDRÉ RIVIER. Pp. 68. Lausanne: F. Rouge, 1952. Sw. fr. 7.50.

This short book contains two separate studies. The first is an examination of Heraclitus fr. 12, which appears in Diels as ποταμοίσι τολών αὐτοῖσι ἐμβαλόντων ἕτρα καὶ ἕτρα ὄρεα ἐπρηπὶ καὶ ψυχὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὕγρων ἀναθυμῶνται. It is difficult to see how the second statement can be logically consequent upon the first. Yet on the face of it Cleanthes (who, according to Arius Didymus as preserved in Eusebius, quoted the fragment to show that Zeno agreed with Heraclitus in calling the soul an exhalation) took the two statements as a consecutive and, presumably, coherent quotation. Any effort to show that there is, after all, a reasonable connexion in sense between the two statements must, therefore, be received with interest and respect. Meanwhile the sceptical will note that the first clause, the river-statement, is original in appearance and contains, for example, long datives and an archaic repetition in ἕτρα καὶ ἕτρα; while the second clause contains a compound (ἀναθυμῶνται) that is not otherwise found before Aristotle, and an indefinite use of the plural (τῶν ὕγρων) which reminds one of the late fourth rather than the early fifth century (contrast fr. 126, τὰ ψυχρὰ θέρπει). Further, since καὶ ψυχὰς... ἀναθυμῶνται would in itself amply illustrate Cleanthes' point, were it original, it is not easy to see why the river-statement, which has no detectable connexion with souls and certainly adds nothing to the plain assertion which follows it, was ever quoted. It is conceivable that Cleanthes, being hard put to it to find an original quotation which really proved his point, produced fr. 12 because it at least contained ὄρεα (with which the process of exhalation is connected), and then attached a paraphrase of part of fr. 36 (ἐξ ὄρεος δὲ ψυχὴ), which at any rate appeared to be relevant. This paraphrase might already have become juxtaposed to the river-statement in a Heraclitean handbook because of the superficial link ὄρεα—τῶν ὕγρων.

Rivier ignores any linguistic difficulties in the second clause, but immediately fastens upon ἐμβαλόντων, in the first. This word is foreign to the original saying, he maintains, for the following reasons: (a) It is equivocal (i.e. τολών αὐτοῖσι could be taken either with it or with ποταμοῖσι), and Heraclitus was only equivocal on purpose. (b) It should be followed by εἰς, not by the dative; cf. fr. 5. (c) The juxtaposition of the four datives would be only natural if they formed a single grammatical unit. (d) The saying is intended to emphasise the opposition αὐτός—ἕτερος, with the simple expression of which ἐμβαλόντων interferes. (e) Oppositions in Heraclitus are normally of general application, but ἐμβαλόντων restricts the opposition in question to a particular application. It will be seen at once that these objections to ἐμβαλόντων are, singly and in sum, utterly unconvincing. They are, in fact, purely subjective dogmata, sometimes based upon a radical misunderstanding of Heraclitus: for example, it is apparent from the extant fragments that Heraclitus was *not* opposed to specific and concrete examples of the unity of opposites, but on the contrary was particularly addicted to such examples. Rivier makes the most extraordinary use of Snell's contention that the Heraclitean 'opposites' were essentially connected with and derived from human experience. This thesis is made to work against the mention of a human standard, ἐμβαλόντων, in fr. 12: 'Or la démarche d'Héraclite se fonde sur une expérience vécue où se consomme l'union de la pensée et du monde. Cette expérience

n'est jamais nommée parce qu'elle n'intervient pas à titre propre' (p. 16)—and so on.

A complicated examination of the possible transmission of the fragment reaches the conclusion that the second clause belongs to the original quotation; but the only legitimate conclusion here is that Cleanthes juxtaposed the two clauses, not necessarily from the same source. By the removal of ἐμβαλόντων and the equation of ὄρεα and τῶν ὕγρων, Rivier eventually finds himself left with an original pronouncement containing only three terms, and of a proportional type analogous to fr. 79. This proportional statement is intended to show that the soul is related to the blood and the humours (R. here follows Gigon *Untersuchungen* p. 104) as the river is related to its water. Water, so fluid in rivers, is as though stationary in comparison with the fluidity of the soul. This conclusion is not one which would of itself recommend the somewhat drastic expedients which have led to it. Nevertheless, Rivier's examination of the fragment is carried out methodically and with an admirably scientific spirit. It is, after all, only by the minute examination of each fragment in relation to its context that a plausible estimate of Heraclitus can eventually be formed. Only the reader of Rivier's book must beware of being carried along too far by an air of sweet reasonableness; when he stops to exercise his own critical faculty, he may be faced by the bitter reality of philological discussions like that on pp. 36 f., where Rivier maintains at some length that, if ἐμβαλόντων were excluded, then ἐπρηπὶ would directly govern the case of ποταμοῖσι τολών αὐτοῖσι (cf. *Il.* 2. 754). The river itself, he thinks, is conceived by Heraclitus as bathing in ever new waters.

The second study in the book is called 'Ἀριστος εἰκαστής, with reference to the description of Themistocles at Thuc. 1. 183, 3 as τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γαισημένου ἀριστος εἰκαστής. Rivier argues convincingly that it is wrong to translate εἰκαστής here as 'conjecturer', but that εἰκάζειν (which undeniably develops, towards the end of the fifth century B.C., the sense of 'guess', as opposed to σαρξὲς εἰδέναι) has an earlier specific meaning, namely to estimate the nature of a partly unknown complex by comparing its known elements with similar known elements in a fully apprehended complex, and inferring a relation between other elements in the two complexes. It is maintained that this was a common Greek figure of thought (which differs from a universal type of inference, I would add, only by being more explicit), and that it is first seen in Greek literature in Homeric uses of ἔσκειν. Thus when at *Od.* 8. 159 f. Euryalus says to Odysseus οὐ γὰρ σ' οὐδὲ, ξίλει, δαίμων φασὶ ἔσκειν ἔσκειν, he means that he has found no likeness between his partial knowledge of Odysseus, derived from a limited experience of him (e.g. of age, stature etc.), and his knowledge of corresponding characteristics of a complex type already familiar to him, i.e. 'good athlete'. Rivier pursues his idea somewhat selectively through the Homeric similes and other early Greek poetry; many of his conclusions at this point carry less conviction, and more thorough documentation will be needed if we are to be satisfied that, for example, εἰκάζειν = 'likely' depends directly upon this particular habit of assessment by explicit comparison. The author regards his study as preliminary, and promises a more detailed examination of the subject.

G. S. KIRK.

Les sophistes et le droit. By C. E. PERIPHANAKIS. Pp. 66. Athens: Eleftheroudakis, 1953. Dr. 30,000.

Modest in aim and compass, this book outlines in five short chapters the views of the early sophists on political theory. Notes and bibliography are copious, but contain too many references and too little discussion to serve their avowed purpose of furnishing a guide to the student.

The sophists collectively ('rhetéurs philosophiques') are described as adherents of the 'subjectivist principle' of Protagoras, which led them to discard belief in objective values and principles of natural justice, and to acknowledge only the right of the stronger. Protagoras' own more moderate social philosophy is reconstructed along now familiar lines from the Platonic myth. Chapter IV, correcting the preceding generalities, traces the divergent development of the idea of natural equality by Hippias, Antiphon, and Alcidas; Phaleas also finds a place here. A brief concluding chapter points out logical weaknesses in the sophist position.

Sources are briskly dealt with. The concordant testimony of authorities so eminent, morally and intellectually, as Plato and Aristotle (and, it would seem, Xenophon), sufficiently guarantees their historical accuracy, and allows us to accept without further question the views reported in the *Protagoras*, *Theaetetus*, *Gorgias*, and *Republic* i; the only question at issue is the speakers' sincerity. This quality is rarely to be found in them (p. 6): but Protagoras was sincere in formulating his 'Homo Mensura' ('the fruit of long meditation'), and the

actions of many sophists (unspecified) confirm its authenticity. Hippias' sincerity is assured by his plain speaking (in both Plato and Xenophon). These criteria will not find universal acceptance.

The scope of the subject is rather strictly limited. There is little reference to Thucydides or Euripides, none to the Antiphonic tetralogies; but Critias, Meno, and Callicles are cited as typical sophists. The Anonymus Iamblichi is by-passed with a neat petitio principii (n. 42: 'Ce penseur n'est pas entraîné par le courant sophistique: il examine les choses judicieusement'). The Social Contract is relegated to a note. Antiphon appears briefly as a liberal cosmopolitan in company with Alcidas, whose observation on human freedom in the *Messenians* (hardly avoidable, one might think, in the context) is elevated to the dignity of a theory 'in agreement with his philosophic principles' (n. 79b). The references here appended (Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1397a 11 f., 1406a 1 f., b 11 f.), do not reveal much in the way of philosophy.

The attempt to characterise sophistic thought by a collective psychology and even common doctrine (though this is disclaimed at one point) not only leads to arbitrary inclusions and exclusions, but inevitably breaks down; and the failure to distinguish systematic theory from rhetorical commonplace makes it easy to attribute to these professors greater originality than they probably possessed. The evidence being what it is, the distinction is not easily drawn; the more need for caution. Exacting standards should not, perhaps, be applied to a book which makes no claim to original scholarship, and avoids the excesses of some recent works which do. The views here expressed are hallowed by tradition and the assent of eminent historians; but the manner in which they are presented is, even for a short work, at once unnecessarily sketchy and misleadingly dogmatic.

R. MATHEWSON.

L'oraison funèbre de Gorgias. By W. VOLLGRAFF. Pp. 175. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952. 23 guilders.

The laboured catalogue of virtues that survives of Gorgias' *Epitaphius* is here examined in a discursive commentary in order to throw light on the author's views on morals and educational ideals. Vollgraff concentrates his attention on vocabulary, deliberately eschewing questions of style as secondary to his purpose, and making no attempt at comparison with other examples of the genre. (An unfortunate omission; for considerations of form cannot here fail to affect conclusions about meaning.) In the attempt to determine the precise meaning of the terms employed he assembles much lexicographical material from varied and sometimes remote sources. He finds in passing that this 'discours d'apparat' was published at Athens between 427 and 423, the latter limit being fixed (inconclusively) by references in Aristophanes' *Clouds*. In conclusion, the ideal that emerges is found to be that of the graduate of Gorgias' school rather than that of the Athenian citizen-soldier; and, properly understood, it confirms Plato's account of the fundamental doctrines of the sophists. Further, Vollgraff argues that Gorgias formulated the educational theory commonly adopted by the later rhetorical, and opposed by the philosophical, schools of Greece and Rome, which is thus expressed by Quintilian: 'Interim et sublimitate heroi carminis animus adurgat et ex magnitudine rerum spiritum ducat et optimis imbuatur.'

It is not so much these conclusions in themselves as the discovery of support for them in the fragment that taxes the author's ingenuity and the reader's credulity. The latter conclusion emerges in an essay, occupying half the book, which draws on the resources of later Greek and Latin literature to explain the significance of the word *πρόδος*, and proceeds to an account of various views of the love of glory in the Greco-Roman world down to the fourth century A.D. There are here many sound and interesting observations by the way (on, e.g., *Aeneid* ix. 182, Aristotle's theory of tragic catharsis, and *ἀσφαλισμός* in *E.N.* x); but the connexion with the *Epitaphius* is tenuous. That 'the texts most deserving of a full commentary are those in which every word has been weighed' is true enough: but in what scales did Gorgias weigh his words? 'αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πρόδος οὐ συνεισέσθαι'. Vollgraff here observes, correctly, that mourning for the dead seldom lasts for more than two generations, and commences only on their decease; but is this really enough, in view of the aural seduction of the jingle, to justify discarding the generally accepted meaning here, however amply other meanings of *πρόδος* may be attested elsewhere?

The transpositions suggested in the text of Diels-Kranz, of *ἀντιθέατα: ἀνοθέατα* ('antithèse fautive, indigne d'un écrivain de talent') and of *ἀρεῶς: ἐριδῶς*, show an equal excess of rationalist zeal; similarly, the parenthesis introduced from *μαρτύρια* to *ἀνοθέατα* achieves a slight improvement of logic at

the cost of greater verbal clumsiness. The conjecture *γνώμην* (καὶ *ῥῥῶμην*) is endorsed at its first occurrence (DK ii. 286,2); the same antithesis is rejected as repetitive four lines later. One would have supposed that the two stood or fell together. Among other divergences from the usual interpretation are these: *νομιμῶν ἰσῶντων*: 'legitimate aspirations'; reasonably; *ὀφειστοὶ εἰς τοὺς ὀφειστοὺς, κόσμιοι εἰς τοὺς κόσμους*: 'Conservateurs avec les conservateurs, révolutionnaires avec les révolutionnaires'; *ἀσάβητος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον* means 'stubborn in pursuit of their own advantage' (not 'of the common good'); 'c'est ce qui ressort de toute sa manière de pensée'; *τὸ θεῶν ἐν τῷ θέναι κτλ.* is called a moral application of the doctrine of *καρπός*, indicative of opportunism and moral relativism. This last is mere confusion of thought.

Begged questions abound. *ἐμψύχου ἀρεῶς* is discarded on the ground that the imputation of militarism would have offended popular sentiment, pacifist at the time; at the same time the commonplace *λαθὼν τῆς θεῶν νόμου* is construed as openly sacrilegious, in fifth-century Athens if not elsewhere. We are told that *δίκαιοι πρὸς τοὺς δοτούς τῷ ἴσῳ* cannot imply egalitarian sentiments because the teacher of Callicles and friend of the *Aleuadæ* 'cannot' have approved of democracy; *τὸ ἴσῳ* therefore means here 'disinterestedness' or 'consistency'. At the same time Vollgraff suggests (*tibicinis Latini modo*) that it was, after all, intended to be understood by the general public as meaning attachment to the principle of equality; deliberate ambiguity conceals the 'sceptical relativism' that, more openly expressed, would have endangered its champion at Athens. Can we really have it both ways? And are we to suppose that an Athenian audience was expected simultaneously to swallow an open blasphemy and strain at the praise of consistency? Similar deliberate ambiguities discovered elsewhere appear not only pointless, but supported by an appeal to those views of Gorgias that the commentary seeks ostensibly to determine. Again, the appeal to *ἐμψύχου* was a standard device, no doubt recommended by others before Aristotle, and disliked by traditionalists. That proves nothing here; the abuse of an argument presupposes its validity; and if Sophocles fr. 683 castigates the immorality of rhetors, *O.C.* 1127 (where *τὸ ἐμψύχου* is cited as a specially Attic virtue) is at least equally relevant.

What, finally, was the judgment of Plato that is supposed to find confirmation here? 'Les sophistes se séparent des socratiques par leur agnosticisme, leur relativisme, leur amoralisme'. It is late in the day to assume that the term 'sophist' in Plato always includes in its denotation the sophists of the fifth century; nor are these attributes theirs in the dialogues in which they appear. To disclaim ethical motives in education Plato certainly thought irresponsible and perhaps disastrous; he thought too, that professors of *ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετήν* should know what they are talking about, as Protagoras and his contemporaries did not; but that is not to charge them with deliberately undermining the moral code. And it might be salutary, where the content of 'sophistic' teaching is in question, to discard the generic term and stick to proper names.

It is not always easy to be sure what Vollgraff's conclusions are; a translation to accompany his text of the fragment would reduce the chances of misunderstanding, and perhaps the impression of incoherence. The passages he has collected by way of illustration are often illuminating and his comments on them valuable; the book will recommend itself more by these than by the cogency of its main argument.

There is a fair number of unimportant misprints, mostly in the footnotes.

R. MATHEWSON.

The Interpretation of Plato's Republic. By N. R. MURPHY. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. Pp. vii + 247. 18s.

Close and often subtle analysis of crucial passages is here combined with an attitude of critical detachment and an awareness of the relevance of the *Republic* to subsequent philosophic issues. On the main theme, that justice is intrinsically advantageous, Mr. Murphy pronounces in favour of Plato against the Kantian view, holding that there cannot be duties which have no relation to the good of the agent. But since Plato refuses to expound his doctrine of the good, the argument of the *Republic* is 'never fully stated', and the fundamental question of ethics, 'what makes an act right?', is not directly considered there. In practice the responsibility falls on *τὸ λογιστικόν*, which must include Aristotle's *φρόνησις*: 'the power of choice' (i.e. I presume, the power of right choice). Both the reflective and the unreflective man are said to apply their convictions to questions of conduct in the same way: the desires of both are 'transformed' by, and apparently unified with, *τὸ λογιστικόν*, and so are not merely its 'instruments' or its slaves. On this view the difference between the man who knows, and the man who accepts 'true opinions' from others, is only a matter of degree;

the gulf between *δόξα* and *ἐπιστήμη* tends to disappear, though it is acknowledged that those who are deficient in the latter state of mind can never be fully virtuous. Mr. Murphy argues that, in spite of 478a, *δόξα* can even apprehend the forms, at least after a fashion and *per accidens*.

It is the obligation of each citizen to look to his *εὐδαιμονία*, his total well-being. Mr. Murphy rightly rejects the view that Plato intended the individual to possess only the virtue of his class, as if the cobbler, for example, was to be a mere robot, devoid of wisdom and courage. He contends that the individual is never treated by Plato as a depersonalised functionary but always as a human being, and never compelled to follow a mode of life which is not 'justified in terms of personal good'. Plato is therefore free from the totalitarian doctrines which derive from Hegel and Rousseau. The important thing for him, however, is not that his citizens should 'feel free' but that they should 'act rightly' and achieve in their lives 'the maximum of goodness'. Each will be convinced by education (which is 'for all') that government by the competent is the better thing in his own personal interest. On this question of individual freedom more might perhaps have been made of the autonomy which reason confers on 'virtue'.

In the course of the argument some of the recognised commonplaces of Platonism receive blows which are shrewd rather than damaging. It is contended, for example, that 'reminiscence' has nothing to do with the problem of 'the common character' and of universality. Mr. Murphy also thinks that Plato rejected the Socratic paradox that 'no one errs willingly'; he states that Leontius in 439e 'is represented as a deliberate wrong-doer'—but this is highly controvertible. (The paradox survives even in the *Laos*.) Thus the statement at 577e, that every soul pursues the good, has to be understood of 'what seems to it good' or perhaps (elsewhere) as referring to 'everyone in his saner moments'. It seems to me that great confusion would result from this interpretation. Again, Mr. Murphy finds that the doctrine of 'the degrees of reality' is absent from the *Republic*; 'unreality' (or imperfect reality) is said to imply false thoughts, not unreal (or partially real) things. The 'imperfectly real bed' is taken to mean 'not completely a bed'; and other passages (478, 510) which stand in the way of this interpretation are treated with great ingenuity: for example, the *ἀλγίστα*, which is lacking in 'the creatures round about us', etc. (in the *Line*), is interpreted not as 'reality' but as 'trueness in respect to type'. Mr. Murphy thinks that, for Plato, physical things possess 'independent reality', though he seems later prepared to admit that some degree of unreality is implied by continuous change or becoming. He thinks it Platonic dogma (and not just a methodological assumption) that there is an *eidos* wherever there is a common name, though he has some hesitations regarding negative forms; but individuals (men, hair, mud, and the rest) do not, in his view, owe their existence to their forms, nor do the forms derive their reality from the Form of Good, which is interpreted as simply 'a principle of explanation' or coherence. The ordinary view of the Form of Good as 'transcending being and knowledge' is dismissed as mistaken Neoplatonism. Consequently the metaphysical connexion between intelligibility and goodness is abandoned as an insoluble problem; and it is suggested that Plato himself gave up the doctrine for the same reason.

The distinction between the *πρῶτος πλοῦς* and the *δεύτερος πλοῦς* in *Phaedo* seems to me to be the distinction between external finality (teleology) and internal finality (that of the formal-final cause); 'Socrates' is willing to assert the latter but does not feel able to substantiate the former. Mr. Murphy's theory that the *πρῶτος πλοῦς* would contain an explanation of efficient causality (as well as the phenomena of growth) seems obscure in itself and unrelated to the text. On the other hand, there are many excellent pieces of exposition. The account of dialectic is illuminating. The function of dialectic is clarification, not inference; it replaces *ὁμιλῆσις* ('obscure conceptions') by *ἀρχαί*, but it is neither 'inductive' in its ascent nor 'deductive' in its descent. Thus the requirement of Burnet, Taylor, and Cornford that dialectic should demonstrate the axioms of mathematics, etc., from the principles of goodness loses its force. One chapter deals with the obscurities and difficulties in Plato's doctrine of pleasure. The final chapter—on Art—in spite of its merits seems to me spoiled by inaccuracies (e.g. that Books II and III reject 'only the imitation of base character or action') which have been exposed long ago. Its obiter dicta on the *Poetics* (one of which draws the impossible deduction that for Aristotle art had value only 'as a pleasant conveyance of sound doctrine') also suggest that this theme has not received from Mr. Murphy the attention it deserves.

The book ought to be used as a valuable stimulant by all students of the *Republic*. Among the principles of interpretation which it lays down, there is one which too few commentators

on this and other dialogues have recognised: that 'it is dangerous to draw conclusions from any of the earlier forms of statements since they are liable to revision as the argument deepens.'

J. TATE.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the editorship of Sir DAVID ROSS. Volume XII, *Select Fragments*. Pp. xxi + 162. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952. 15s.

It was in 1908 that Sir David Ross's version of the *Metaphysics* inaugurated the Oxford translation of Aristotle, and it is only fitting that his hand should give the finishing touch to a splendid enterprise on which he has throughout bestowed a care generally unobtrusive but ever present. It is fitting, too, that this final volume should illustrate the new light that has been thrown on Aristotle, and the new picture of his genius that has formed itself, in considerable part as a consequence of investigations pursued since this series of translations was begun. Outside a narrow circle of specialists it is still all too little known, and for this reason the present volume is doubly welcome.

Much, however, of the material it employs has been available for a long time; Ross's main source is Rose's second collection of fragments, that in the Teubner series (1886), supplemented by the material in Walzer's *Aristotelis Dialogorum Fragmenta* (1934), though important additional material is also to be found. (Incidentally, the article on H. W. Chandler in the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that he began to collect materials for an edition of the fragments, but desisted in view of Rose's work; it would be useful to know whether if, among his surviving papers, there are any that are relevant, and, if so, whether they are still of value.) Care has been taken with the establishment of the text, and numerous textual notes have been provided; the translation itself has been skilfully executed, and will be of the greatest value (not least because Rose's collection is now rare).

The student of classical antiquity, and not least of Aristotle, is in constant danger of being led by the accidents of survival to form a distorted picture of the gross output and intrinsic importance of ancient authors. That danger the collection of fragments, hazardingly conjectural and distressingly unsatisfactory though it often is, does something to alleviate. To this end volumes like the present play an important part, but certain limitations have, here as elsewhere, to be borne in mind. In the first place, the assignment of fragments of Aristotle to one work rather than another is often no more than a nice balancing of slight probabilities; and in the second this consideration is presumably among those which have led Sir David Ross, understandably enough, to confine himself to the fragments of the dialogues, the logical and the strictly philosophical works (*On the Good, On Ideas, On the Pythagoreans, On the Philosophy of Archytas, and On Democritus*).

The Introduction is principally devoted to a discussion of the dialogues, and to references to some of the more important contributions in the recent literature (for these there is also a good bibliography on pp. 156-9). It uses Diogenes' list of Aristotle's works, as indeed it must, and quotes the first twenty-five items, which are principally the dialogues. Detailed consideration of Diogenes would, naturally, be out of place, but Moraux's full investigation of the problems involved (*Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote* (1951)), which had not appeared when Ross was engaged on his work, is an important contribution to their solution, both in its attempt to fix with precision the works listed in the ancient catalogues, and also for its re-assessment of the provenience of the latter; the former task is important for any general consideration of the fragments, while Moraux brings strong criticisms against the now traditional ascription of Diogenes' list to Hermippus (accepted by Ross), and himself, rightly or wrongly, suggests Ariston of Ceos, and thus a source not in Alexandria but in the late third-century Peripatos.

In his inclusion and exclusion of possible fragments Ross has tended to follow traditional lines, and most of what is here is in the collections of Rose and Walzer. But there are also important passages not to be found there, and among them, significantly, there are two from Arabic sources, one assigned to the *Enadmus* and the other to the *Eroticus*. On the other hand, though he uses the work of Bignone and Wilpert in detecting fresh fragments, he maintains a cautious reserve towards full adoption of their hypotheses. He does not include the whole of the material relevant to the *De Philosophia* found in Bignone, *L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro* (1936), Vol. I (esp. pp. 227 ff.), or the full extent of Wilpert's suggestions; the latter, in addition to his discussion, used by Ross, of the extent of the remains of the *De Ideis* embedded in Alexander's commentary on *Metaphysics A*, claims Sextus Empiricus x. 249-83 as an important source for the *De Bono* (*Zwei*

aristotelische Frühschriften über die Ideenlehre (1949), embodying conclusions supplementary to articles published in *Hermes* in 1940 and 1941).

In his Introduction Ross maintains the old view, rejected by Jaeger, that the *Protrepticus* was a dialogue, as was Cicero's *Hortensius*, known to be derived from it. It is interesting to find that he holds this position, though he does not discuss it in detail; D. J. Allan, who follows Jaeger in *The Philosophy of Aristotle* (1952), is now inclined to return to the traditional view (*Phil. Quart.*, 3 (1953), pp. 249-50). At all events, the question is still an open one. Ross, unlike Walzer, does not apportion the fragments of the *De Philosophia* among the three Books, though the order in which he arranges them is roughly the same. A brief but interesting attempt to assign fragments to individual speakers is made by Allan in *The Philosophy of Aristotle*.

One may be confident that this work will remain standard for a long time. Its usefulness is increased by the bibliography and full indexes.

D. A. REES.

Studies in Later Greek Comedy. By T. B. L. WEBSTER. Pp. ix + 261. Manchester: University Press, 1953. 25s.

This book is a real achievement in scholarship: with its companion volume, *Studies in Menander*, we have the first large-scale attempt to give a complete and coherent account of Greek comedy from the beginning of the fourth to the mid-third century. Chapter I, 'Forethoughts on Later Greek Comedy' is reprinted in an amended form from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxix, 19 f. Chapters ii, iii and iv deal successively with comedy and its poets from 400 to 370 B.C., from 370 to 321 B.C., and with New Comedy. Three subsequent chapters give most valuable accounts of Philemon, Diphilos, and Apollodoros. Another is entitled 'Menandreia', and in an appendix the original of the *Asinaria* is discussed.

Webster bases his work on the very large number of Greek fragments; he makes use of all the evidence, both literary and archaeological, known to the reviewer, and also of all the most recent publications. Space compels him to compress; the book therefore is not easy reading, with its mass of references (some 1600 in the Index Locorum), and its footnotes (possibly 1000). Because of the fragmentary sources, the task of writing a history of the comedy of this period is beset with difficulties, depending as it does on tentative arguments and on the reconstruction and dating of lost or fragmentary originals. Of this, Webster is well aware; he writes (p. 140) 'To judge the fragments is of course unsafe, as the Menander fragments show: if the *Bacchides* had not been preserved, who would have guessed that "whom the gods love die young" was a slave's jest?', and (p. 145) 'seen through the glass of adaptation Menander's Greek and Philemon's Greek is apt to look alike'. When the reconstruction depends on Roman adaptations, evidence is safe if one assumes that the Roman scholars had in front of them both Latin and Greek texts when they reported alterations made by Roman poets. But if we were not told that alteration had been made, there are many instances which would be impossible to detect, especially if Beare's interpretation of 'contaminatio' is accepted. And where scholars claim to see a development in the style and dramaturgy of Terence, could they equally do so if the plays were undated?

Webster's arguments are brilliant. He concludes that the original of the *Amphitruo* was written soon after 331 B.C., possibly by Diphilos (p. 96). Earlier scholars had connected the cavalry charge (*Amph.* 243 f.) with the tactics of the Diadochi and considered the original to belong to New Comedy; others point out Roman elements in the scene, and it is possible that the description is a Plautine invention. Webster, however, refers us (p. 91) to Euphranor's picture of the battle of Mantinea and goes on: 'but the only fourth-century encounter in which a cavalry charge decided the issue between figures of heroic scale was the encounter of Alexander and the Great King as depicted in the Alexander mosaic. . . . In default of other evidence this dates the original of the *Amphitruo* soon after 331 B.C.' But this is tentative, yet the date is accepted (pp. 37, 86), and we read (p. 95) of 'the allusion to Alexander in the battle recital'.

Webster also assigns to the original of the *Menaechni* an earlier date than previous scholars. He quickly disposes (p. 71) of the argument based on Athenaeus (xiv, 658) that the *Homoioi* of Poseidippos was the original, and he follows Fränkel in believing that the list of Sicilian kings (*Men.* 409 f.) is Plautine and therefore is no evidence for the date of the original. His own argument, however, is tenuous; the joke at 653-4 is Roman; the introduction of the joke breaks the sense, as Leo, who brackets 655-6, had seen. Webster suggests that the original which has fallen out from these lines is similar to the one fragment of the *Adelphoi* of Alexis. Then, after noting parallels

with other fragments of Alexis, he concludes (p. 74) 'it seems therefore justifiable to regard the *Menaechni* as deriving from a comedy written about 340, perhaps Alexis' *Adelphoi*'.

Webster adheres to the classification of comedy he introduced in *Studies in Menander*. Plays cannot be isolated in one category, and one play may include several themes, each concerned with a different category. But Webster occasionally falls into avoidable inconsistencies; *Penia* (p. 16) in the *Ploutos* classed as a Mythological play is 'a terrifying figure, like a cross between a Fury from tragedy and a landlady' (and cf. p. 140), while in a discussion of philosophy in comedy (pp. 33, 35) 'Penia (Frugality?) . . . is a mean between Wealth and Beggary'.

There are occasions when Webster tends to overstate his case; for instance, the story of Phaon (p. 18) 'was popular in the early fourth century as is shown by its occurrence on two vases'. Only two vases (and those of the late fifth century) do not amount to popularity. Sometimes lack of space compels him to be dogmatic on controversial points; (p. 19) 'Meletos, the accuser of Sokrates, produced his *Oidipodeia*. . . . Sometimes in his desire to extract every possible hint from the fragments he does not take account of the accident of preservation and the absence of contrary evidence.

These remarks must not be taken to imply that there is more to criticise than to praise; that is not the case. Individuals will disagree with many of Webster's arguments, but will find difficulty in providing evidence to contradict him. His wide knowledge of all the sources, together with his insight and sensitivity to style, makes his book indispensable for all students of Greek and Roman comedy. With its full index and index locorum it is extremely useful as a reference book, though for this, fuller synopses of chapters in the table of contents would have been helpful, and a less frequent use of 'op. cit.' would have made reference quicker. The references had been carefully checked, and there are very few misprints (one, p. 125 n. 1); following the remarks of earlier reviewers, Webster has taken pains to rationalise spelling. The plates are excellent, but the book deserves a better presentation than that given to it by the Manchester University Press; it is a major work of scholarship and will remain for long the standard work.

J. M. T. CHARLTON.

Bucolici Graeci. Edited by A. S. F. GOW. Pp. xv + 188. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952. 10s.

The Greek Bucolic Poets. Translated with brief notes by A. S. F. GOW. Pp. xxvii + 156. Cambridge: University Press, 1953. 18s.

The text of Theocritus in Gow's O.C.T. and the translation of it in *The Greek Bucolic Poets* differ only in minute detail from those in his major work reviewed by Trypanis, *JHS* LXXII (1952), 135 f. The introduction and *apparatus criticus* of the *Bucolici Graeci*, taking account of the papyrus finds and of modern scholarship, are fuller than those of Wilamowitz' edition, though naturally they appear meagre in comparison with the *Theocritus*. Gow sensibly reverts to the *ordo vulgaris* of Stephanus, making his edition much easier to use than Wilamowitz'. To the content of Wilamowitz' edition, Gow adds Πάβωδ' γ' (which becomes Theoc. 31) from *Pap. Antinoos*, and Theoc. *Frag.* 1 and 2, insignificant verbal citations from Eustathius and the *Etymologicum Magnum*. The poems of Bion are printed in the order of Stobaeus, but as authorities frequently refer to Wilamowitz' and other numberings, a table of references is given. Gow also adds a transcription of the *Papyrus Vindobonensis* Rainer 29801.

In *The Greek Bucolic Poets* there appears a prose translation of all but the *Technopaegnia* and the most corrupt of the poems in Gow's O.C.T. The introduction gives a short but lucid account of Greek Bucolic poetry, and of the history of Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion: a critical estimate of their work would have been an added attraction. The poems have short explanatory introductions and footnotes: difficulties left unresolved in the text are pointed out. In the Preface, Gow explains that his aim is both to give an accurate translation for students reading his text and also to produce a version which would appeal to the Greekless reader. These objectives must be incompatible; the first, of course, is successful; hardly the second. Gow is deeply indebted for turn of phrase and expression to previous translators, as, for instance, a comparison of his rendering of *Id.* 1, 67 f., with those of Calverley and Trevelyan will show. Yet the Greekless reader will miss entirely the simplicity and soft loveliness of the original. Gow's version lacks poetic quality and also the straightforward charm and idiom which modern prose demands. The Greekless will be advised to read other translations.

Both volumes were in the press before the appearance of Trypanis' review. Some of his criticisms are met: e.g. Edmonds' emendation in *Id.* 27, 73, is discarded. But others remain valid: in *Id.* 15, 127 (false ref. by Trypanis) Gow's

emendation, necessitating Rossbach's in the following line, is unacceptable; if the MSS. *ἄλλᾳ* meaning 'another' (for this year's festival) is to be rejected, Ahrens' *ἀλλᾷ* is the better reading. In *Id.* 18, 29 Trypanis censures Gow for not accepting Eichstädt's emendation with its possible support from Vergil, *Ed.* v, 53 and from the fragmentary second-century A.D. papyrus (*Theocritus* I, 257). The emendation improves style and sense; it is the only one to justify an alteration of the text. Gow retains the MSS. reading, but with no authority, to improve the balance of the sentence, he prints *καὶ νέμω* (l. 30) for *ἢ νέμω* which appeared in the *Theocritus*. In *The Greek Bucolic Poets* the slip in translation at *Id.* 18, 30 has been corrected, but the misunderstanding in *Id.* 22 remains.

Some three-quarters of the content of these volumes had already appeared in Gow's *Theocritus*. For what remains there are no new papyri, and Gow has the advantage of Gallavotti's work and his edition of 1946. To this, he has little to add. His text differs from Wilamowitz' O.C.T. largely in mere alterations of punctuation and spelling or in changes of dialect forms. Sometimes conservative, he returns to MSS. readings in place of Wilamowitz' conjectures (e.g. Bion) 1, 94), even when this involves leaving a passage corrupt (e.g. Mosch. 3, 16; 3, 112); sometimes he needlessly accepts emendation when Wilamowitz printed the MSS. reading (e.g. Mosch. 3, 118; (Bion) 1, 18; 1, 88). His own emendations are few, and generally unimportant—for instance, τ' for δ' (Mosch. 2, 51; 4, 18; 4, 64; cf. Bion Frag. 11, 8), etc. Of his others, ἀγρῶνον (Mosch. Frag. 1, 13 for ἀγρίων Steph. (accepted by Wilamowitz, not cited by Gow): ἀγρῶλον MSS.), is masterly, vastly improving the sense. It is what Moschus should have written, but judging from the rest of the poem, it seems likely that Stephanus saw the true reading. In the same fragment, l. 3, the reviewer prefers Teucher's emendation printed by Wilamowitz, to Edmonds' accepted by Gow. Criticisms, however, are carping: the text as a whole is established by a judicious selection from the work of previous editors, and presents the result of recent scholarship.

One may question the policy of the Syndics and Delegates of the Presses. With such a wealth of translations for the general reader and a sufficiency of editions for the student, with Gow's *Theoricus* and Gallavotti's *Buccolici* available for the scholar, with such obvious gaps in the O.C.T. series and the pressing need for other new editions, the publication of these two volumes could have been deferred to happier times.

J. M. T. CHARLTON.

Callimachus. Ed. R. Pfeiffer. Vol. II, *Hymni et Epigrammata*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953. Pp. cviii + 208. 42s.

Pfeiffer completes in the second volume his edition of the works of Callimachus. The two volumes together (on the first see Smiley, *JHS* LXX (1950), 105), are without question the most important publication in the field of Hellenistic literature since Schneider's edition of the same poet in 1870-73. The second volume now published includes the text of the hymns and epigrams; the diegesis and scholia to the hymns; prolegomena to the fragments, hymns and epigrams (pp. ix-xciv); the testimonia to the life and works of the poet; addenda et corrigenda to Vols. I-II (pp. 100-26) and indices rerum notabilium and vocabulorum. Both the author and the Clarendon Press are to be congratulated upon the completion of this splendid edition of one of the most refined Greek poets.

Many problems connected with the life and works of Callimachus are still unfortunately beyond solution with the limited material at our disposal to-day. Even such elementary things as a reasonably accurate knowledge of the dates of the poet's birth and death or a comparatively detailed outline of his major works are as yet denied us. Pfeiffer, in his prolegomena to the fragments, examines a number of important items which emerge from the study of the available material, which is indeed much richer now than what it was some twenty years ago. His views on many of these he has already stated in his notes in Vol. I (e.g. that Apollonius depends in his *Argonautics* not only on the *Hecale*, but also on the *Actia*—and this has a bearing on the relative dates of Theocritus, Callimachus, and Apollonius, cf. *JHS* LXXII (1952), 135—or that in the last two books of the *Actia* the 'actia' were independent, not connected either by a dialogue with the Muses or otherwise, etc.). But he also introduces a few new arguments, the most important of which are those connected with the *Coma* and the final edition by the poet himself of his complete works. For indeed the absence in Pap. Oxy. 2258 of *Coma* 78–88, which include the nuptial rite, and the appearance in its place of a different epilogue, a couplet in which the *Coma* seems to address Arsinoë (fr. 110, 94 a and b, cf. *Addenda* Vol. II), seem to indicate that lines 78–88 were added later, when the *Coma* was included in the *Actia*; and this probably took place when a final edition of that poem was prepared.

for inclusion in the complete works of Callimachus, which the poet himself prepared at an advanced age (*cf.* fr. 1, 33 f. and fr. 112, 9). It is interesting to see that Pfeiffer has at last come round to the view (*cf.* p. xxviii) that the (Milan) *Diagesis* is little more than a summary of an older longer source. In the *prolegomena* to the fragments the only points I should like to raise are that, whereas the popularity and influence of Callimachus in the Hellenistic and medieval Greek world are so carefully outlined, no word is said about his influence upon the Roman poets (in the notes of Vol. I this is, of course, admirably traced), and that we find nowhere in this edition a concise and concentrated treatment of the metres of Callimachus (which are again excellently treated in individual notes, and marked in the index *rerum notabilium* under *Metrica* and *Prosodiaca*).

The examination of the papyri and manuscripts on which the text is based is detailed, and the stemma codicum of the hymns (with the 'significant errors' always indicated) admirably established. There is no doubt that all the extant manuscripts of the hymns derive from a lost archetype (ψ) of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, brought to the West, possibly by Joannes Aurispa (p. lxxxii). The number and order of the hymns seems always to have been the same. But it remains strange that no trace of Hymn V, the only hymn by Callimachus in elegiac couplets, has ever been found on a papyrus. With regard to the epigrams it is interesting to see that Pfeiffer treats the variae lectiones of the Planudea as mere thirteenth-century conjectures (p. xciv).

The text of the hymns and epigrams is carefully established and must be considered a definite improvement on the fourth edition of Wilamowitz. And this is not only due to the new papyrus readings at Pfeiffer's disposal, but also to his fine feeling of the Callimachean style; a number of new cruces have been introduced into the text as well as some excellent conjectures by the editor and other scholars of recent date (e.g. IV, 287 ἴριον ἀστὺ Pfeiffer; IV, 225-7: ἀμύμον . . . σοῦλας ὑπερποῖς . . . ἔσπερην Maas-Groenert). As opposed to Vol. I, no exegetical notes accompany the texts of Vol. II.

There are, however, a few points where the text looks highly suspicious and where nothing has been introduced to indicate this. The most striking instance is VI, 92-3. The whole passage from l. 91 f. is suspect, as l. 91 already shows, where no second caesura follows the strong caesura; but ἔκτατος, μέσ-
την κύρσις | βαλεῖται μὲν τε καὶ ὁσὶα μῦθον εὐαίρη | is impossible. The sinews (κύρσις) is a writing Lobel proposed for the κυρ- of Pap. Oxy. 2226), on which cling the bones on the one side and the skin on the other, can hardly have been taken as the starting point of the description. Moreover, V, 41 Κρίων ὄρος, or II, 108 ἄλλα ταυ πάλλα, where I should like to suggest ἀλλ' αὖτα πολλά (cf. ep. 18, 2), or III, 18 ἥματα look equally suspect. The apparatus is concise and neat. It may be perhaps regarded a little too austere where emendations and suggestions by scholars are concerned. In fact, a few really convincing ones are omitted, like IV, 14 πολλήν suggested by Ruhnken (πολλήν of the text is intolerable after the πολλὰς ἑλισσόν of the previous line) or IV, 41 ἀπὲρ Ἀπόλοιο πολέχνης suggested by Schneider. That Schneider is right can be seen from Call. fr. 703 and Steph. Byz. v. Τροισὴν . . . ἐκαλείτο δὲ καὶ . . . Ἀπόλλω. This incidentally points to the fact that Callimachus must have known the version of the Homeric hymn to Apollo which has in line 110 ὀπάκ. For this matter we will still have to consult Schneider.

The detailed edition of the Diegesis to Hymns I-II and the scholia ψ to the hymns, which follow on the text, is excellent and fully in the tradition of Drachmann and Wendel. The Ad-denda et Corrigenda also contain much important material. The most striking is the first line and the diegesis of a new action on the Artemis of Leucas. But the new material on the *Coma* (fr. 110), the text of Pap. Mich. inv. 4947 of fr. 202, as well as the many important suggestions and corrections by Maas, Barber, Smiley, Früchtel, and others on points of the fragments of Vol. I (many of which have been accepted by the author), are not less significant.

Lastly I should like to commend the *Index Verborum*, a formidable task in a text where so many fragments (with separate numbering) are involved. Among other things, it will also help scholars in identifying more fragments of this remarkable poet.

C. A. TRYPAKIS.

Herodas Mimiambi. Introduzione, testo critico, commento e indici. A cura di GIULIO PUCCIONI. Pp. xiv + 194. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1950. L. 1300.

The text of Herodas, like the texts of most authors retrieved from papyri, is full of problems; the extant editions are therefore overburdened with supplements and emendations. Puccioni sets out, as he expressly tells us, to give a text of Herodas

free from a number of 'arbitrary conjectures', which he relegates to the apparatus. A brief introduction, a number of notes and two indices ((a) of the ἀπὸς λέγοντα and rare terms and constructions, and (b) of the metrical peculiarities of the poet) accompany the text.

On the whole the book contains a lot of useful material contributed by previous editors and other distinguished scholars. But it does not proffer much that is original to the study of the author, and the advanced student of Alexandrian poetry cannot hope to use it with profit, for it bears the marks of a hasty production and displays a lack of accuracy in detail which is often surprising. Perhaps the most striking feature in this respect is the inaccurate manner in which the readings of the papyrus are so frequently reported (cf., e.g. I. 19 ΣΙ[Λ]Α[Σ]Α, as supplied by Kenyon, instead of ΣΙΛ[Λ]Α[Σ]Α in the papyrus; VI. 68 ΔΙ[Λ]Α[Σ]Α, as supplied by Blass, instead of ΔΙΔ[Λ]Α in the papyrus; VI. 102 ΔΡ[Υ]Σ[Ι]Θ[Ε]Σ[Κ]Α[Π]ΤΑΙ, as supplied by Headlam, instead of ΔΡΥ[Ι]Θ[Ε]Σ[Κ]Α[Π]ΤΑΙ in the papyrus, etc.). Moreover, in the apparatus readings, supplements and conjectures are often not attributed to the right scholar (e.g. IV. 47 ΙΩΝ read by Palmer is attributed to Nairn, VI. 11 ΕΥ[Υ]Σ[Υ]Σ[Υ]Σ supplied by Blass is attributed to Rutherford, etc.), and sometimes not mentioned at all (e.g. IV. 37 ΕΙ ΠΗ [ΤΙ]Σ ΕΥ[Υ]Σ[Υ]Σ is given in the text, without mention of Hicks, the author of the supplement, etc.).

The text, even if we disregard the inaccurate manner in which the readings of the papyrus are reported, is not what one would have hoped for. Blatant mistakes have been introduced there, like the ΜΙΝΟΥ(Ε)Σ of V. 4, which gives a broken anapaest impossible in Herodas (the ΜΥΝΟΥΣ ΔΡΩΝΕΑ of the corrector is obviously sound), excellent emendations and supplements have been overlooked, like the ΓΥΛΛΙΣ in I. 67 (suggested by P. Maas, *Rh. Museum* 68, 1913, p. 360), which does away with the initial choriambus, or Headlam's ΕΥΕΩΝ ΠΥΞΗ in I. 64, and obviously inferior ones have been accepted like ΔΙ[Λ]Α[Σ]Α of Blass in VI. 68, etc.

The apparatus is not complete and often misleading (e.g. I. 20, where you can hardly gather that the change of speaker does not occur in the papyrus but is a conjecture by Hicks, etc.), and the notes, though giving much of importance, also include a great deal of elementary linguistic material, and are in many instances unconvincing. Who, for example, will believe that in I. 18 ΕΥΧΕΩΝ is not used in an erotic sense (cf. Anacreont. 57, Hesych. v. ΕΥΧΗ, and Liban. Epist. 428)? In fact, the answer of Gyllis ('Make fun of me! these things are for you the younger women') clearly points to the use of the word in that sense.

C. A. TRYPANIS.

Nicander. The poems and poetical fragments.

Edited with a translation and notes by A. S. F. Gow and A. F. SCHOLFIELD. Pp. xii + 247. Cambridge: University Press, 1953. 30s.

Nicander is certainly not an attractive poet. An author, as it seems, of the middle of the second century B.C., he endeavoured to reconcile science with poetry and conspicuously failed to achieve either. For poisonous creatures, their bites and how to cure them, and substances deadly or injurious to man, treated in a fantastic language and style, cannot stimulate the reader of poetry. Nor is his approach to science of much interest to the modern scientist; for Nicander was not even an original researcher in the field of zoology and botany. As O. Schneider has shown (*Nicandra*, pp. 181 f.), when composing his *Theriaca* he mainly drew on the works of one Apollodorus, who wrote on venomous creatures at the beginning of the third century B.C., and the *Alexipharmaca* may well derive from a second source by the same author. But a new and up-to-date edition, even of a text of this nature, is always welcome, and in the case of Nicander even more so, because the only other useful edition extant by O. Schneider, published in 1856, is both out of date and hard to get.

Gow and Scholfield have made a laudable effort. As they tell us in their preface 'the book makes no pretence to be a definitive edition',—a conclusive *stemma codicum* is not even attempted—and later (p. 15) they make it clear that its chief purpose is 'to enable readers to acquaint themselves with the contents of the poems'. There is no doubt that they have succeeded in achieving their object. They have produced a text which is on the whole reliable, a translation which is readable, though many passages of it are, as the authors themselves say, only tentative, and a number of notes, which, though unfortunately not constituting a continuous commentary, are of great assistance to the reader. Moreover, an important index of the fauna and flora, etc., which appear in the text is to be found at the end of the book and an appendix (II) on weights and measures. The significance of this publication is that it is the first serious endeavour to identify the half-real and half-fantastic world of animals and plants of Nicander. Recourse

has been naturally made to earlier works in which this has been treated (J. G. Schneider's commentary, M. Brenning's writings in the *Allgemeine Medicinische Central-Zeitung* 1904, etc.), but the information given here is much fuller and much more up to date.

As has been observed, the one thing in which Nicander is fairly precise and careful is in his meters. His hexameters generally follow the example of Callimachus with a few divergencies, on which see Kroll, *RE* XVII, 261. To these (as Gow and Scholfield do not expand upon the meters of Nicander) I should like to add: first, that Nicander does not always observe the bridge of Hildberg (= a word never ending after a monosyllabic second biceps (thesis)) cf. *Th.* 97, 618, 890, *Al.* 209, 365; secondly, that in one instance he does not observe the bridge of Naake (= a word never ending after a monosyllabic fourth biceps (thesis)) *Th.* 457; and thirdly, that in one instance again the epthemimeral is the only caesura in the line, *Th.* 894.

But in order to achieve this comparative metrical precision Nicander either pads his lines with meaningless words like βελα, λωε, θις (*Th.* 1, *Al.* 23, 483, etc.), or plays havoc with the language, unscrupulously producing words and forms to serve that purpose (cf., e.g., *Th.* 123 δολιζωας!; 206 ἱρητιδο; 54 φλογη; 88 χλαρηλα; 18 ἀγροδολι; 125 γωλαδ; etc.; even a consonant can be arbitrarily added to an ending to avoid shortening in hiatus; *Th.* 166 θιων! On Nicander's use of a male adjective with a feminine noun for metrical reasons see H. Klauser, *De dicendi genere in N. quaestiones selectae*, Diss. phil. Vindob. 6 (1898), I, 90).

But the metre is not the only reason why Nicander mishandles the language. He frequently distorts it simply to facilitate his narrative, or even out of sheer ignorance. His innovations and distortions constitute no real contribution to Greek, for at times they do not even mean what the stem or the endings connote, and most of them never recur in Greek literature. Clearly no editor can feel happy dealing with a poet like this, and likewise no reviewer.

But even in a poet as complicated and unique as Nicander a few slips and omissions which appear in the text could have been avoided. Perhaps the most striking is *Th.* 51, where the editors print φλογι ζωρηθισα scanning the ι of φλογι short. This is, of course, impossible; the varia lectio of ω ζωρηθισα must have been, or must conceal, what the poet wrote. Ζωρηθισα is probably a gloss, later incorporated in the text. At the same time lines metrically imperfect like *Th.* 79 or 597 (where no second caesura or diaeresis follows the strong caesura) could have been edited metrically perfect (write in *Th.* 79 θιλα δὲ φωλοισι τὰ δ' ἐπαρξασο χυσις accepting the writing of ω ἐπαρξασο; and in 597 write αὐπλωσιν ἐντρίπλωσιν ὁλοθρίππων τε σάλινου), and a number of valuable emendations by Bentley and others might have at least been mentioned in the apparatus (e.g. *Th.* 3 κηδισται Bentley, supported by K v, cf. *Th.* 344; *Th.* 31 ἐζαλον Bentley, which is much more appropriate for γῆρας than for φολιδες; *Al.* 483 φουηγετος Bentley as reported by Gow-Scholfield, p. 14, n. 2. This should be accepted, as the endings -ηος, -ηισσα, -ηον are never used by Nicander to denote the place of descent, which makes φουηγετος highly suspect. It should then be the black and not the white hellbore, etc.). At this point I should like to add one more emendation attributed to Bentley, which is not reported by O. Schneider or Gow-Scholfield. I came across it (together with a large number of those reported) copied by an unknown scholar in an edition of Nicander by Gorraeus (Paris, 1557), now in the library of Trinity College, Oxford. It is on *Al.* 283, where Bentley emends the λησσηθεις of all the manuscripts into λησσηθεις, deletes the stop at the end of line 283, and places it after λησσηθεις. That he is right can be seen from the place of δὲ in l. 283. In Nicander δὲ can never be in the third place, unless preceded by a preposition governing a noun, and this is not the case there (cf. *Th.* 245, 307, 394, 744, *Al.* 27, 572, 586 and Klauser, *loc. cit.*, 23, n. 2).

But all these are comparatively minor points when one considers the nature of the text and the type of book the editors had in mind. One thing, however, which is unfortunately missing, would have been most desirable, and would have made the book much easier to use: an index verborum. For this we will still have to consult O. Schneider, where unfortunately the words and forms peculiar to Nicander are not distinguished from the common Greek vocabulary the poet uses.

C. A. TRYPANIS.

The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers. By AUBREY DILLER. Pp. 200, 3 pl., 1 map. American Philological Association (agent for Britain: B. H. Blackwell, Oxford): 1952. Price not stated.

At first sight the preparation of a corpus of the lesser Greek geographers might appear a simple task. Two overlapping collections were made in Byzantine times, one probably dating

back to Justinian, and the other not later than the ninth century; and most if not all of the works contained therein survive in two archetypal MSS., now preserved at Heidelberg and at Paris. But both these codices suffered severely in the underground transit from Constantinople to the West, and entire quires are now missing from them. Some hundred years ago, it is true, several pices of an early copy of the Heidelberg archetype (now at the monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos) were abstracted by black-market dealers and found their way to the Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum. But by then C. Müller had completed his standard work on the *Geographi Graeci Minores*, and he was only able to make hasty use of them in Vol. V of his *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. At some points, therefore, his editions have remained seriously incomplete.

Prof. Diller, who has not only studied the archetypes and most of their copies (including the next most important MS., at Cambridge), but has inspected the text at Vatopedi and has surveyed the entire modern literature on the subject, now presents the fruits of his long research in a brief but close-packed volume.

In Ch. 1 Diller sums up the whole MS. tradition and describes the principal codices in detail. In Ch. 2 he provides a bibliography of some 450 numbers, including reviews and obiter dicta. There follow three chapters in which improved and enlarged texts are established of three treatises on the Black Sea, (1) ps.-Arrian, (2) and (3) the Euxine portions of the Mediterranean *περίπλοι* of Menippus of Pergamum (partly reconstructed in a detailed article by Gisinger in *RE*), and of ps.-Scymnus. The text of ps.-Arrian is completed by insertion of the middle portion from the London fragment of the Vatopedi MS., and the author's numerous borrowings from the genuine Arrian, from Menippus and ps.-Scymnus are sedulously collected. Parts of Menippus and of ps.-Scymnus are reconstructed from the incomplete Paris archetype and from many recognisable extracts in ps.-Arrian. As Menippus probably dates back to Augustus and may have been anterior to Strabo, the establishment of his text is particularly to be welcomed.

Diller has laid solid foundations for an up-to-date corpus of the *Geographi Minores*. We may hope that he will proceed to this task.

A remarkable feature of the bibliography is the comparative neglect of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (by far the most valuable of surviving *περίπλοι*), and the abundance of writings on ps.-Scylax and on the *περίπλους* of Hanno, whose 'gorillas' are evidently attractive game for modern academic sportsmen.

M. CARY.

Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum. Tomi IX Pars I: codices Britannicos descriptis STEPHANUS WEINSTOCK; pars prior, codices Oxonienses. Pp. viii + 212. Brussels: in aedibus Academiae, 1951. 160 fr. belges.

This admirable volume brings near to completion the great undertaking which we owe to Cumont's vision, energy, and generosity. From the beginning it has given much more than its title suggests and has included texts previously unpublished; they appear complete or in copious excerpts, with notes and indexes. This was the only practical way of handling so large a mass of buried literature; no words of praise are adequate for the way in which Cumont mastered all this scattered material with his uncanny ability 'to hold a great number of different matters in the mind together for long periods' (to use a phrase of Isaac Newton as quoted by D. M. S. Watson, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* XCVII, 1953, 171). I need hardly say that *Catalogus* is of the greatest importance not only to historians of science but also to all who are concerned with social and religious conditions and with the development of the Greek language from the Hellenistic age till well into Byzantine times.

In this present volume, as earlier in V. iv, Weinstock has fully maintained the high level of the work as a whole. After describing the thirty-six Oxford manuscripts (which include a large one that belonged to Oliver Cromwell) he prints various astrological texts, a calendar (published by him earlier in *JRS* XXXVIII, 1948, 37 ff.), and some important non-astrological excerpts from Psellus. These last (on which Weinstock and E. R. Dodds have made admirable emendations¹) cover a wide range of topics, including the Chaldaic Oracles, which still need a full edition such as Weinstock could give us, and demonology; like the excerpts published by Bidez in *Cat. man. alch. gr.* VI, they preserve otherwise lost fragments of Proclus.

Those from *De omnisfaria doctrina* present a curious problem. On p. 123, 5 ff. there are two brief sentences from §§ 48-9

(devoted to the questions of whether the soul changes into an angel and whether it is without beginning in time): the second gives 'Ελληνες δὲ Μίθραν πᾶσι περὶ ταύτην (sc. τῆς ψυχῆς) διαπλάττουσι where the original has 'Ελληνες δὲ ποικιλοῦσιν περὶ τοῦτου διέξισιν, ὥστερ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι διὰ μόνην τὴν τελειότητα ἀπογεννᾷ τὰ παραγόμενα ὁ θεός. What are we to make of this statement about Mithras? Elsewhere the changes made by the excerptor are matters of abridgement or of the substitution of synonyms; in 123, 13-14 he writes Χερουβὶμ βοάμενος καὶ Σαραφὶμ in lieu of § 54 ἀρχὴς τῆς καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ ἀλλ' ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἡ μίξιν καὶ ἡ ὁμότητα, μόνον ἡμῶν καὶ θεοῦ τίθεμεν, but Cherubim and Seraphim were familiar. One might be tempted to think that Psellus had said something of the sort about Mithras; he could have drawn such an inference from Porphyry, *Antr. symph.* 6, 17 f., 24. His *Allegory of the cave of the Nymphs* (in Boissonade, *Michael Psellus de operatione daemonum*, 52 ff. and Tzetz. *Alleg.* 366 ff.) does not mention the Persian deity, but shows a close knowledge of Porphyry's work; elsewhere he speaks of Mithras (Cumont, *Mystères*, ed. 3, 248; Bidez, *op. cit.* 217 f.). But *Omni f. doctr.* has an elaborate manuscript tradition known to us from the admirable edition of L. G. Westerink; it is unlikely that this excerptor should have possessed a text which for once had a unique reading of value. Moreover, the phrase seems to me too awkward for Psellus, and elsewhere in this treatise the *Hellenes* are quoted for philosophy or science. It is again improbable that Μίθραν is a corruption, e.g. of μισρά. On the whole I conclude that the excerptor knew the name of Mithras as a pagan deity and indulged his imagination.

In conclusion one can only express deep gratitude to Weinstock for this fine work and eager anticipation of the succeeding fascicule, which is to include the other manuscripts in England and those in Holland, Denmark, and Sweden.² All that will then be needed is a general index.

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK.

The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt. By R. A. PACK. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1952 (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege). Pp. ix + 105. 28s.

C. H. Oldfather's list of the Greek literary texts from Egypt has long been a work of proven usefulness. The later lists of Reggers and Giabbanì have neither replaced it nor done complete justice to the discovery of new material, and the revision of old, which has succeeded its publication thirty years ago. The present volume offers an up-to-date inventory of the literary texts, Latin as well as Greek, which the sands of Egypt have so far yielded. The word literary is here used, of course, in the papyrological sense as applying to 'most or all texts which were intended to reach the eyes of a reading public or at least possessed a more than ephemeral interest or usefulness', the word texts to include discoveries from Egypt inscribed on parchment, ostraca, wooden tablets, or *stelae*, as well as papyrus itself, but Biblical, Jewish, and Christian texts, and magical texts as such, are excluded. The inventory is divided into two main compartments, Greek (pp. 84) and Latin (pp. 4), respectively subdivided into A. Identified Texts (1-1233), B. Aidespota (1234-2282), and A. Identified Texts (excluding Law) (2283-2312), B. Law Texts (2313-2342), C. Aidespota (except Law) (2343-2368). The Aidespota are separated initially into Poetry and Prose, and further, as far as possible, into the various *genres*. A supplement gives new discoveries and additional references noted between April 1950 and September 1951, and the volume ends with a concordance of the texts included in Oldfather but now reclassified.

Useful to all Classical, and especially Greek, scholars as a work of reference, to the textual critic and editor this volume will be indispensable. Let us suppose that he is especially interested in the text of, say, Sappho, Bk. 1. In the alphabetical list of identified texts he will find references to no less than six texts ascribed to Bk. 1, three of them with certainty, one of them published in Italy as late as 1949; he will find cross-references to Oldfather, Reggers, and Giabbanì, to J. M. Edmonds' *Lyra Graeca*, E. Diehl's *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, (first or second edition as applicable), to E. Lobel's *Sapphous Mele*, B. Lavagnini's *Aglais*, and to articles discussing the fragments in the various journals. Naturally, as the author is at pains to stress, references to such a vast body of critical literature as has accumulated around the literary papyrus cannot hope to be quite exhaustive. But in bibliography, as in life, one thing leads to another, and anyone who follows up Pack's secondary references for a particular papyrus has an adequate guide through the fine mazes of scholarly argument.

The abiding popularity of the classical authors, *vis-à-vis* their more modern rivals, in Greco-Roman Egypt is strikingly

² Published since these lines went to press.

¹ On pp. 112.32-113.1 Weinstock is right in bracketing καὶ ἡμιπλὸν before οὐδ' ἐν' αὐτῇς ληπτέον καὶ τὸ ἡμιπλόν; should we not also change οὐδ' into οὐκ οὐδ'? If a scribe had read it as οὐκ οὐδ', he might easily have felt it necessary to delete the negative.

attested by the incidence of the surviving fragments. Too much emphasis must clearly not be laid on statistics here, especially with the literary canon so long established by Alexandria, but it is nevertheless significant that, as against thirty fragments of Thucydides, only one each can be ascribed with any certainty to Polybius and Plutarch! Of the classical authors Homer, it goes without saying, emerges *facile princeps* with about five hundred fragments—Apollonius Rhodius has to be content with fourteen; Euripides heads the list in tragedy with over fifty texts, twice as many as Aeschylus and Sophocles together; about equal with the two latter and with each other are Aristophanes and Menander; Plato has at least six times as many fragments as Aristotle—but the latter's five or so include the 'A9. II.; Demosthenes boasts twice as many as Isocrates, with the other orators nowhere in the race.

Unreliability would rob an inventory of this kind of much of its value. So far, however, as your reviewer has been able to judge from a cursory survey, Mr. Pack has maintained the highest standards of accuracy, bestowing on a project bravely conceived the competent execution which it merited.

B. R. REES.

1. **The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXI.** Edited by E. LOBEL. Pp. xiv + 150, 13 pll. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1951. £2 12s. 6d.

2. **The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XX.** Edited by E. LOBEL, E. P. WEGENER, and G. H. ROBERTS. Pp. xvi + 191, 16 pll. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1952. £4.

1. In the preface to this volume Mr. Roberts explains that it appears before Part XX because of a benefaction from UNESCO, which it was decided to use in the production, for the first time since Part XV, of a volume devoted wholly to new literary texts; it was a condition of the UNESCO grant that the work to be assisted was to appear before the end of 1951, and the production of Part XX was therefore postponed. This volume contains all the unpublished fragments of Alcaeus and Sappho, and of commentaries on their works, which Mr. Lobel has identified in the Oxyrhynchus collection, and Mr. Roberts adds the excellent news that a complete edition of the poems and fragments of Alcaeus and Sappho is in active preparation; he explains that this is why the volume does not contain the customary *index verborum*.

The main part of the volume (pp. 1–121) is devoted to twenty-one new texts (2288–308), of which three (2288–90) are certainly, and one (2291) probably, Sappho, two (2292–3) are from commentaries on Sappho (2293 probably on Book IV), 2294 contains 'bibliographical details about a book of Sappho' (probably Book VIII), four (2295–8) are certainly Alcaeus, 2299 is 'Sappho or Alcaeus', 2300–5 are more probably Alcaeus than Sappho, 2306–7 are from commentaries on Alcaeus, and 2308 is 'Aeolic verses? ... included here for the sake of the relation it may have to 2294'. The unusually rich Addenda (pp. 122–47) contain additions to known papyri of Sappho, Book I—1231, 2081(c), 2166(a); 1787—and of Alcaeus—1233, 2081(d), 2166(b); 1234 and 1360, 2166(c); 1788; 1789. Inevitably, most of the fragments printed and illustrated are the tragically unintelligible debris of unidentifiable poems; but there are some of more than papyrological interest. 2288 contains parts of the first twenty-one lines of Sappho's prayer to Aphrodite (& 1 App. = 1),¹ in which we find (i) a stop after *χρόσιον* (v. 8), suggesting that the adjective is to be constructed with *δέσπο* only (Vogliano, *Il nuovo Alceo*, 1952, p. 5), (ii) support for F's spelling *μαδισσισσος* (v. 14), and (iii) a strong hint that v. 19 began *ἐψ' σ' ὄνη*, in which case *πείθω* (v. 18) is, as Lobel had already suggested, deliberative subjunctive, and the probability that Edmonds' *ῥόν* (for *όν*) is right is greatly increased. 2289 fr. 2, 4 seems to contain the rare word *δυσωχία* (LS⁹ quote it first from Polybius, but the adjective is Homeric). 2291 twice mentions a Polyanactid (sex not certain), cf. *inc. lib.* 40 (150), and col. i may contain parts of two poems (I cannot make 4–6 correspond metrically with 22–4). 2292 names two more of Sappho's friends (Archeanassa and Pleistodica), making it less certain that the Dica of 21(b) (80) is identical with the Mnasicida of 22(a) (63). 2294 seems to contain a list of first lines, with the title *Epithalamia* and a puzzling stichometrical note which Lobel reads *στίχ(ω) ρά*, i.e. between 130 and 140 lines. If so, the book was unusually short; is it at all possible that we have here a combination of the acrophonic notation usual in colophons (for example, Sappho Book I) with the alphabetic notation, and that we should read *στί(χ)οι Χρ[]*, i.e. 1130+? 2295 fr. 1 con-

tains parts of Alc. 119 (54) but does not solve the puzzle about *ἀρηι* (v. 1); v. 5 suggests *καρίμπερ* as the Aeolic for *καρόμπερ* (cf. 2297 fr. 5, 8 *ἔμπερ*); fr. 2 glosses *ὄνη* *οὔτος* (Alc. 129: 31) with *ἐρρῶσσι*; Pittacus appears again in an intercolumnar scholium on fr. 18; fr. 28 mentions Phrynon, presumably the Athenian general killed at Sigeum in single combat by Pittacus (Strab. xiii. 599–600). The *lemmata* in the commentary 2306 col. ii, 14 (*χάλας*) and 29 *ἔμπερ* suggest that 2297 fr. 5 contains further lines from the poem on the storm-tossed ship (87: 46A). 2300 was discussed by Vogliano (*op. cit.*); it looks to me as if it were not merely 'comparable with Au 26 [74]', as Lobel says, but actually an earlier part of the same poem. In 2301 fr. 1(b), 3 we have at last evidence for *ἐφ'σ* in Lesbian. 2303 fr. 1 increases our knowledge of Alcaeus' mythological poems (the subject is Pallas' wrath against Locrian Ajax for the rape of Cassandra) and of his vocabulary (*πυλιδωδέσση*, translated by Lobel 'livid with anger'). 2306 col. i mentions one Mnemon, who provided a boat to bring back the tyrant Myrsilus. In 2307 Lobel has recognised *lemmata* from several known fragments. The addenda are of little obvious importance, apart from the convincing improvements to Sappho 2 5 (27a); I suggest that v. 8 might be completed *τῶ [πανά]ριστον*.

2. Part XX, as the triple editorship indicates, follows the usual pattern: a section devoted to new classical fragments (pp. 1–134; Nos. 2245–64, all edited by Mr. Lobel except for 2264, which Mr. Roberts has edited) is followed by sections devoted to Roman and Byzantine documents (pp. 135–60; Nos. 2265–76) and to minor documents (pp. 161–6; Nos. 2277–87), in both of which, Mr. Roberts tells us in his preface, Miss Wegener did the lion's share of the editorial work, his own part being 'limited to rereading and occasionally revising ... and, in collaboration with Dr. Wegener, to settling on the final form which they should take'. Then come two pages of addenda by Mr. Lobel, of which p. 167 is devoted to additions and corrections to Nos. 2162, 2163, 2179, and 2212 (from Parts XVIII, XIX) and p. 168 rather hesitantly assigns a new fragment to No. 661 (Callimachus, *Epodes*; Pfeiffer's pap. 21). Full indices, prepared by Miss Wegener, complete the text.

The principal authors represented among the literary papyri are Aeschylus (pp. 1–69; Nos. 2245–57) and Callimachus (pp. 69–107, 113–29; Nos. 2258, 2261–3); 2259 is grammatical (a note on the forms *ἀπλ* and *ἀπλ-ῶστος*), 2260 comes from a commentary on an unidentified (but not, I think, absolutely unidentifiable—see below) poetic text, and 2264 is ascribed to the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. With this item, the work enters regions with which I am little acquainted, so that some brief notes on contents must suffice: a Hadrianic prefect calls for help for tax-collectors (2265), an ex-procurator accused of extortion makes an affidavit (2267; A.D. 360), an imperial estate has been attacked (2268; late fifth century), an auction-sale has been held (2269; A.D. 269—partly in Latin), a temple has been repaired (2272; second century), and there are four private letters (2273–6; third to fourth centuries), of which the short 2274 is the most interesting linguistically, for its spelling and syntax (e.g. *οἱ νότῳ* acc. plural). Of the literary papyri, all those concerning Callimachus have been incorporated in Pfeiffer's edition (2258 = Pap. 37; 2261 = 14; 2262 = 20; 2263 = 26) and need not be discussed here. I turn therefore to the Aeschylean fragments (2245–57) and the commentary (2260), which may be less familiar.

Nos. 2245–55 are grouped together as 'Aeschylus, various plays', most (and probably all) by the same hand as copied the plays of which fragments were published in Part XVIII. Lobel admits that not all the plays here represented must be by Aeschylus, but his attribution seems much the most likely. The most interesting and intelligible is 2245 fr. 1, a chorus from a *Prometheus* (not the *Loemenos*, Lobel suggests; he advises against further speculation, but the text seems to me satyric in spirit, and I suggest that the play is the satyric *Prometheus* of 472—in 2160 we already have a fragment of the *Glaucus Poimenes*, from the same tetralogy). 2246 is nearly clueless, for all its extent; 2251, apparently a lament by a woman for a victim of a treacherous host, might belong to the Danaid tetralogy; 2253 and 2255 seems to be from plays of the Trojan cycle. 2256 is also headed 'Aeschylus, various plays'; it includes hypotheses for the *Laius* (fr. 1, very fragmentary), for the *Oedipus* (fr. 2, tallying closely with the known hypothesis of the *Septem*), for a play of the Danaid tetralogy (fr. 3—see below), for an unidentified play (fr. 4), and for a *Philoctetes* (fr. 5, almost certainly Aeschylus), as well as many verse fragments, of which the most interesting is 9, from a dialogue in which Dike seems to be one of the speakers; 59 and 71 should be from plays about Troy (the latter probably from a 'Ὀπλων κλοπῆς'; 88 may coincide with a known fragment of Aeschylus, *Philoctetes* (250 N²). 2257 is another hypothesis, probably of Aeschylus, *Aetnaean Women*.

Finally, Nos. 2256 fr. 3 and 2260. The first dates the pro-

¹ In all references to the fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus, the first group gives Lobel's numeration, the second that of Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Graec.* 1^a.

duction of the Danaid tetralogy after 470 (and most probably after 467); and I believe that the first line should be restored ἐν Ἀρχαῖοις ἱ.ε. 464/3 (see my note in *CR* N.S. III, 1953, 144). In any case we have a most remarkable confirmation of the view, held long ago by Boeckh and K. O. Müller and revived by Nestle (in his review of Kranz, *Stasimon*; *Gnomon* 10, 1934, 414-15),¹ that the *Supplices* is a late play. The commentary in 2260 deals with two matters: the epithet *δολιχάρπης* applied to Athena and the birth of Athena, fully-armed, from the head of Zeus. There are several quotations—from Philotas (extending fr. 23 Powell), from the *Phormion* (new), from Euripides (new), from Callimachus (fr. 37 Pf., partly new), from Stesichorus (new), and from Ibycus (new—see Professor Page's note in *CR* N.S. III, 1953, 1-2). The poem was therefore dactylic (or dactyloid), later than Stesichorus (cf. fr. 62 Bergk), and dealt at some length with Athena; it was by a major author, thought worthy of being given an elaborate commentary, in the manner of Aristarchus (for which see A. Severyns, *Le cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque*, 1928, Part I), and I suggest very tentatively that we should see in it a part of Aristarchus' own commentary on the *Hymns* of Pindar (cf. Pindar fr. 15 Bowra, 26 Turyn). In col. ii of this fragment, Lobel restores vv. 7-10 as follows: παρυσίων ἐχ[ουσιν] αὐ]τὴν ἐξάλλ[ισται] . . . μὴν καὶ ἐ[χου] -σαν τὰ ἐπ'α. and comments 'I cannot supplement in such a way as to make the repetition explicable'. But is there a repetition at all? It does not seem at all certain that the last surviving letter of v. 9 must be ε; if σ- could be read, *H. Hom.* XXVIII 6-8 suggests a less objectionable supplement: ἐξάλλ[ισται] σ- -σ]μ-μὴν καὶ ἐ[χου] -σαν τὰ ἐπ'α.

It remains only to add that the editing of these two volumes is as usual exemplary, and that the printers have brilliantly supported the editors.

J. A. DAVISON.

Papyri Bononienses I (1-50). Editi e commentati da O. MONTEVECCHI. Milan: Società Editrice 'Vita e Pensiero' (for Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore), 1953. Pp. xii + 149. L. 1500.

This collection was acquired in 1930 by the University of Bologna, and a preliminary inventory, together with provisional readings of all the literary texts, was published by Montevocchi and G. B. Pighi in *Aegyptus* 27 (1947). In all, thirteen texts of exceptional interest have already been published in journals either by the present editor or other papyrologists; the thirty-seven remaining texts, all documentary, are here presented along with the texts already published, which have been revised in accordance with suggestions made privately or in periodicals by scholars who have studied them.

The nine literary texts range from Homer's *Iliad* to Origen's *Homilies*, including, *inter alia*, fragments of a *Homeromanteion*, of a *κατάβραχος* in hexameters, of a scholastic manual containing a summary of the *Iliad*, and of a Christian amulet. The last-named fragment, whose date is now amended to the fourth or fifth century, is interesting for its reference to S. Longinus the centurion, greatly venerated in the Coptic Church as in Eastern Christianity generally, but not hitherto mentioned in papyri, so far as is known. Perhaps the most interesting, however, are the three fair-sized, continuous fragments, originally forming part of a roll and dated in the third or fourth century, which illustrate a *genre* already known to us from the two works, *Τόποι ἑπιστολικῶν* and *Ἑπιστολῶν χαρκτηρίων*, attributed respectively to Demetrius and to Libanius or his school. The epistolary categories defined in these works are in the present text further subdivided, and the fact that the text is bilingual in Greek and Latin—though it has not yet proved possible to determine which is the original tongue—provides another hint of the extent to which the language policy of the later Emperors found support amongst the better educated and more prosperous circles of Egypt's population.

The Ptolemaic documents (10-14) are among the worst preserved of the whole collection, and their mutilated state greatly reduces their potential value. From 11 (r), however, if the suggested dating (on p. 36) be correct, it may be possible to establish a much earlier date (212-1 B.C.) for the *Idiologos*' first appearance in Egypt than has hitherto been accepted. The Roman and Byzantine documents (15-50) are more numerous, but again so fragmentary that the editor has been hard put to it in many cases even to classify their contents. A valuable document is 24, a copy of a contract of sale from Tebtynis accompanied by two *σπογραφαί*, which has been prefaced by a useful introduction on the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*, though reference might well have been made to the extensive literature on the subject already in existence (see *CAH* X, 927 f.) and con-

tributed by other than Italian scholars. Similarly, 25, a *δωρεὶς ἐξωστέρων* of A.D. 185, would have benefited by a reference to the introduction to *PMert.* I, 6, with its full bibliography of recent discussions on this type of document.

The general impression given by this volume, then, is of a difficult task carefully and conscientiously carried out. Signorina Montevocchi has had to edit a collection of texts characterised rather by the difficulty of transcription, identification, and supplementation than by the special interest of its contents, and has clearly been handicapped in addition by the inaccessibility to her of much of the papyrological work done outside Italy in more recent years, in particular that published in foreign journals. This tendency to insularity is made more noticeable by her adherence to an editorial technique now largely outmoded, though in the general Italian tradition. For example, even texts which are complete or fairly complete remain untranslated; aids to the translation of single words or phrases, like correction of scribal errors, are embodied in the footnotes, so that the lot of the general reader, e.g. the historian or jurist, left without translation or critical apparatus, is an unenviable one. On the other hand, some recent critics of modern English technique will rejoice to find that some of the notes seem to cater for them rather than for the papyrologist, containing as they do matter already well-known to the latter as a part of the elements of his trade (see, e.g., the notes on ἀπόμνημα and ἵδιος λόγος on p. 49, on φορέας and γράμματα on p. 78).

A few minor *corrigenda* may usefully be noted. P. xi: the date of final publication of *BL* II was 1933, and the name of the joint editor of *PCor.* C. J. Kraemer; p. 2, s.f., for 'unknown' read 'unknown'; p. 31, col. I, 20, read 'δύναμις'; p. 32, after para. 5 of Introduction insert (1); p. 56, 6 n., read 'ἀνθρώπων'; p. 59, 1-2 n., read 'Γερμανικός' and, s.f., *effettio*; p. 66, col. I, 7 n., for A.D. 132 as the terminating date of the prefecture of T. Flavius Titianus read 'A.D. 133' (*teste* Stein, *Präfecten*, 65 ff.); p. 72, 20-1 n., read 'χερσόγραφον'; p. 74, 6 n., read 'Liddell-Scott'. And might not *δεδγόν* just possibly replace *δεδγόν* in 20, 17; 20? Unfortunately there are no fascimiles to assist or encourage further reconstruction of the texts.

B. R. REES.

A Minoan Linear B Index. By EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR. Pp. xxiv + 119. New Haven: Yale University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1953. 12s. 6d.

A Study in Word Structure in Minoan Linear B. By JANE ELIZABETH HENLE. Pp. v + 185. Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University. New York, 1953.

Here are two further American publications in the analytical tradition initiated by the late Alice E. Kober in 1943-50, thanks to which the study of the 'Minoan' documents from Knossos and Pylos can at last be approached as a disciplined and hopeful task. Both are reference works designed primarily for the use of other decipherers; neither is prejudiced by a detailed attempt to extract word meanings or sign values.

Bennett was entrusted by Professor Blegen with the task of classifying and analysing (from photographs) the 600 tablets found at Pylos in 1939: the first results of this study are locked in an unpublished doctoral dissertation for the University of Cincinnati, *The Minoan Linear Script from Pylos* (1947). After the publication in transcription of *The Pylos Tablets* (1951), he re-examined the Knossos originals in the Herakleion museum, checking Evans' transcriptions and copying uncatalogued fragments: only a part of these corrections could be incorporated in the second volume of *Scripta Minoa* (ed. Sir John Myres, 1952).

Professor Bennett has now combined his Pylos word-list with his corrected Knossos readings in this combined Index, justified by the clear identity in script and language between the two series. Its great usefulness is not reduced by the fact that it is already rendered incomplete by the discovery of 300 new tablets at Pylos and of thirty-eight at Mycenae during 1952-53, and by the renewed opportunity of checking the originals of the 1939 tablets.

The syllabic words are listed in a signary order different from Myres' and based on a more complete differentiation of the script. The classification of the tablets according to their commodity contexts is extended to the Knossos numeration, and the possibilities of completing fragmentary sign-groups are indicated. A second index lists the words in reverse order, invaluable for the study of inflection; a third records the varied occurrences of each commodity-sign.

Miss Henle argues, from historical considerations which have lately become popular, that the Linear B tablets *ought* to be written in Greek. The purpose of her study is to compare the frequency and distribution of the Linear B syllabic signs with the syllabic frequencies counted in samples of Homeric Greek. Although this comparison does not lead to any workable system

¹ I am indebted to Dr. M. H. A. L. H. van der Valk for this reference and also for drawing my attention to the work of A. Severyns cited below.

of sound values, the data which an objective analysis reveals both in Linear B and in Greek are useful, and the experiment is an interesting example of a necessary method. Its negative results may well be due, as she herself admits, to uncertainties and to errors of judgment in deciding precisely what and how to analyse, in manipulating the figures which result, and in assessing whether the things which are being compared are in fact comparable.

In the Linear B material, for instance, a number of four-sign men's names are evidently compounds of two equal halves, and a frequency count will reveal that certain syllables have preferences or aversions to one or other of the four positions; but to design a method of analysis to extract these preferences throughout the whole material may lead to meaningless results when applied to words which probably do not have this compound structure, and to embarrassment in manipulating three- and five-sign words.

There is ample evidence, in the Index, of words which clearly have added terminations. But shall we assume, for the purposes of a statistical count, that these are formative elements creating distinct words (adjectives, diminutives, etc.)? Or different case-endings of the same word? Or added enclitics which are not really part of the word at all? There is an evident danger in attempting a mechanical analysis of differing forms without understanding the syntax of the contexts in which they occur.

And what rules are we to assume for the Mycenaean spelling of Greek words? Did the scribes, as in the Cypriot syllabary, have to show the entire consonant outline with open syllables, so that *κόρος* 'boy' would reappear as *ko-ro-wo-se*? Or did they (as Miss Henle somewhat unconvincingly argues) admit open syllables and 'broken' vowels to the pattern, shortening the spelling to *kor-wo-se*? Or were they, as the reviewer has suggested, restricted to the brutally 'isosyllabic' *ko'-wo'*?

If Linear B really contains Greek, at what stage of development shall we expect to find it in the fifteenth century? Has *-σ-* not yet disappeared, so that the genitive *Ἐνδύου* must appear as **Ἐνδύουσος* (Henle: *Ste-wo-kel-woes-os*)? Is *-ν-* not yet become *-σ-*; and do the labio-velars still have a separate identity?

Finally, what kind of Greek subject-matter shall we compare with the Linear B Index? In default of Homeric shopping-lists, shall we take random samples of epic running text; and how far shall we tinker with their dialect and with their metrically conditioned forms? And if we confine ourselves to lists of men's names, must these all be in the nominative? These are problems which must continually face all those who have been attempting a similar attack on the script.

MICHAEL VENTRIS.

Le Pélasgique : Essai sur une langue indo-européenne préhellénique (Bibliothèque du Muséon, vol. 29).

By A. J. VAN WINDEKENS. Pp. xii + 179. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1952. Price not stated.

This is an examination of some elements in the Greek vocabulary, with a view to establishing them as survivals of a pre-hellenic, but IE, language, called for convenience Pelasgian. A much smaller number of survivals is also found in Latin. In three sections van Windekens treats of the conjectured phonology of Pelasgian, then the noun formation, and finally, in the longest section, the vocabulary ranged in alphabetic order. There follow a short passage of general conclusions and an index of all words studied. In the vocabulary there are listed as Pelasgian 129 Greek words (almost all common nouns) and 14 Latin; in addition there are 48 place names and 9 personal names.

The term Pelasgian has been used in a linguistic sense before by Kretschmer, in his series of important studies on the predecessors both of the Greek language and of its speakers. But the conception here, though undoubtedly owing much to Kretschmer, is a different one. In Kretschmer's last version (*Glotta* xxx, 1943, 214), Pelasgian was an offshoot of 'protindogermanic', in a branch collateral to uridg. Here, on the other hand, it is a fully IE language of *satem* type, and its speakers are supposed to have settled in an area between western Asia Minor and North Italy, but most densely in Greece.

The whole field of pre-hellenic language study is still speculative, and we cannot expect solid demonstration. But the very method here employed must cause serious doubts, since it consists in selecting a number of words of varied formation and meaning from the vast range of the Greek vocabulary, which may seem favourable to the hypothesis, while leaving out of consideration all others. Hence unfavourable evidence cannot come into court at all. This is a very different matter from handling actual texts of a language, full of all their obstinate inconveniences (as, say, of Lydian, or Etruscan). Further, no real attempt is made to relate the supposed Pelasgian to arch-

aecology and prehistory (unlike Kretschmer, who sees this as a vital need).

Van Windekens' hypothesis and its working-out are interesting and ingenious, but few may feel inclined to accept it so long as we have no Pelasgian texts. The whole weight of supporting the argument falls on the collection of proposed etymologies, and they could not be regarded as secure enough for the purpose.

Special interest attaches to the suffix *-σ-* in common nouns and place names (*-σ-* in Asia Minor). Van Windekens explains this (as he also does with *-σσ-*, *-ττ-*) as IE (Pelasgian), and argues that the association of *-σ-* and *-θ-* is secondary: *-θ-* (IE *t) is an enlargement of a nasal stem (pp. 43 ff.). *-σ-* in Asia Minor, where it corresponds to *-θ-*, would show a dialectal variation in Pelasgian, but in other cases would descend from IE **-nd-*. It is indeed possible to point to rare cases in IE of *-t-* added to a nasal stem. But it is surely significant that *-σ-* and *-θ-* are found almost exclusively in two types of noun, place names and names of plants (especially those of a southern type). The possibilities are that invading IE-speakers, pre-hellenic or Hellenic, either (1) borrowed the words from earlier Aegean peoples, not speaking IE, or (2) coined them on arrival in the area. Van Windekens, and I judge Kretschmer, choose alternative (2); but it is hard to see why the newly-coined suffix should have been used just for nouns of the types mentioned, both calculated to suggest foreign loan words, and not more generally.

δάμαρος is analysed (pp. 3, 32, 42) as **ak-o-men-t-* (where all but *ak-* is suffixal!); Skt. *agman-* 'stone', Gk. *ἀγκύρα* 'anvil'. The connexion of meaning 'bath' is not readily apparent. Still less clear is the phonetic relation with *δάμος*. Another example of increment in suffixes is proposed in *Ἀδύμη*, where *-σ-* is taken as an enlargement of **aiδ-* 'mother'. But again the evidence of place names (cf. *Μαχίμη*) seems our safest guide, and to point to non-IE origin.

Some of the etymologies, however, appear *prima facie* tempting. So *βέτρος*, connected with OHG. *bret* 'board'; or *χρόνος* with IE* (*x)er-* 'cut'—if this were acceptable, then *χρόνος* could have the same source as *κόρος*, on the semantic of which see also Palmer, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1950, p. 156 n. 2. But then we might ask, Why two related words for 'time'?

A. C. MOORHOUSE.

Griechische Grammatik. II (Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik). Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II 1.2. By EDUARD SCHWYZER. Pp. xxiii + 714. III (Register). By D. M. GEORGACAS. Pp. xxiii + 392. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1950 and 1953. DM. 54 and 36.

Eduard Schwyzler accepted the task of rewriting the Greek Grammar for Müller's *Handbuch* in 1921. The first part appeared in 1934, and the first volume was completed in 1939. At the time of his death in 1943 the volume on syntax had reached its final shape apart from a few easily filled lacunae. The world of scholarship is once again deeply indebted to Professor Albert Debrunner, who completed the text and saw the present volume through the press.

The book has the *ἀκρίβεια* proper to its kind: documentation overwhelmingly complete and an authoritative summary of the syntactical doctrines which have emerged from the labours of scholars. While it would be possible to point to minutiae which the author has overlooked or ignored, let it be said that the completion of Schwyzler's great work is a landmark in the history of classical philology. From it future research will take its start.

It is in the third requirement we make of such a work—the indication of unexplored territory and the planning of future exploration—that the book suffers the defects of its virtues. Yet much remains to be done. For instance, the doctrine of the verbal aspects contains much that is puzzling. Of the 'inflective' S. writes: 'der inflective betrachtet den Verbalinhalt ohne das Moment der Vollendung, einen Zustand als lediglich zuständig, einen Vorgang oder eine Handlung als noch unabgeschlossen, noch geschehend, verlaufend, der inflective Aspekt ist also stativ, teils infektiv, bezeichnet im Gegensatz zur Vollendung den bestehenden Zustand und den Verlauf'. On the perfect we read: 'das indogermanische Perfekt gehört zum inflectiven Aspekt, obschon es einen Zustand bezeichnet, der Folge eines Ereignisses ist (griech. *ἰσθῆναι* ist der durch konfektives *εἰσθῆναι* ausgelöste Zustand, verschieden von dem durch *ἀποσθῆναι* bezeichneten)'. In other words, the 'inflective' designates, *inter alia*, a state (*ἔκστασις*). The 'perfect' belongs to the 'inflective' although it designates a *ἔκστασις* which is the result of the confective. This I find quite unilluminating.

A concrete example may serve to test the adequacy of prevalent doctrine. The friends of Socrates, hearing that the

Salaminian galley has arrived in port, assemble outside the prison. The warder comes out and invites them to enter. 'We went in and found Socrates just released from his chains.' The verb translated 'found' is καταλαμβάνω, where the prefix has its 'confective' function, this verb meaning variously 'overtake', 'seize', and the like. For many years I have asked colleagues what tense they would use for 'found' in the above sentence, and the answer has invariably been 'aorist'. Plato uses καταλαμβάνω. The action is completed, and the verb refers to this act of finding, surprising, discovering. The infinitive does not here describe the state, and there is hardly a *Verlauf* in 'clapping one's eyes on'. The explanation I tentatively put forward is that whereas the aorist refers to the verbal event globally and colourlessly as a unit of history regardless of its objective duration, the infinitive brings us face to face with the scene, it is the 'news-reel' aspect, the 'eye-witness' aspect; let us call it 'the autoptic'. Now one and the same event may be merely recorded as an item of history or vividly brought before the eyes. In the Platonic passage in question (*Phaedo* 59 c ff.) the scene is set with aorists συνέλθοντες . . . ἐξήλθοντες . . . ἠνυθόμεθα . . . παρηγγύλαμεν . . . ἤκαμεν . . . εἶπεν . . . μὴ πρότερον παρίειν ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς κτελέσῃ. Then the 'news-reel' is set going: ἐβλεπεν ἡμᾶς εἰσέναι· εἰσόντες καταλαμβάνομεν . . . The effect may be rendered clumsily 'there he was telling us to come in and there we were finding him'. The same distinction is seen in other passages discussed by Schwyzer. Thus the χαλὰ πῶς of Δ 482 is the record of a death and hardly to be construed 'schlug im Fall auf den Boden auf'. Against this the πῖπτον ἔραξε of M 156 is embedded in a vivid battle description rich in 'autoptic' imperfections: ἔραχοντο . . . βάλλον . . . ῥέον . . . δάταν. Much the same is true of Xen. *Hell.* 1. 6. 15 f., where the pursuit of Conon similarly is given immediacy by the use of 'autoptics': ἔδωκαν . . . ἔραγον . . . καταφεύγει (where κατα- expresses the end point of the fleeing; it is complete-autoptic).

The treatment of the infinitive, too, I find in some respects unsatisfying, particularly in its attempts to force infinitival usage into case compartments. Scholars are far from unanimity in the morphological analysis of these forms (see Chantaine, *Gram. rom.* II, 300). S. finds a locative in βῆ δ' ἔπειν 'er schritt aus im gehen'. It might more plausibly be regarded as an instance of an archaic IE usage—the internal accusative expressing the verbal content (type *actatem vivere*). S. himself points out that in other languages we find such infinitives etymologically identical with the governing finite verb. In other words, such usages are traceable to the ancient 'cognate accusative', and Homer's phrase means no more than 'he went his way'.

A recent study of the Semitic verb (Thacker, *The Semitic Verb*) may give the clue also to Indo-European developments. The infinitives have emerged from verb-nouns which were prior to the distinction between noun and verb in the IE system. Such noun-verbs of ancient morphological structure (typically *r/n* stems) are found embedded in various positions in the verbal morphology of IE languages: for instance, the *r*-impersonal of Italo-Celtic is nothing more than an old verb-noun: 'a fight!' In Latin this type is combined with the old non-transitive to produce the type *pugnatur*. Verb-nouns in *-s* appear as preterites in Hittite and Tocharian and form the base of Greek infinitives in *-en* (*-es-en*). Such verb-nouns may also be uttered peremptorily: hence the so-called imperative infinitives. *Sed haec haec!*

In the absence of an index the first volume, owing to the novel arrangement of the material, has remained an impenetrable jungle to the non-specialist, and even after fourteen years of use I still found references a lengthy business. Warm thanks are due to Schwyzer's pupil Professor D. J. Georgacas for shouldering this exacting task. The index is divided into: (1) Greek words, suffixes, and sounds; (2) words, suffixes, and sounds from other languages; and (3) subjects. For reference purposes the page is divided into eight parts, and a ruled guide is provided to narrow the field of search. A few months' intensive use testify to the accuracy of the entries. The only error I have found is in the *addenda et corrigenda*: p. XIV col. 1 8th l. from bottom read 'II 89^a' for 'II 88^a'.

It remains to add that this book is a fitting monument to a great scholar.

L. R. PALMER.

Ancient History from Prehistoric Times to the Death of Justinian. By C. A. ROBINSON, JR. Pp. xxiv + 738, 138 text figs. + 83 maps and diagrams. New York: Macmillan, 1951. 45s.

The author, Professor of Classics at Brown University, is chiefly known for his revised version of Botsford's *Hellenic History*; he has also written *Alexander the Great* and numerous articles. The present work is a compact manual apparently designed for students without knowledge of the sources. Much

can be said in its favour. The plan is straightforward, the proportions just, the style brief, clear, and businesslike, and the book in general pleasing to read. Though scholarly controversies do not obtrude themselves (there are practically no footnotes), Robinson nearly always gives the up-to-date view, and if his judgments have an appearance of dogmatism (a feature of the *Hellenic History* criticised by Ehrenberg in *JHS* LIX, 296 f.), he reasonably claims in his preface a right to dispense with repeated expressions of probability. The photographs are excellent (not so the maps, except those borrowed from *CAH*).

Although, however, this is an attractive book and will undoubtedly be useful as an introduction to the subject, it does lie open to serious criticism. R. does not give the impression of having worked closely enough with the evidence and with modern works on the evidence. It would not now be realistic, if it ever was, to demand that the writer of a general history should be an authority on every period and aspect of his subject; but he should surely be familiar with the controversies behind the views he adopts, and should restate these views in his own language, so that what he offers is an original work, stamped everywhere with the impress of a single mind. In R., on the contrary, one seems to be reading the opinions of a series of experts. This impression is not without concrete support.

R. acknowledges in his preface the permission of A. H. M. Jones 'to draw upon his remarks on the economic background of the Roman Empire in *Journal of Roman Studies* XXXVIII'. These remarks appear, in fact, in a review (pp. 149 f. of that issue) of Walbank's *Decline of the Roman Empire in the West*, in which Jones alternately presents Walbank's arguments and comments on them. Some three-quarters of the actual words of Jones' first five paragraphs appear without quotation marks, and with very slight alteration, on pp. 609 f. of R.—whose contribution is limited to tidying-up expressions ('But this analysis must not be pressed too far'; 'Once again, it would be easy to exaggerate') transforming the exegesis-comment pattern of the review into the semblance of an argument developed by a single mind. Whatever we may say of a convention allowing the virtual quotation of long passages without more acknowledgment than this, surely a historian should present his conclusions in his own words rather than in those of others, however felicitous—particularly when the controversy is important? That R. takes the matter further (pp. 610–12) makes little difference, for here he seems to be largely based on Walbank himself.

R. makes other acknowledgments in his preface which the reviewer has not followed up. He has, however, detected some minor instances of verbal dependence: e.g. on pp. 41, 100 f., 103, 349 (cf. *CAH* I 443, III 59, 61, 44, VI 436).

The following is a selection of errors of fact: Chios was part of Acolis (p. 134); Argolis is the name of a State (154); σωροσύνη was a new word c. 500 B.C. (167); 'στρατηγός βίσερος αἰνός' applied to Pericles, is equivalent to 'στρατηγός ἀντακράτωρ' (199^a) and means 'general with absolute power' (243); 'Munychia' comprises the whole promontory of Piraeus (214); Pericles was supreme at Athens after Cimon's death (230), and 'almost continuously' general from 461 to 429 (only twice before 450, so far as we know) (225); Athenian expeditionary forces consisted essentially of the nineteen- and twenty-year-olds (226^a); the 13,000 Athenian hoplites in 431 included those on garrison duty (237); the Roman kings were elected from a royal family (449); a *tribunus plebis* could veto the veto of his colleague (494); there were only eight first consuls of their family between 200 and 146 (so, to be sure, Frank in *CAH* VIII 365; in fact eighteen, ignoring branches of *gentes*) (495); the *SC ultimum* dates from the Second Punic War (507); Caesar was tribune and censor (530); it was a novelty of the Julian year that it began on 1 January (531). A number of mistakes in a general history are inevitable and do not render it useless; but mistakes of the kind listed combine here with the evidence of verbal dependence on other writers to give an impression of superficiality.

A disappointing feature of the book—to turn to less central criticism—is the failure (a common one) to give realistic modern equivalents for ancient money. The amount of precious metal in the coins is quite irrelevant, particularly now that money consists of paper or cheap metal. For R. to say (p. 226) that the drachma earned daily by the Athenian councillor represents 18 American cents gives a misleading impression of the standards of living in ancient Athens. Simple as were the Athenian's daily needs, they could not have been met with that. Nor was this the lowest wage. And R.'s arithmetic is wrong. His talent should equal \$1080, not \$1200 (215), and a daric, at 20 drachmas, \$3.60, not \$9.50 (187). Roman money is similarly misrepresented (469, 542).

The Bibliography contains only 'some of the books' that R. has 'found most useful' (p. viii), and one should not therefore

complain that it makes no mention of *Athenian Tribute Lists*, *Atthis*, Busolt's *Greek History* (though Beloch's is included), Jones and Ehrenberg's *Documents*, or *ILS*. As a guide to further study it will undoubtedly be useful to the type of reader for whom the book is intended (though one is sorry not to see Bury's *History of Greece*, Warde Fowler's *City State*, Grote's *Plato*, Headlam's *Election by Lot*, Greenidge's *Roman Public Life*, or Momigliano's *Claudius*).

There are few misprints—though a particularly unfortunate one occurs on p. 221.

T. J. CADOUX.

Geographical History in Greek Lands. By JOHN L. MYRES. Pp. x + 381, pll. 12. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953. 35s.

There are collected here, as a tribute to mark Sir John's eighty-second birthday, a dozen papers written by him for various occasions from 1910 onwards (three are of that year, the Oxford inaugural lecture on *Greek Lands and the Greek People* and others on *The Value of Ancient History* and *The Geographical Study of Greek and Roman Culture*). All are reprinted 'with very few changes, but with some brief references to more recent affairs, and omission or curtailment of repeated topics'. The title of the book is explained as follows: 'The phrase "Historical Geography" has been familiar, since the work of E. A. Freeman and H. B. George, both to historians and to geographers. But there is a pendent group of studies which might be better described as "Geographical History"; for sometimes it is the geographical features which invite historical commentary, rather than the historical events which invite geographical.' The term proposed is novel, and it does not seem to bear examination in this (or any) sense, but we know the kind of history, intimately blended with geography, that is meant. 'In all historical problems both elements are there—the human decision, and the physical, non-human situation.' 'All human history is regional history, and loses its value and meaning when its geographical aspect is overlooked'. 'We must regard this civilization [of Greece and Rome] as representing a mature and highly successful attempt to *live well* under Mediterranean conditions.' Sir John has insisted on the freshening and widening and deepening of the study and teaching of ancient history by such a way of looking at things. If, re-read together, these essays seem sometimes to protest too much, it is largely because they have long since substantially won their case. He admits already in 1928 (*Ancient Geography in Modern Education*) that 'this kind of correlation between historical and geographical studies is more widely valued and practised than formerly', and in a note of 1951 that much has been done since 1928, though 'ground-nuts, a geographical crime, have just cost Great Britain thirty million pounds'.

Naturally much is said on the Mediterranean climate and vegetation. The land is often thin-soiled scrub-land or *maquis*, 'the chief cause of the surprising smallness and discontinuity of all Mediterranean populations'. It is startling to hear that 'in modern Greece only a generation ago only about one child out of three survived to its first birth-day'. This is from the most striking of the essays, *The Causes of Rise and Fall in the Population of the Ancient World* (*Eugenics Review*, 1915). 'Philosophers wanted to replace quantity by quality, and recommended eugenics tempered with infanticide; while politicians preached a national crusade to exploit the Persian Empire. . . . Alexander's conquests more than realized the hopes of Isocrates and the "crusading" school'. Yet we hear presently of 'the Hellenistic world with its industrial slavery, its secluded womanhood, its limited families, and its pretext of high living to excuse a low birth-rate'.

A paper on *The Geographical Aspect of Greek Colonization* is supplemented by another on *The Geographical Distribution of the Greek City-States*. It is explained, for instance, why the Adriatic was avoided, at least partly because of a rainfall too copious for Greeks. Rain had a lot to do with the Leagues too. 'Even in the western parts of Greece itself, the rain had found out the weak places in the city-state, and popular instinct was to federalize, and get wet by deputy. At Megalopolis the Thersileion had a roof.' 'Infested by 10,000 Arcadians', adds a foot-note, 'I suspect it was *mōx* in more senses than one'.

The Marmara Region (pp. 224–56) is a long and discursive retrospect . . . of the natural history, and the human history, of a peculiar and eventually important region. 'History would have been very different, had the sea of Marmara opened into the deep Aegean through the Bulair isthmus, instead of the accidental "Narrows"'. Similarly detailed geographical-historical studies are *The Islands of the Aegean* (pp. 257–70) and, even more elaborate, *The Dodecanese* (pp. 271–338).

Here are a few more specimens of matter and manner. 'In Balkan lands there is still a rich harvest and high entertainment for anyone who will work out the ethnography of cherry

brandy.' 'The solid gains [of the Crusades] were Famagusta and Rhodes . . . ; the great failures were not Acre or Jerusalem, but Antioch and Alexandria retained in alien hands, as Alalia and the Cinyrs river had been in the sixth century B.C.' 'Miletus . . . sought and found on the prairie beyond that *Lacus Superior* . . . a Manitoba and Alberta of inexhaustible grass-land fertility.' 'What is not yet explained is the almost unbroken insignificance of Crete in the Hellenistic Age.'

I have refused elsewhere (*History of Ancient Geography*, 1948, p. 23) to believe in 'Argonaut raiders seeking "golden fleeces"'—a primitive anticipation of the grease-process—from the auriferous stream-beds of Colchis'. I accept (*ibid.* p. 57 and 58, note 1) the usual story that 'Euxine' was changed for good luck from 'Axine'—even if 'Axine' was suggested by some native name sounding like it. The theory of important climatic changes in historical times needs re-examination; it is so certain that 'a general hardening of the physical conditions' goes far to explain the decline of the Roman Empire?

The book ends with a bibliography of thirty pages, beginning as far back as 1891.

J. O. THOMSON.

University of Birmingham Historical Journal. Vol. III, No. 2, 1952, 189 pp.

The *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* needs no commendation. The present review will deal exclusively with Mr. R. F. Willetts' article on the 'Historical Importance of the Gortyn Laws'.

The author begins with a brief archaeological introduction, followed by a summary of the main provisions of the code; in the next two sections (the first of which is headed, rather misleadingly, 'Language and Style') we are given a brief description of primitive law in general, and an account of the judicial procedure described and implied in the Code. The remainder of the article is mainly a description of Cretan society: for this, most of the sources are literary, and the Code is mentioned only in connexion with the laws of adoption and inheritance, and the sliding scale of fines for offences against the person.

The article is pleasantly written and produced, though one (presumably) misplaced comma in line 16 of p. 108 makes the sentence ungrammatical and the sense difficult to understand. Greek words occurring in the text are transliterated (in the foot-notes where some lengthy quotations are given, they are left in the original); this is an admirable practice, though the author is not quite consistent—Pylá, p. 113, but *omnūnta*, p. 108; the digamma is rendered as a capital F, p. 117, and there can be no justification for *perioici*, p. 118.

In the subject-matter, the influence of Professor Thomson is, naturally, perceptible: and the author has clearly been impressed by A. S. Diamond's *Primitive Law*, which he expounds in his third and fourth sections. The latter author, like Spengler and Sorokin, seems to have tabulated the various stages of social development, and maintains that early codes and late codes are entirely secular, while the Middle Codes have been tinkered with by priests. Unfortunately it is not made quite clear how the early, middle, and late codes mentioned on p. 105 fit into the framework of primitive and mature law mentioned on p. 106; but it seems to be implied that the Gortyn Code, like the Code of Hammurabi, is purely laic. The author does not mention the curious interjection 'Thioi!' at the beginning of the code: it would be interesting to know how much, or how little, religious influence it implies.

In the description of court procedure, Headlam's views (*JHS* XIII, 'The Procedure of the Gortyn Inscription') are accepted in toto. Mr. Willetts does not mention the peculiarity of the comparative form *Horkiōteros*, and is perhaps too ready to accept Headlam's rejection of Dareste-Haussoullier-Reinach's apparently reasonable suggestion that the word implies that the *Hōrkos* of the person described as *Horkiōteros* will be given greater weight: Kohler and Ziebarth, in a work not mentioned in the admittedly brief bibliography, render the word as 'näher zum Eid'. A more important omission deals with debt-slavery: the word '*nenicamēnon*' is rendered 'condemned to debt', and there is no mention of the possibility that it may simply mean 'after losing an appeal for liberty'. It is true that the leading English authority renders the word as 'a debtor judged by the Court to be insolvent', but that is not the only possible interpretation, and hardly deserves to be called 'important textual evidence' for Cretan debt-slavery.

Of the testamentary clauses (most of which seem enlightened and humane) the most remarkable, perhaps, is the clause which states that, when a landowning family becomes extinct, the serfs automatically become free—though presumably they become *apetairoi* (a word which Mr. Willetts wisely refuses to discuss) rather than citizens proper: *neodamodeis*, perhaps, or *bypomeiones*, though such a catastrophe could never have

occurred in Sparta. The author seems to agree with Seebohm, that serfdom was a result of foreign conquest. This view was, of course, official in Sparta (and similar views were held, both by conservatives and by revolutionaries, in seventeenth-century England); but it was not universally held in antiquity, and has been hotly contested today. The Turkish-Cretan parallel quoted in note 109 is significantly inexact; the liberated serfs mentioned there descend, not from enslaved natives, but from immigrant protégés of the local *derebey*—clearly *apetairoti* rather than *Foikees*.

With the sliding scale of penalties we are in a far harsher world: a world more like the Anglo-Saxon system with its varying *wergilds*. Serfs, whose existence in other respects seems tolerable, and certainly compared well with that of the *helot* (though Aristotle attributes their passivity to the solidarity of their masters rather than to their own contentment) have only one-fortieth the recompense that free men have: and for offences against their own order they pay double the fine that free men pay. Even the *Apetairos* has four times the value of the serf. Mr. Willetts might, perhaps, have explained the relation of the *stater* to the *drachma*: it is not entirely self-evident. But his descriptions of the class system are valid; the connexion of tribe with class is rather less clearly established. On p. 110, it is hinted that Xenophon's use of the word *Syskénion* for a Spartan *sysition* is a survival of a nomadic period when Spartans had 'presumably once lived in tents together', though it is doubtful whether *Skéne* really means Tent, and in any case it is immediately made clear, on the evidence of Aristotle, that the word *Syskénion* is neither ancient nor characteristically Spartan.

The article concludes: 'We can therefore understand why Cretan institutions continued to be highly regarded by the supporters of aristocracy.' Since we have long known, from the literary evidence, that Cretan society was extremely aristocratic, that feat of understanding is fairly simple; but, apart from the scale of punishments, the Gortyn Code has not really helped us very much in this matter. Where it has helped us is, that it has shown that Crete, unlike Sparta, was not a mere *barrack-state*; it was far more like the involved semi-feudal France of the Bourbons. It is also interesting to note that, whereas Cretan states seem to have been engaged in almost continuous wars, Sparta, with its far more military structure, did usually, as Preston Epps and Cavaignac have shown, manage to avoid them.

Some of the author's apparent oversights and omissions are clearly due to the inevitable conciseness of the article, and will be more fully dealt with when the author brings out a completed study of the Code. This may be eagerly awaited: studies of the Code, in English, are not easily available to the average reader, and Mr. Willetts' viewpoint, while it may not be universally accepted, is one which may help to shed light on some still unsolved questions.

H. W. STUBBS.

Horoi. Studies in Mortgage, Real Security, and Land Tenure in Ancient Athens. By JOHN V. A. FINE. (*Hesperia*, Supplement IX.) Pp. viii + 218, 7 pl. Athens: American School of Classical Studies, 1951. \$7.50.

Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500-200 B.C. The Horos-Inscriptions. By MOSES I. FINLEY. Pp. xii + 332. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, n.d. (1952). \$3.50.

Both these books have a wider interest and importance as contributions to the understanding of Athenian society than one might expect, considering the nature of the material to the interpretation of which they are devoted—a class of inscriptions mostly ill cut and difficult to read and unenlightening in themselves. These inscriptions, of which some 220 are known—all but twenty or so from Attica, the remainder from Aegean islands under Athenian control (Lemnos, Skryos) or Athenian influence (Naxos, Amorgos)—are sometimes, as here, called *horoi* or *horos-inscriptions*; their function, however, was not, or not merely, to mark a boundary but to indicate that the land or building on which they were placed was encumbered in some way (though a very few may have publicised a straightforward sale). Fine and others sometimes call them mortgage stones, but none of the several forms of lien to which they refer corresponds precisely to what we mean by mortgage.

Fine was asked in 1942 to edit thirty unpublished stones of this class from the Athenian Agora. In Chapter I of his book he has published with precision and clarity not only these but also three more found since, two previously published without photographs in *Hesperia*, and two hitherto unpublished from other sites in Athens. There are excellent photographs of all thirty-seven. In Chapter II, in order to provide 'a corpus of all the *horos* mortgage stones', he reprints all previously pub-

lished texts other than those in *IG* III² or XII, to which he merely gives references. In Chapters III-VII he investigates very fully the form and function of these inscriptions and the nature of the contracts to which they refer. This involves him in an examination of all the passages in lexicographers and above all in Isaios and the private speeches of the Demosthenic corpus which refer to such contracts and in a discussion of the views of previous commentators, especially on points of law. Finley, on the other hand, in preparing a projected work in several volumes on 'business practices in the Greek cities', decided that he must undertake first a full examination of security, 'the external link between land, the basic form of wealth in the Greek economy, and credit', and this, his first volume, is a study of Athenian conceptions and practices in the field of real security, for which the *horos*-inscriptions provide the chief documentary evidence, slight and ambiguous though it is, especially for his purposes; he deals also, of course, with the literary evidence (rightly noting, however, that the statements of the orators are often deliberately vague and misleading). His approach is thus avowedly that of an economic rather than a legal historian, though his notes (often sharply critical) reveal an extensive study of the modern juristic literature. In two appendices he reprints all the published texts; the second, added after the publication of Fine's book when his had gone to press, contains the texts published by Fine which 'were not available' to him. These appendices are not intended for epigraphical specialists, to whom his book as a whole has little to offer, but others may find it useful to have all the texts gathered together in one place, especially as he has relegated to the accompanying commentary all doubtful restorations.

Since during this century remarkably little has been published in England or America on the private law (as distinct from the legal procedure) of the Greek city states or on the economic activities of their citizens, and since in particular the growing body of epigraphical evidence has received little attention, it is an unfortunate coincidence that two American scholars should have reached the point of publishing detailed studies of the same class of evidence seemingly without having become aware of one another's work. Although their ways of approach are so different that their books are largely complementary, there are points on which each could with advantage have studied the other's arguments; and it will cause much inconvenience that each has applied a new system of numeration to all the *horos* texts that he prints.

It is agreed that none of the *horos* stones is later than the middle of the second century B.C. To account for this, Fine, in examining in Chapter III their use and physical characteristics, suggests plausibly that by then the Athenians had introduced some kind of official register of properties and contracts; Finley, who in Chapters I-II examines the nature and use of these stones, makes the same suggestion. In *Klio* 1911 Ferguson drew from the twelve dated *horos* stones then known the inference that in 316/15 Demetrios of Phaleron took a step in this direction by promulgating a law requiring the deposit of contracts, dated, with third parties; since then twelve more dated stones have been found, and Fine (following Dow and Travis, *Hesperia* 1943) shows that they corroborate this theory: Finley, who devotes an appendix to attacking it, does not, I think, succeed in demolishing it.

In Chapter IV Fine examines very fully the nature of the Attic civil *πρόδικον*. He is successful, I think, in showing that the theories put forward twenty years ago by Paoli are false and that the hitherto generally accepted views are sound, that of Pappulias being probably the most nearly correct; but he rightly utters a warning (sounded also by Finley) against 'establishing too schematic a definition of the Athenian system of real security', in view of the 'lack of precision in the legal language of the Athenians' and 'the evolutionary nature of the system', which facilitated 'divergences from the norm'. In Chapters V-VII he investigates the three kinds of contract, to one or other of which nearly all the *horos*-inscriptions refer: *μίσθωσις ὁλοῦ*, for the leasing of an orphan's estate when the guardian prefers not to administer it himself; *ἀπορίστωσις προῶν*, for the payment by a bride's *κύριος* of a promised dowry or for the restitution of the dowry by her husband in case of divorce; and, commonest of all, *πῶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*, usually rendered as 'sale with the option of redemption' (though Finley (p. 35) insists that it represents rather the giving of 'security in the form of conditional sale') with or without possession. Here again, in refuting theories advanced by Paoli on *μίσθωσις ὁλοῦ* and on *ἀπορίστωσις* and by Meletopoulos (in *Polemion* IV, 1949) on *πῶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*, Fine defends and develops, convincingly it seems to me, the traditional view of these contracts, Meletopoulos' article 'was not available' to Finley, who analyses these contracts in Chapters III-IV, and he takes much less pains to refute Paoli's theories (indeed, his note on pp. 241-2 suggests that he has misunderstood P.'s view of *ἀπορίστωσις*

πρῶτος), but his conclusions are largely similar to Fine's. On the subject of ἀπορίσματα πρῶτος, however, he argues (pp. 48–51) that none of the horoi records security given by a bride's father for the deferred payment of a dowry; but one of the texts (no. 147 in his list, discussed by Fine on p. 141) seems to support Fine's view. Again, Finley makes a sharper distinction between ὑπόθηκη and ἀπορίσματα, for he holds (p. 110) that 'the essence of Athenian hypothecation was seizure of the property as a substitute for the debt, with rare exceptions', and, following Hitzig, that 'there was no provision for adjustment in case of surplus or deficit'—a system which 'precluded the use of property once encumbered as security for a second or third debt . . . except on the most infrequent occasions' (p. 113). Fine (p. 94), holding the view that a 'second mortgage' was always possible, at least if the original 'mortgagee' consented, decides in favour of Pappulias' theory that 'after foreclosure the creditor was obliged to return τὰ ὑπερέχοντα'. Fine thus makes a sharper distinction between ὑπόθηκη and πρῶτος ἐπὶ λόσσῳ, and indeed he sees in these features of ὑπόθηκη, which he holds to be the later contract, 'one of the reasons for the emergence of a contract different from the πρῶτος ἐπὶ λόσσῳ'.

In Chapter VIII, by far the most speculative and controversial in his book, Fine deals with the problem that is raised by the lack of evidence for the use of horoi between Solon's time and the fourth century, a problem with which Finley does not concern himself, and puts forward the explanation that land did not become alienable in Attica until the time of what seems to be the earliest literary reference to its use as security—in a comedy of Kratinos, probably produced between 430 and 420. A reference to the pledging of a house has been seen in a probably somewhat later fragment of Pherekrates. There are no other references earlier than the last decade of the fifth century. It is Fine's contention that only the experiences of the Peloponnesian War broke the taboo on the alienation of land.

Fine's detailed argument deserves careful consideration. There are, however, several weaknesses in it. To begin with, the silence of the fifth century is much less significant than he tries to make it appear. Comedy and law-court oratory are the only forms of fifth-century literature in which we could expect any reference to the pledging of land. The earliest surviving speeches likely to mention it are from the last decade of the fifth century, and Fine shows that they do contain one or two references, while Kratinos is the earliest writer of comedy of whose work any considerable fragments survive. Again, although Fine (p. 202) believes (perhaps mistakenly) that 'loans secured by movables—ἐκχυρα—were probably common' by the time of the Peloponnesian War, the only references to this practice that he can discover in comedy are in Hermippos (fr. 29) and in the *Ekklesiazousai* and the *Ploutos*. The only other fifth-century writer to mention it is Herodotos (2.136), describing an Egyptian custom. Thus even if there is no literary evidence, except perhaps in Plutarch, for the alienation of Attic land in the fifth century before the Peloponnesian War, that is no proof that it was inalienable, for what evidence should there be? To Xenophon it clearly seemed quite unremarkable that land was alienable in the late fifth century; if it had not long been so, the 'Drakonion' constitution would have been too transparently fraudulent; and even the phrase attributed to Perikles by Thucydides (1.143.5) is not explained away by Fine's comment (p. 193, n. 87). As for the epigraphic evidence, is it so significant that most of the surviving horoi cannot be older than the fourth century and that not a single one need be older than the late fifth? What other inscriptions relating to private transactions survive from fifth-century Athens? In IG I² the only private texts are dedications, epitaphs, a few erotic messages, and five boundary markers (three of tombs)—'those horoi which were so extensively used in the fifth century . . . so common in Thucydides' time', as Fine asserts (pp. 30–1, n. 40), incautiously undermining his own argument. SEG X does not alter the picture. It is significant also that we have no record of the πολεται earlier than 414. Was wood more commonly used for inscriptions before that time? (In Chapter IV, after demonstrating that there is no evidence for the use of wooden horoi, as Beauchet and others had suggested, F. admits that 'it cannot be dogmatically asserted that they never were employed'). Or is it that the Athenians were then becoming more concerned with publicity and documentation?

Fine is no doubt right in arguing that land became alienable by a gradual process, and it is not inconceivable that among the more conservative of the countryside a strong prejudice against the alienation of land survived even until the Peloponnesian War, but it seems to me that the process must have begun much earlier than Fine will allow. Granted that it is better not to draw any inference from Hesiod's Boeotia and that in Solon's time probably most Athenian landowners still regarded their land as inalienable; yet even earlier some land

that can hardly have been waste must seemingly have been alienated, for how else could the Attic nobles have acquired homes in Athens? Similar problems confront the believer in strict and universal inalienability at every turn. Probably the taboo became less universally respected as opportunities multiplied of earning a living otherwise than by working on the land (Fine, following Gernet, rightly insists that Solon's testamentary law had no effect on this development).

On the question of the Solonian horoi (which F. admits may have been of wood) he accepts Woodhouse's view, as modified by Lewis—and thereby, I think, he weakens his own case. For it seems strange that men of simple old-fashioned outlook who felt it to be wrong to alienate land could have devised or participated in 'a transaction somewhat similar to the πρῶτος ἐπὶ λόσσῳ . . . as a legal fiction to circumvent the inalienability of land', to quote Fine's own words (pp. 91–2, n. 111—whatever they may mean); but if they did feel able to do this, it becomes inexplicable that this sort of contract should have passed out of use for 160 years and that land should have reverted to a status of strict inalienability for the whole of that time. Moreover, if horoi recorded the fact that land had been sold, even under such a contract, it is hard to see how Solon's *seisachtheia* could have involved an uprooting of the horoi and a freeing of the land, as he claimed. The explanation that F. adopts is in fact too ingenious to be credible but not quite ingenious enough to be adequate. It is easier to suppose that the horoi which Solon removed served merely as reminders of the fact that the head of the family owning the land on which they stood had undertaken to pay his creditor one-sixth (or even five-sixths) of the produce of the land so long as he remained in debt; thus he was tied to the land. He may originally have pledged his own person as security, being unwilling or unable to pledge his land, but when he could not repay what he had borrowed it may well have seemed preferable both to him and to his creditor that he should become virtually a serf, by accepting this obligation, rather than a slave; hence, however, his constant fear of enslavement. (Other *hektemoroi* may have been landless labourers who cultivated on the same terms the estates of large landowners, as Aristotle says, and if we take both categories together there is ground for his assertion that 'all land was under the control of a few', but that is another question.)

Especially if we do not accept Fine's explanation of the Solonian horoi, there is too little evidence to prove that πρῶτος ἐπὶ λόσσῳ is a considerably earlier way of using land as security than ὑπόθηκη, as he maintains in Ch. IV, for references to it on the horoi and in literature are no earlier (they are, however, far more frequent, and Finley (p. 35) agrees with Fine that 'πρῶτος ἐπὶ λόσσῳ was the characteristic form of Athenian security'). But it probably did evolve first, for, as Fine says, the form of contract which gives greater security to the creditor is normally the older (though this argument carries little weight in the context of his theory that land was not used at all as security until a time when loans on the security of movables 'were probably common'), and Finley adds that it is the sort of contract that would take shape at a time when there was still strong feeling against the alienation of land.

In Chapters V–VIII Finley tries to determine what kinds of real property were given in security, in what circumstances such contracts were made, and what manner of men the creditors and debtors were. It is in this direction that his special interests take him further than Fine. From such scanty and patchy evidence as we have, no firm conclusions can be drawn concerning Athenian practice in the sphere of real estate, but I think that F. does succeed in showing that there is some reason to believe that those who borrowed or lent money on the security of landed property were mostly well-to-do (and of course almost all citizens), that those who lent were not professional usurers or investors, and that those who borrowed did not borrow for any productive purpose. In other words, transactions in which real estate served as security lay outside the main stream of Athenian business life—a conclusion which would support Fine's contention that in the countryside surrounding a city and a port that played a leading part in commercial progress an old-fashioned attitude to landed property long survived. It is another sign of Athenian conservatism in these matters that they remained content until the third century with such an unsatisfactory form of publicity as the horoi. I have no space to mention other valuable points made by Finley in these chapters.

A few small points: on p. 76 Finley seems to confuse *proxenos* and *prostates* (and speaks as if metic and transient alien stood on the same footing); I do not understand his remark (p. 97) that *gene* 'could be created only by action of the state'; on p. 195 Fine has Skillos for Skillous. Both books are excellently produced; of the very few misprints it is worth mentioning only that on p. 38 in Fine *antichresis* is misleadingly placed as a

heading. Each has an index of texts discussed, both epigraphical and literary; Fine has no other index; Finley has also a full general index as well as an index of Greek words.

C. RODEWALD.

Egemonia Beotica e potenza marittima nella politica di Epaminonda (Università di Torino, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, IV, 4). By F. CARRATA THOMES. Turin: University, 1952. Pp. 53. L. 350.

In this scholarly and impressively documented essay, Carrata Thomes traces the story of Epaminondas' attempt to develop Boeotian sea-power, as a means to his end of 'transferring the Propylaea to Thebes'. A preliminary section traces the history of Boeotian sea-power down to 366, including its creditable record in the Deceleian War.

As usually in ancient history, the writer's first object is to make scanty evidence go as far as possible. Thus much is made of the supposed presence at Thebes of a Carthaginian naval mission under one Hannibal, the subject of the grant of proxeny, *IG VII. 2407 = Syll.³ 179* (cf. Glotz, 'Un Carthaginois à Thèbes en 365', in *Mélanges N. Jorga*). In the name of caution, it is as well to remember that the date is uncertain, the mission is not mentioned, and the Carthaginian's name is an emendation to the text (a paper transcript of a lost inscription). The ground for dating the inscription to the mid-fourth century is secure; Hippodamas and Daitondas, named in it as Boeotarchs, reappear in VII. 2408, in company with Malekidamas and Diogeiton, the generals sent to avenge Pelopidas in 363. But for dating it precisely, the only grounds are that it belongs to a year when neither Epaminondas nor Pelopidas was Boeotarch, and that it fits in well at the time of the naval building programme. It certainly does that, especially in view of the friendship of Dionysius of Syracuse for Athens and Sparta; but there is no *proving* that it does not belong to the decade after 362.

Minor details are usually accurate; but Xenophon (*Hell.* V. 4. 16; VI. 4. 26) certainly does not make the Spartans, in 378 and after Leuktra, withdraw 'from Kreusis and Aigosthena' by sea (pp. 21, 22 and nn.). On the contrary he is at pains to emphasise their use of the laborious and unattractive path up and down the seaward spurs of Kithairon; and if C.T. had followed in their steps he would probably not have included Aigosthena among available Boeotian ports in Map 1.

A point in Diodorus' excessively brief summary of Epaminondas' speech (*Diod.* XV. 38), which puzzles Signor Carrata, is perhaps susceptible of elucidation. E. urges the Boeotians to hope for success in their enterprise, *ὅτι τοῖς πλεῖστοις κρατοῦσι ῥαδίον ἐστὶν περὶποιήσασθαι τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀρχὴν καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἑλένην πολέμῳ διακοσίας ναῦς ἰδίᾳ πληροῦντας Ἀσπιδωμόνους ἑκατὸν ναῦς παρεχόμενους ὑποπτήχοντες*. This is certainly a strange argument with which to support a 'big navy' programme. Is not the point, however, that *since power on land gives its possessor a great initial advantage*, the Boeotians need not despair because they cannot match Athens' naval experience? They must ἀντίχρῃσθαι τῆς θαλάσσης, like the Athenians under Themistocles, and then their power on land, plus a moderate naval effort, will suffice to consolidate their hegemony. D.'s source (Ephorus?) probably made the argument more explicit.

The episode is of great interest as shedding light on the scope of Epaminondas' thought. How far did it extend to a just appreciation of Boeotia's economic potential? And could something really have been made of her position on 'three seas', as emphasised in a well-known fragment of Ephorus? These questions, opened up by Carrata Thomes' stimulating essay, remain unanswered by history. To the Boeotians' unopposed cruise in the Aegean, Athens riposted by sending her army to Arcadia (Thucydides would have enjoyed the *περίπλοκος*); and with the death of Epaminondas, his achievement was revealed as limited, like that of so many other great soldiers, to the temporary inflation of his people's military power.

A. R. BURN.

Timoleon and his Relations with Tyrants. By H. D. WESTLAKE. Pp. ix + 61. Manchester: University Press, 1952. 7s. 6d.

In this study Professor Westlake gives reasons for believing our authorities to be biased in Timoleon's favour. The bias has led in some instances to misrepresentation of facts. Hence he proposes a number of reconstructions.

The loss of contemporary records has made us dependent on three writers who lived centuries after Timoleon. The most important, Plutarch, wrote his *Life of Timoleon* about A.D. 120. The others, Diodorus Siculus and Cornelius Nepos, were

contemporaries of Cicero. It is generally agreed that the historian Timaeus (356-260 B.C.) was the source from which Plutarch and Nepos took their material. The chapters in Diodorus which refer to the liberation of Syracuse were probably based on Theopompus (Hammond *CQ* XXXII, 1938), but the rest of his account of Timoleon is taken from Timaeus. If the legend of Timoleon is tainted with bias, Timaeus is the person presumed to be responsible.

Timaeus appears to have venerated Timoleon as Tennyson venerated General Gordon, 'Warrior of God, Man's friend and Tyrants' foe'.

This is not surprising: Timoleon had been throughout the friend of Timaeus' father, Andromachus. But if the historian's antipathy to tyrants dated from his boyhood it certainly was not lessened when Agathocles, who had seized power at Syracuse in 317 B.C., expelled him from Sicily.

We have also to take account of Timaeus' religious beliefs. He held that (as Bury phrases it) 'to every sinner punishment unmistakable as such, is meted out in this life'; he was 'ever on the watch for mysterious or daemonic influences on human affairs', and was thus predisposed to admit the claim publicly made by Timoleon that the deliverance of Sicily was accomplished under supernatural guidance. In a student of history such a point of view would not conduce to accurate investigation of facts.

Professor Westlake's most striking 'reconstruction' is concerned with Timoleon's liberation of Syracuse.

In 345 B.C. Syracuse was subject to the tyrant Dionysius. At Leontini, Hicetas, a former friend of Dion, held power, but not yet, it would appear, as 'tyrant'. With him the Syracusan aristocrats had taken refuge. From them an appeal was sent to Corinth for help in their struggle with Tyranny. Hicetas supported the application, but evidently 'with his tongue in his cheek', for a little later he warned the Corinthians not to send a force to Sicily. By this time he had come to an understanding with the Carthaginians.

The Corinthians, ignoring Hicetas, despatched a small force under Timoleon (344 B.C.). Before it left Corinth Hicetas had wrested from Dionysius all Syracuse except Ortygia.

Recognising that the presence of the Corinthians would prove an embarrassment, he planned with Carthaginian help to prevent them from landing in Sicily. But Timoleon was too clever for Hicetas. Evading the Carthaginians, he put in at Tauromenium, where he was welcomed by Andromachus.

He did not take long to make his presence felt. The opportunity came when disorder broke out at Adranum; one faction appealed to Hicetas, who marched thither with 5000 men; the other to Timoleon, who brought with him 1200. Timoleon caught Hicetas' men off their guard, attacked them, and defeated them. Professor Westlake is certainly right in his suggestion that Hicetas, regarding Timoleon as a rival but not as an enemy, had no intention of fighting, and no expectation of being attacked. 'Timoleon gained the victory because he had attacked without a declaration of war. He could claim that the duplicity of Hicetas was sufficient provocation.' For reasons of policy Hicetas did not retaliate.

Timoleon was now joined by the tyrant of Catana, Mamercus, and next we hear of a Corinthian contingent operating at Syracuse. As to details Diodorus and Plutarch are in disagreement. Diodorus represents the Corinthians after the battle of Adranum as hurrying immediately to Syracuse, where they defeat Hicetas. He goes on to picture a situation, evidently lasting some months, with Ortygia held by Dionysius, Achradina and Neapolis by Hicetas, while the Carthaginians lay outside the walls. It was only in the following year (i.e. archonship of Pythodotus—343/2 B.C.) that Dionysius abdicated.

Professor Westlake accepts Diodorus' chronology (for which there is independent evidence), but argues that his narrative is almost incredible.

Plutarch states that immediately after the Adranum battle and within fifty days of Timoleon's arrival in Sicily, Dionysius surrendered Ortygia, and was sent away to Greece.

According to Professor Westlake, what occurred was this: Dionysius made overtures to Timoleon after Adranum; he did not offer to abdicate, but proposed to admit the Corinthians to Ortygia; he himself would retire to Catana, to remain there under Timoleon's protection; 'if Ortygia held, he might hope to return to Syracuse; if it fell, Corinthian support might enable him to restore his fortunes'. But Syracuse was freed sooner than he expected. The failure of the expedition conducted by Hicetas and the Carthaginians against Catana led to their losing Achradina. The Carthaginians, despairing of success, left Syracuse. Hicetas also withdrew 'under a secret agreement with Timoleon that he should be allowed to retreat to Leontini after a mere show of resistance'. (This reconstruction is based on Plutarch's statement that Hicetas left Syracuse after a battle 'in which not a single soldier of Timoleon

was either killed or wounded'). Timoleon now invited the Syracusans to dismantle the fortress on Ortygia; whereupon Dionysius, having nothing more to hope for, abdicated and was conveyed to Peloponnesus.

In later chapters Professor Westlake studies Timoleon's further dealings with Hicetas and his relations with other Sicilian tyrants. He adds an appendix on 'Timoleon and Timophanes'.

This short study merits the serious consideration of scholars; to ordinary students it may be warmly recommended for use as a Companion to Plutarch's *Timoleon*. It will deepen their interest and widen their outlook.

W. H. PORTER.

The History of Alexander the Great (Brown University Studies XVI). By C. A. ROBINSON, JR. Vol. I: Part I. An Index to the Extant Historians. Part II. The Fragments. Pp. xvii + 276. Providence: Brown University, 1953. \$7.

In this new book Professor Robinson fulfils a promise made in his earlier work *The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition* (Brown Univ. Studies I, Providence, 1932), to supply an 'Alexander-harmony'. Although he now discards this vague description of what he intended, it will nonetheless serve to summarise fairly well what he has produced.

The object of the book, in the author's own words, is 'to present all the ancient accounts of Alexander in such a way that they can be readily handled by others, and to add some comments of my own'. The commentary is reserved for a second volume, to be published shortly. The present volume, after a brief preface and introduction, is divided into two parts. The first, an arrangement and indexing of every reference to Alexander's expedition in the five 'extant' authors, Arrian, Diodorus, Justin, Curtius, and Plutarch, occupies only eighteen and a half pages; yet it constitutes by far the most important section of the whole work.

This concise index is twofold in method and purpose. A distinction is made between 'entries' and 'categories'. The entries are the place names plus the references in the five authors that belong to the particular locality. The framework is provided by the itinerary of Alexander from Ilion to Babylon given by Arrian, with which the itineraries of the other four historians largely agree. This itinerary differs only very slightly from the true itinerary reconstructed by R. in his earlier book, which can now be used for checking. In this way all references in the five authors are grouped around the chief events of the expedition in a chronological series of those events. Where more than one account exists, the reader can at once compare the historians' treatment of the same incident.

The second form of indexing is that by 'categories'. This is done by analysing the 'entries' and assigning them to one or other of fifty-eight categories. These categories embrace every branch of subject-matter found in the five authors, and are therefore of a very general character. The following selection will indicate their range: XXVII. Alexander's character; the troops' regard for him; stories bearing on his character. XXVIII. Alexander's outstanding actions. XXIX. Alexander's treatment of former enemies and their towns. XXX. Alexander's far-reaching plans; exploration. XXXI. Alexander's deification, or matters touching on his divine nature. XXXII. Alexander's descent. Of special importance for source criticism are categories XLVII-XLIX: sources named by the extant historians (the precise source being indicated in parenthesis); unnamed sources (the common *ἀνέκδοτα*, *τὰς*, etc.); letters mentioned as sources by the extant historians.

The categories are attached to each group of entries, an arrangement that enables the reader to follow quickly the nature of what is being reported and also to pick out digressions or lacunae in the different authors. There is no separate index for the categories, but anyone interested in a particular subject can easily compile his own list from the references here, and all students of the period now possess a perfect instrument of control in their use of modern works, in particular the first part of Berve's *Alexanderreich*, which is constructed about a very similar selection of categories of subject-matter.

Of the second and longer part of this volume little need be said. It consists of an English translation of all the passages in Jacoby's collection of fragments from No. 117 (The Royal Ephemerides) to No. 153 (general references to the History of Alexander). Although not perhaps strictly necessary, this forms a logical complement to the index of the extant authors, and will be very welcome as making more accessible to English students the rich material contained in Jacoby. The translations are drawn from the Loeb collection and elsewhere; occasionally they are R.'s own.

In this volume R. has carried out his plan simply and effectively, but a final judgment of his work must await publication

of the commentary. The considerable similarity in form and content between the five extant authors has facilitated his arrangement of the index, and even the choice of categories, inevitably a subjective process, as the author agrees, will, I believe, find wide agreement, since they correspond pretty well with the formal style in which the ancient historians composed their works. Whether it is correct to conclude further, as R. does, that all five historians are closely dependent upon the Royal Journal of Alexander, through Callisthenes before 327, and more directly after that date, with a year's gap between 327 and 326, cannot be discussed here. Many difficult questions are involved, such as the extent of Arrian's dependence on Ptolemy, and the fate of Callisthenes' history. R.'s theory of the transmission of the Journal depends upon his acceptance of the story contained in Plut. *Eum.* 2 of the destruction of Eumenes' papers by fire in late 326, one of the many improbable or impossible stories contained in Plutarch's Lives of Eumenes and Demetrius. In any case, the validity of R.'s thesis, already expounded in his earlier book, does not affect the value of the present volume; readers can form their own conclusions from a study of the index.

Students will be eager to see the promised commentary; meanwhile this first volume provides them with a most helpful and accurate guide to the study of the Alexander-historians.

R. H. SIMPSON.

The Discovery of the Mind. By BRUNO SNELL. Oxford: Blackwell, 1953. Pp. xii + 324. 27s. 6d.

The subtitle explains that the subject of these essays, for the argument is not continuous, is 'the Greek origins of European thought', and a note by the translator that the book is rendered from the second edition of *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*, with the addition of the present seventh chapter, *Human Knowledge and Divine Knowledge*, which was in MS. The translation is by T. G. Rosenmeyer of Smith College, and is rather heavy reading. Difficulties of course must arise, one being furnished by the title, for *Geist* has no English equivalent, but the journalistic misuse of 'ilk' on p. 23, the blunder 'intercession' for 'intervention' on p. 38, and not a few other infelicities are the translator's own.

The chapters range in subject from 'Homer's view of man' to 'The discovery of a spiritual landscape', and to examine them in detail would be a long business. The general theme is, of course, the development of a Greek apparatus for expressing philosophic and scientific ideas, and, what necessarily goes with it, of those ideas themselves. The last two chapters, however, deal with poetical thought and expression after the great age of Greek literature, Kallimachos and Vergil furnishing the subject-matter. In the course of the discussion a great many interesting points are touched on; I mention a few which seem in one way or another outstanding.

The lack (pp. 1-6) of Homeric words which mean simply 'see', for example, or 'body' (especially the body as a whole) is perhaps characteristic not so much of early Greek as of early language. The poet has, of course, plenty of words for some particular kind of seeing or looking, also for a corpse or for part of the living body. Parallels could be found from as far off as Tierra del Fuego. P. 41 shows that, with much else that is commendable in Snell's handling of the Greek gods, he can understand Aristophanes' jokes at them. On p. 83 the archaic manner of Pindar (elaboration of parts rather than unified construction of the whole) is ingeniously brought into line with certain features of archaic Greek art. Pp. 92 f. incidentally hint at the way in which drama, especially tragedy, may have developed from ritual. Pp. 115 f. say in little space a good deal that is worth considering about Aristophanes' literary, particularly his Euripidean, criticism. Indeed, all that is said about drama is good. The essay on *A Call to Virtue* (pp. 153-90) goes in some little detail into the difficulty of assigning a positive content to the word *ἀρετή*, at least in the earlier writers. The section on the development from myth to logic (pp. 191-226) deals largely with the passing from simile to analogy, and all that that implies. That on *The Origin of Scientific Thought* (pp. 227-45) contains some curious and interesting observations arising from the fundamental proposition that Greek is the only language in which we can observe the formation of a technical scientific vocabulary using native material only. An important point is that raised on p. 238, that quantitative observation seems to begin with Demokritos. Chapter 11 (pp. 246-63), on humanism, ends with a plea for 'a little courtesy, a bit of tolerance, and, *o sancte Erasmus*, just a dash of your irony'. Pp. 264-80, on *Art and Play in Callimachus*, overstates, I think, the humorous element in his work, but is interesting when it compares and contrasts his age with that of Goethe. The concluding chapter deals with the poetical Arkadia, especially in Vergil; the statement on p. 281, that *Ec.* x, 32 and the general idea of Arkadia as a land of song come from Polybios, iv, 20, 4

is I think much too specific. What evidence is there that Vergil had read Polybios, an author not approved by rhetoricians, cf. Dion. Hal. *de compos.* p. 21, 2 Usener-Rademacher?

H. J. ROSE.

Time and Mankind: An Historical and Philosophical Study of Mankind's Attitude to the Phenomena of Change. By S. G. F. BRANDON. Pp. xiv + 228. London: Hutchinson, 1951. 18s.

This book, which has taken a long time to reach a reviewer, is needlessly bulky by reason of digressions irrelevant to the main theme. The author has correctly observed that, since man became sufficiently articulate for his opinions to be recorded, and quite possibly before that, there have been two main views concerning time. One is cyclic, a belief in a constantly recurrent process, leading to no definite end. The other might be called teleological, and holds that events lead up to some ultimate goal. The former finds expression for instance in the Stoic *ἀνακύκλις*, the latter in such Christian philosophies of history as St. Augustine's. This, with proper illustrations from some leading peoples of history, might well have formed the subject of an interesting essay; but it is hard to see what purpose is served by such things as a review (most of Chapter IV) of the results of documentary criticism of the Old Testament, the earlier enquiry (pp. 49 ff.) as to whether Gilgamesh was originally a real person, and the later one (pp. 159-68) on the extent of the influence of St. Paul on the earliest Christian thought. It is indeed proper that the author should have reached some conclusions on these and other matters, but surely in a work of this kind the results might have been taken for granted.

This, and a tendency to hurl rather undigested masses of quotation and half-quotation at the reader (there are times when the author gives the impression that he is writing in a mixture of English and German, German scholars being put under contribution at that point), needlessly obscure the good features of the work, for instance the interesting study, illustrated from Egypt and elsewhere (as p. 23), of the recurrent attempt to repeat some supposed past condition by the ritual recitation, say, of a creation-myth or the *wdm* of a god such as Osiris; good illustrations of this might have been taken from the works of Professor R. Pettazzoni, for instance the introduction to Vol. I of his *Miti e Leggende* (Turin, 1948).

On Greece and Rome the author has nothing new to say; confidence in his scholarship is not fostered by a glaring mis-translation of the last line of the *Iliad*, p. 130, and I do not know what is meant on p. 154 by the assertion that Consus had 'a definitive function in the temporal process'.

The printing is mostly clear and correct, but there are some curious accents in the Greek quotations, and on p. 112, line 3, a misplaced comma makes nonsense of the sentence.

H. J. ROSE.

In the Grip of the Past: Essay on an Aspect of Greek Thought. By E. A. VAN GRONINGEN. Pp. xii + 126. Leiden: Brill, 1953. 8.50 guilders.

This is a thoughtful and well-informed little treatise, written in English, which has had the benefit of revision by Professor Larsen of Chicago, though a few unidiomatic expressions and inexact chosen words remain here and there. It expounds some of the less obvious features of the well-known Greek reverence for what is old and interest in antiquities of all sorts. Illustrations are drawn from language (pp. 13 ff.), e.g. the tendency of expressions which mean properly 'not yet' to connote 'not at all', the aorist of verbs of emotion, and so on. A section (pp. 24-34) is devoted to history, and the matter is further considered (pp. 35-46) in another which treats of narrative, with stress (p. 41) on 'the tendency to survey facts from a point situated later in the chronological order', a simple instance being Herodotus' story of Kandaules, which almost begins by anticipating the ending (i, 8, 2, *ἄρτι γὰρ Κανδαυλὸς ἡρώδης κτελέει*, as the main action starts). An interesting chapter is devoted to genealogy (pp. 47-61), and the author then deals (pp. 62-81) with philosophy and its continual search for a 'beginning', generally including if not wholly equivalent to a beginning in time. I do not always agree here with the interpretations of particular passages from philosophers, but to discuss these details would take too much space, and they affect the main argument but little. The section dealing with religion (pp. 82-92) really treats mostly of mythology and quasi-theological speculations. A very interesting chapter is that on 'Two conceptions of the Past', pp. 93-108. These are, the historical past, continuous and never-ending, and the mythological, in which, once a god or a hero is born and grown to maturity, nothing more happens, so that on occasion the same person, e.g. Herakles, can be thought of now as belonging once and for all to this timeless mythical past on which the present

depends and as a historical figure who lived a calculable number of years before a completely datable man, e.g. Leonidas, whose ancestor he was. Pp. 109-20 treat of the future as conceived by Greeks and properly stress the comparative lack of interest in it, the emphasis laid on its uncertainty and the absence in practical matters, e.g. State policies, of any far-reaching plans, also the relative indifference to what was to come and the absence of any such doctrine as those held by several of the great religions of a final consummation of the world, a Last Judgment or the like. The concluding section restates and illustrates a few of the leading points.

H. J. ROSE.

Le pur et l'impur dans la pensée des grecs d'Homère à Aristote. By LOUIS MOULINIER (*Études et Commentaires XII*). Pp. 449. Paris: Klincksieck, 1952. 1800 fr.

This work represents an immense amount of labour on the part of its author, and is also, unfortunately, very laborious reading. The general plan is simple enough. After a long study of the various classical Greek words which mean, more or less, 'pure' and 'impure, polluted', a chapter (pp. 323-422) is devoted to the use Plato makes of some of these words and the ideas they stand for; the chapter includes some references to Aristotle, especially to the famous passage concerning Tragedy, *Poet.* 1449b 24-8. A short summary of the conclusions reached ends the book, save for a full index of the technical terms having to do with purification and so forth.

In the whole of the first division of his work, the author has quite needlessly handicapped himself. He appears to know nothing of the great mass of comparative material which is available to anyone studying purity, pollution, and purification among the Greeks or elsewhere. For instance, on p. 115 he has occasion to mention Orpheus and Eurydike, but seems quite unaware that this is simply the Greek version of a legend found over a great part of the world (Japan furnishes a very noteworthy form of it) concerning the man who tried to get his wife back from the land of the dead and failed because he broke some tabu. On pp. 184-5, he is surprised that 'au cinquième siècle la souillure du meurtrier semble s'arrêter à la frontière de son pays'. A very modest amount of anthropological knowledge would tell him that so old a notion as that of the pollution of shed blood belongs to a time when the community was, for all practical purposes, the whole world, and it therefore mattered little whether a polluted and polluting slayer was put to death or banished; the world was rid of him either way. On p. 277 he does, for once in a way, use the word 'tabu', but only to show that he has no clear idea what it means.

His knowledge, moreover, of the religion of classical Greece has serious limitations, although he has consulted some good works, as those of Farnell and Nilsson. For instance, what he says on p. 126 concerning the pigs offered by initiands at Eleusis shows a lack of clear conception of Greek ritual. On p. 249 he seems to define *θύος* as 'un acte matériel qui s'attaque à un dieu'. It is nothing so definite as this, and no god need be affected by it. On p. 308 he has something to say of Zeus Meilichios, but seems never to realise that that deity cannot originally have been Zeus at all. On p. 348 (end) and elsewhere, he speaks as if he supposed that the Mysteries involved some kind of positive teaching.

Here and there defects of taste and scholarship are to be found. How he can imagine (p. 320) that Euripides in the *I.T.*, 1159 f., is burlesquing a purificatory ritual passes my comprehension. On p. 295 neither his exposition of a passage from Antiphanes (*ap. Stob., floril.* 74, 3) nor the use he makes of one from Aeschylus (*Supp.* 363-4) indicates that he realises that neither will scan.

It is a relief to pass to his exposition of Plato, an author in whom he is much more at home. He illustrates with extracts, sometimes unnecessarily long, from several of the principal dialogues the use made by the philosopher of those conceptions of purity and impurity which he had deduced from the vocabulary and the ritual of his countrymen (it is a defect of the earlier part of the book that M. is much too inclined to look for definite ideas, reducible to logical statements, in a field where vague feeling plays a very important part). All that he says here is worth examination; I leave those who are more expert than I in Platonic thought to determine the soundness of the conclusions arrived at.

The printing of the book is none too accurate. Some misprints are corrected in a list of errata on pp. 3-4, but many remain. Slips of the author which passed unnoticed during proof-correction are, e.g., on p. 256, line 6, where for *Héraclès* read *Apollon*, and on p. 330, note 2, where *Grenouilles* should be *Nudes*.

H. J. ROSE.

Der listensinnende Trug des Gottes. Vier Themen des griechischen Denkens. By KARL DEICHGRÄBER. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952. Pp. 156, 1 pl. DM. 9.80.

This work consists of four essays, originally lectures intended for an audience partly composed of classicists. The last of them gives the collection its title; all deal with aspects of the thought and literature of Greece. The first is entitled *Das griechische Geschichtsbild in seiner Entwicklung zur wissenschaftlichen Historiographie*, and pursues its subject from Homer down to Polybios. D. points out that the epic poet, to judge by what he himself tells us of the lays of his bards, was not, at least in intention, a mere teller of pleasing tales without foundation in fact. 'Man frage Homer, ob und wiefern er für seine Darstellung Historizität beansprucht. Verwundert, aber nicht verständnislos hatte er die Frage gehört. Das Vertrauen auf die Muse hatte ihn anfangs vielleicht zögernd, zuletzt aber sicher mit einem Ja antworten lassen' (p. 12). He had in him therefore the kernel of the later historical principles (p. 16). Herodotos is next considered, some stress being laid on his connexion with philosophy (p. 21), of course on his epic qualities, his attitude towards the supernatural and his limiting the chief interest to men and their doings. Thucydides next claims attention, and the familiar points are naturally made, as for instance his zeal for exactitude, his attitude towards the incalculable action of chance, his character as a 'pragmatic' historian, and so forth, but at the same time due weight is given to the position in his work of Athens as the central, tragic figure (p. 52). Post-Thucydidean historiography is but lightly sketched. The second essay deals with *Persönlichkeitsethos und philosophisches Forschtum der vorsokratischen Denker*, and its most interesting side is the attempt to extract some idea from the surviving fragments of the personal character of several outstanding pre-Socratics, Anaximandros, Herakleitos, Parmenides, Empedokles, Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras. The author then passes to a consideration of *Die Stellung des griechischen Arztes zur Natur*, examines the origin of the concept of nature itself and the history of the word φύσις, and so, starting from the old concept of the physician as a medicine-man, touches (p. 89) on Homer's clear and accurate observation of phenomena, treats (p. 90) of the coming of science, illustrates (p. 91) from the treatise *de morbo sacro*, has something to say of the nature of Greek medical theory and its relations to philosophy (again exemplified from the Hippocratic corpus, p. 96), and so to the post-Hippocratic tendencies and the decline of medicine in late antiquity. Incidentally, there are interesting observations on the attitude of some non-medical writers. The last essay, which takes its title from Aeschylus, *Pers.* 93, traces in a very interesting manner, and very thoroughly considering its modest length, the history of the idea that a god may deceive men, or on occasion other gods. Its varying forms in Homer, Hesiod, and Theognis are dealt with, its disappearance at the Ionian *Aufklärung* noted (p. 126), and then comes its reappearance in Tragedy, in which D. finds (p. 127) 'die grosse Gegenbewegung, die gegen und mit der aufklärenden Kraft des Verstandes nicht nur in Attika einsetzt'. Even in Tragedy there is a development; gods on occasion may deceive in Aeschylus, but men are misled by their own miscalculations in Sophokles, and the deceitful Dionysos in Euripides is hardly divine.¹ The rejection of the idea by Plato is, of course, given its due place, p. 132.

H. J. ROSE.

Principium Sapientiae: The Origins of Greek Philosophical Thought. By F. M. CORNFORD. Pp. viii + 271. Cambridge: University Press, 1951. 25s.

This is a posthumous work of its lamented author, prepared for the press and given a brief summary at the end by Mr. W. K. C. Guthrie. It fortunately is nearly enough complete for its main contentions at all events to be adequately set forth and the evidence for them presented, though doubtless not so fully as Cornford would have done had he lived to complete his book. Its central thesis is that behind the different, often even hostile figures of philosopher, diviner, and poet there lies one figure, the prehistoric sage, who by virtue of his inspiration claimed to know past, present, and future, therefore to be able to tell, in the imaginative and poetical form which was his inevitable medium, of the origins of the world, of all history, and of what was to come. Not till later—the cleavage of poet and seer is complete by Homer's day—do we find his functions divided between the philosopher, or his forerunner the thinker of Hesiodic type, with his physical speculations, the epic poet with his narrative, and the professional diviner to whom the speculations of the philosopher are often hateful.

¹ D. assumes that the deceiver of Pentheus in the *Bacchae* is Dionysos himself; I do not.

The book is divided into two sections, of which the first, *Empiricism versus Inspiration*, contrasts the attitude of the Ionian physicists and their successors with that of the medical writers. The former seem to have made no use of experiment whatever, the alleged examples of experiment proving on inspection to be mere illustrations drawn from well-known phenomena of everyday experience, not from manipulations like those of a modern laboratory. The latter were gradually building up an applied science, the only one in antiquity (p. 43), and perforce experimented in their attempts to cure disease, thus developing a really scientific technique. The philosophical attitude finds its fullest development in Platonism, with its emphasis on the non-material as the only true object of knowledge, while the empirical theory developed by medical research was founded on the data of sense (pp. 62-3). All this is interestingly developed in the first five chapters, which lead up to the proposition (p. 87) that not only Plato but so different a thinker as Demokritos stand in the succession of the single figure who was at once poet, prophet, and sage. What he was like is discussed in Chapter VI, which briefly sketches shamanism. The next three chapters show the philosopher replacing the seer-poet (Herakleitos, Parmenides, and Empedokles furnish illustrations), the conflict between seer and philosopher and that between philosopher and poet.

Part II deals with the question of what these early prophet-poets taught, i.e. what mythical conceptions lie behind the earliest attempts at a philosophical cosmology. The latter is illustrated (Chapter X) by the theories of Anaximandros; Chapter XI proceeds 'to distinguish those elements in it [sc., Anaximandros' system] which could be derived from immediate observation and those which must have been inherited from tradition' (p. 187). The author then naturally goes to Hesiod for further guidance, with a side-glance at other mythical cosmogonies, such as that parodied by Aristophanes in the *Birds*, and develops at some length the parallels between the Hesiodic story and the tacit assumptions of the Ionians. Then he passes (Chapter XII) to what he not ineptly calls Hesiod's hymn to Zeus, meaning the story of the god's birth, growth, and attainment of sovereignty as told in several passages of the *Theogony*. Now comes the really thorny question of the relation of all this, and of the wild tale of the mutilation of Uranos which precedes it, to the cosmogonic myths of other peoples, including, of course, the famous Maori parallel long ago drawn attention to by Andrew Lang. The conclusion, arrived at in the following chapters, is that the general outlines of the myth come from a widespread source, not, as Frazer once suggested in passing (p. 226), the creation of low savagery, but of comparatively advanced cultures, especially those of the Near East. These in turn (Chapter XIV) are closely connected with ritual, the annual or other periodical re-enactment of the creative process.

Much of this is both true and worth setting forth in the persuasive manner characteristic of the author. Hesiod in all probability had hold of a very old and foreign tale, to be paralleled especially in Babylonian tradition but also in other Oriental cultures, of how Heaven and Earth were separated, much as the Ionians supposed the elements which make up the universe to have been separated out from an undifferentiated primal substance like Anaximandros' *ἀνείπον*, and how the universe took form in the gulf formed between them, with the accompanying struggles between the newer powers, the gods familiar to the tellers of the story and practitioners of the rites, and formidable adversaries of some kind, Tiamat in Babylon, Typhoeus in Greece, and so forth. Many details, however, are doubtful. For instance, I am not convinced that there is any connexion between the castration of Uranos and that of the Galli (p. 208). The former I think to have no connexion with ritual, but rather to be the result of an early, and probably non-Hellenic, attempt to account for Uranos always staying where he is and never trying to renew his relations with his ancient consort the Earth. More serious is the false idea which Mr. Guthrie in his summary (p. 257) finds in Cornford's work (presumably in the rough notes, too imperfect to be worked up into chapters of the book, which he left behind), that anthropomorphism is to be accounted for, principally if not always, by the figure of the divine king, or priest-king, who takes the part of the chief god in ritual. This is surely put out of court by the common occurrence of anthropomorphic gods among peoples who have no one at all resembling either a king or a chief priest. But these are subordinate matters; the positive value of the book is considerable, and many details which I have no space to examine here are well worthy of attention, since they are full of suggestions for a better understanding of the complex problems arising from the little-known relations between the various cultures of antiquity.

H. J. ROSE.

A History of Greek Political Thought. By T. A. SINCLAIR. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952. Pp. viii + 317. 25s.

Homer at least supplied some political history and terminology to later political thinkers. With Hesiod and the didactic tradition, notably Solon, the ideals of Eumonia, Eukosmia, and Dike are emphasised with increasing clarity amid social changes and political discontents. The slightly more precise term, isonomia, becomes a catchword now of oligarchy, now of democracy. In the fifth century Herodotus posed the question which was to be long and frequently discussed: what is the best form of constitution? New freedoms had created a demand for political education; and there were those who undertook to teach political 'goodness' and 'good counsel'. But some now regarded 'nomos' as a tyrant; the old view that it is based on unwritten laws which may be revealed by gods or discovered, but not created, by men—that it is—as Heraclitus put it—nurtured by the divine law, is in some danger of eclipse. Plato reconciled 'law' and 'nature' by reinterpreting 'nature', and by explaining (Sinclair does not seem to mention this point) that law is 'the arrangement of reason'. Meanwhile the question: What is man? had become important for political thinkers other than sophists or philosophers: Thucydides had his views on human nature, and records the victory of immoralism in the field of relations between states. But he used his political science in order to write history and not the other way round. The fourth century foreshadows in Xenophon and Isocrates the later doctrine of the hard-working and benevolent monarch. But not even Isocrates was really capable of general ideas, and more attention must be paid to Aristotle with his doctrine of the mixed or balanced polity; and his concentration on the city-state is sensibly defended from the charge of anachronism brought against him by those who do not know how important cities continued to be. Conditions after Alexander are well depicted; and the author steers a firm course through the seas of Hellenistic writings—by way of the Stoic cosmopolis, Polybius' theory of cyclic development, Aristeas' humanisation of the monarchic ideal, and Philo's eclecticism, and so to the merging of Greek theorisings into the context of the Roman principate.

Sinclair has produced an admirable conspectus, well and clearly written. It is an immense convenience to have in one volume these succinct and thoughtful accounts not only of the giants, Plato and Aristotle, who must dominate the scene, but of a host of minor but important figures ranging, for example, from Protagoras and Antiphon to Dicaearchus and Ecphantus. Sinclair writes for those who are willing to consult the sources, but his book should also be most useful to Greekless readers—perhaps, however, it would have been more attractive to them if he had transliterated as well as translated (in a useful index) the Greek words in his text. One might criticise small points here and there. There is a note on p. 56 which implies that the office of strategus became even more important after Pericles. Rather too much is made of Gorgias' visit to Athens in 427 B.C. and its importance for rhetoric. The account of Cleon's arguments about Lesbos in Thuc. III would be clearer if it were first explained that only a psephism had been challenged and the immutability of law, for which Cleon argues, is not in point; Cleon here provides a good example of sophistic *ignoratio elenchi*. But the only possible source of serious disagreement lies in Sinclair's treatment of Plato, with whom he is clearly out of sympathy. One might criticise his interpretation of various passages; but the main complaint must be that the fundamental problem does not clearly emerge: how can there be organised social life without authority? Plato found that authority belongs to reason, both individual and cosmic, and reason is therefore autonomous and self-guaranteed. This is surely to his credit, and may be pleaded in mitigation of those features of his theories which might otherwise seem to associate him with totalitarianisms of the irrational variety.

J. TATE.

Pythagoras und Orpheus: Präliminarien zu einer zukünftigen Geschichte der Orphik und des Pythagoreismus. Dritte, erweiterte Ausgabe. By KARL KERÉNYI. Zürich: Rhein-Verlag (*Albae Vigiliae*, N.F., Heft IX), 1950. Pp. 96, 1 pl. Sw. fr. 8.

The 'first edition' of the present work consisted of a single essay entitled *Pythagoras und Orpheus* which appeared in Berlin in 1938. In it the author tried to bring out the essential nature of these figures by stating their differences and similarities. The most striking contrast was the thesis that Pythagoras' theory of the transmigration of the soul was aristocratic and concerned only with the souls of certain types of being intermediate between gods and men, i.e. 'men like Pythagoras', *psyche* in its ordinary aspect meaning for him, *more Homeric*o, a material principle of life, while the Orphic writings propounded

a democratic theory of souls all enjoying immortality in equal degree. Guthrie, in *Gnomon* 15 (1939), 280, rejected this distinction as un-Greek, and argued that to the Greeks *psyche* was always material and was divine in so far as it shared a common nature with a physical element, breath, *aither*, or fire. He admitted that the Homeric soul, though material, lacked this cosmic affinity, being 'the idea of a short-lived society of warrior kings to whom the body was all that made life worth living'. Nestlé, again, in *BPhW* 1939, 380, pointed out that a general theory of transmigration is perfectly consistent with the belief in the special blessedness of certain souls who are those who have succeeded in emancipating themselves from the lower levels of existence. The false premise in Kerényi's argument is, in fact, the assumption that in early Greek thought a theory of transmigration presupposes belief in a non-material transmigrating element. Reaching the conclusion that Pythagoras regarded the soul as the material principle of life, he infers that a theory of transmigration can only have affected a special class of men who had a divine non-material soul, unlike everyone else. But the inference is undoubtedly wrong.

Kerényi returned to the charge in 1940 with a second edition of the essay (*Albae Vigiliae* II, Amsterdam), to which he now attached an appendix on Ennius's theory of the transmigration of the soul. This appendix was in fact an extensive answer to Guthrie's criticisms. The first section is devoted to an attempt to demonstrate the possibility of an aristocratic theory of soul, confined to certain leading men, by the analogy of pre-Confucian Chinese thought; and he proceeds thereafter to examine the theory of transmigration which Ennius seems to have embodied in the prologue to the *Annals* and in the *Epicharmus*. By neither of these means is his case perceptibly strengthened. The Chinese analogy is interesting but proves nothing; and the exposition of Ennius remains, as his French reviewer observed (Bayet, *REL* 1940, 245), remarkable; but has no real bearing on Pythagoras. The only hint of an argument for this all-important link is the observation that Rudiae, Ennius's birthplace, is near the Pythagorean city of Tarentum. More than this is required to persuade us that Ennius's conception of the moon as the dwelling-place of divine souls is good Pythagorean doctrine.

In the third edition, published ten years later, Kerényi presents three studies, of which the first is the original essay, the second is new, and the third is the appendix of the second edition. The new study breaks away from the indefensible positions of the earlier work, and is an important attempt to define the essence and origins of Orphism. At the outset Kerényi seizes upon the literary character of Orphism as its most salient aspect. τὸ Ὀρφικόν, as he observes, means Orphic books; and German in speaking of *Orphik* has an advantage in precision over other European languages which speak of *Orphism*, *Orphisme*, *Orfismo*. He attributes to the transformation of Greek civilisation in the seventh and sixth centuries the rise in importance of certain universal religious phenomena which in this period are connected with Orphism, such as initiations, abstention from eating of flesh, concern with ceremonial purity, etc.; and he emphasises that the true nature of Orphism will be understood only when we recognise and attempt to account for the strange association of such phenomena with the reading of books. Kerényi draws attention to the incongruity with which Theseus, in Euripides, attributes Hippolytus's exaggerated regard for purity and the outdoor life, not to youthful extravagance or a passion for hunting, but to discipleship of an Orpheus manifested through a 'mass of books'. His explanation of the incongruity is plausible. He suggests that Euripides' mention of books is an anachronism. Contemporary forms of initiation involved the study of Orphic books, but the other characteristics of Euripides' Hippolytus, purity and the outdoor life, belong to the primitive initiatory practices from which the later, written, Orphic *telete* derives. He notes how, in general, Orpheus as a mythical teacher stands against a background of wild nature.

Following a somewhat tenuous thread of argument Kerényi proceeds from a possible derivation of the name Orpheus from ὄρπηξ 'night' to the occurrence of the name Kelainos, which more certainly has that meaning, in connexion with two cults of an initiatory character, one at Phlya in Attica, the other at Andania in Messenia. The eponymous Phlyos is father of Kelainos, whose son, Kaukon, founded the rites at Andania. Since the place of initiation in both these cases is of a more temporary character (ὁλοῖον, παροῖός at Phyla, ἄλοον, ἑρμῆος at Andania), Kerényi regards them as more primitive than Eleusis with its stone hall, and therefore as likely to illustrate the pre-literary stage of Orphism. Readers of accounts of initiation ceremonies in Africa and elsewhere will recognise the temporary bush house in which the initiands stay during their period of trial, instruction, and seclusion. From the name of the priest at Andania, Lykos, Kerényi infers that the young

candidates lived there as wolf-men, Orpheus, the dark, like Kelainos, is the name for the initiator who instructs the boys, and leads them in the ceremonies which take place in the wild at night. Thus Hippolytus, who, in his ritual purity and life in the wild, represents a young candidate for initiation, may properly be called a follower of Orpheus in his primitive form. Incongruity only creeps in when, as in Euripides' day, Orphism means 'a mass of books'. The subjects dealt with in the writings are likely to reflect the topics of the oral instructor; and Orpheus as a literary figure still personifies the idea of the civilisation and education of man, not as at Eleusis through the revelation of an agricultural myth, nor, as in the Prometheia, through the use of fire or handicraft, but through a sort of temptation in the wilderness, a life of abstinence and instruction in the desert places.

It will be obvious that seekers of cast-iron facts about antiquity will find nothing to interest them in Kerényi's study. But those who are ready to find enlightenment in an *εὐαὐδὸς πῦθος* which consorts well with the earliest evidence about Orpheus will set value on a hypothesis which makes many of the rough places smooth. The new essay which the author presents in this third edition certainly merits the attention of scholars.

J. S. MORRISON.

Le mythe de Prométhée. By L. SÉCHAN. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951. Pp. 133. 300 fr.

This is an interesting little book, clear, scholarly, and concise. It is true that M. Séchan says little that is new, and his conclusions are sometimes open to suspicion, yet he is stimulating even when he is wrong, and his views are persuasively argued.

The work is divided into five chapters, of which the first is concerned with the part played by fire in Greek religion. Torch-races were familiar events in Greece at all periods, and the Titan himself was honoured annually at the Attic Prometheia. Birds, too, were associated in folk-lore with fire myths. But Reinach's attempt to identify the eagle—'la préfiguration animale' with Prometheus failed to explain how it came to appear in the legend as his tormentor in chief. Whatever the original meaning of 'Prometheus'—and Séchan has little time for fanciful philological speculations—the Titan had, by the fifth century, and largely through Aeschylus' ennobling influence, assumed the tragic and symbolic role which was destined to captivate the imaginations of Christians and poets alike.

The second chapter discusses the Hesiodic myth, and shows how Aeschylus modified it radically by substituting an era of human degradation and misery for the traditional Golden Age.

The third chapter is concerned with the 'éléments constitutifs de la Prométhéide'. Séchan analyses the significance of the double traditions of eternal punishment and release in Hesiod, and agrees with Wilamowitz that the former was the older. The story of Prometheus' incarceration in Tartarus raises the thorny problem of the *διαβόλος τῶν νομῶν* passage, which merits more consideration than Séchan is able to devote to it. But where so much is uncertain, it is perhaps unfair to expect the author of a hand-book to deal with all the difficulties involved.

Schmid's belief in the inherent justice of Zeus and the sophistic character of the Aeschylean Prometheus is firmly dealt with in the fourth chapter. This and the final chapter contain the author's highly controversial view of the function and place of the *Προμηΐδες* in the trilogy.

Séchan's theory that the reconciliation of Zeus with the Titan was cemented in the final play of the trilogy by the institution of the Attic Prometheia is supported by the introduction of the Areopagus into the Eumenides. Where Séchan goes astray is in his insistence that the play in question must have been the *Προμηΐδες* and not the *Αὐτιάμενος* as has been generally supposed. His argument that the epithet *προμηΐδες* 'ne vise pas un acte passager, mais une fonction stable', viz. 'porte-feu', is seriously weakened by the alternative title (*στρατηγὸς*) of the Hippolytus. Also the tense of the infinitive in the notorious scholium to PV 94, which he regards as clinching the issue, may well reflect the scholiast's view-point, as Weil saw (Séchan quotes Weil's warning against the dangers of expecting precision of expression everywhere, but retorts—'ne serait-ce pas s'y exposer tout autant que d'admettre une telle inexactitude pour corroborer l'hypothèse de l'antériorité du *Προμηΐδες*?'), and proves nothing even if *ἦτοι* could refer to the poet.

Still the main difficulty about making the *Προμηΐδες* the last play of the trilogy, as Séchan himself is prepared to admit, is to visualise the play's content. The Acropagus scenes add a nice touch of pageantry to the Eumenides, but are far from constituting its *raison d'être*, and it is hard to see why the Prometheia, always supposing that it could have been included at all in a play whose 'dramatis personae' consisted entirely of immortals, could not have formed part of the *Αὐτιάμενος*. What is needed

surely to explain the apparent anomaly of Zeus' implacable hostility in the *Αὐτιάμενος* is a previous play wherein the monarch's fury could have been justly roused by the Titan's own insufferable arrogance.

The work ends with a brief résumé of the history of the Prometheus myth in post-Aeschylean literature, and emphasises once more the high ethical purport of the trilogy.

M. Séchan has read and quotes most of the important books, articles, and monographs that had been written about Prometheus up to the time of writing. He could not, unfortunately, have seen Robertson's article, which might have modified his views on Chiron, or Hemberg's *Die Kabiren*, though he is aware of the god's Cabiric features. He owes much to Welcker, Wecklein, and Mazon, and in the placing of the *Προμηΐδες* to Westphal and George Thomson. In spite of its bias, anyone anxious to gain a general acquaintance with some of the more important theories that have been advanced in connexion with the Prometheus myth will find this little book a valuable 'compendium auctoritatum'. The notes are full and relevant. The print and get-up of the volume is very French.

J. R. T. POLLARD.

A History of Science. Ancient Science through the Golden Age of Greece. By G. SARTON. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1953. Pp. xxvi + 646, 101 text figs. £3 3s.

This is a difficult book to treat adequately in a short notice, particularly for a reviewer who is no mathematician. Another difficulty, for any reviewer in this *Journal*, is that in the author's words 'it is not written for classical philologists, but rather for students of science, whose knowledge of antiquity is rudimentary, who may never have studied Greek, or whose knowledge was too shallow to endure'. Professor Sarton adds that his interest in language is probably more genuine than that of most philologists in science, and regrets that very few of his hearers have been classical scholars. This is as just a complaint as any that might be made on the other side. It should also be noted that this is the first of eight volumes, of which only two can deal with antiquity.

The word 'through' in the title has a distinctively American sense, i.e. 'up to and including', so that this volume contains also an interesting account of early science in Egypt and Mesopotamia, treated in its own right and not merely as a preliminary to Greek science. We are reminded that science did not begin in Greece, and that Egyptologists and Assyriologists are often better supplied with original documents than students of Greek science. Egyptian medicine and Sumerian astronomy and mathematics receive their due.

Greek science, like oriental, is treated against the background of general culture. This was particularly necessary for the public of this book, but the impression given of the various activities contemporary with the rise of Greek science is scarcely a unity, and may even confuse. Classical scholars will be better able to judge the method when the history leaves their own territory. Meanwhile the book is free from the opposite mistake of attempting to impose a general scheme on the entire thought of an age, which so often results in distortion or false profundity.

The rest of this notice is best devoted to a few points which have interested this reviewer, and will illustrate the quality of the whole. In the chapter on Ionian science, though much is made of the religious and mythopoeic background, the distinction between a nature-philosopher and an observational scientist is not drawn so clearly as it might have been after the work of Cornford and Jaeger on the visionary and theological origins of Ionian speculation itself. Of Socrates, whom Bertrand Russell would consign to a scientific purgatory before admitting him to heaven, Sarton says that his influence on science was not disastrous, for he called a necessary halt to uncontrolled speculation, and made a positive contribution by insisting on clear definition and classification. The chapters on the Hippocratic Corpus and Coan archaeology present the right amount of detail, and are a useful introduction to their subject. Plato, on the other hand, is left too exclusively in the hands of his enemies Fite, Farrington, and Popper, but this at least makes for lively reading. The account of Aristotle as a scientist seems to me admirable both in the recognition of general greatness and particular merits, and in the indication of faults and limitations. The treatment of Theophrastus promises well for the account of Alexandrian science to be expected in the next volume.

The merit of the book, for readers of this *Journal*, consists in the great amount of concrete information assembled and necessarily set out in clear and simple fashion. The background in history, literature, or philosophy would be equally difficult for a classical scholar to present with close relevance to the scientific material. Sarton has naturally avoided the old type of conventional adulation, but he has also refrained in most chapters from

the more fashionable distortions of Marxism or pragmatism, and has a genuine understanding of *oötopia* in ancients and moderns alike.

E. D. PHILLIPS.

Die Zeugungs- und Vererbungslehren der Antike und ihr Nachwirken. By E. LESKY. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1951. Pp. 201. Price not given.

The history of ancient science needs perpetual rewriting in the light of fresh developments of modern science. Intensive modern work in genetics has made it desirable to know not simply what the Greeks had achieved in the sphere of biology in general, but, more specifically, what their opinions were on procreation and heredity. Undertaking to meet this growing need, Dr. Lesky has carried through a thorough and painstaking enquiry which will remain as a landmark in its own field of studies.

There is no book in English that bears directly on the subject of Dr. Lesky's research. What comes nearest to it is Joseph Needham's admirable *History of Embryology*. But embryology is not the same thing as genetics; and thus it comes about that among the fifty and more authors included in Dr. Lesky's select bibliography only two names of writers in English appear, to wit Burnet and Heide, and they get in only on account of their general works. All the rest are Germans, except for Laignel and Lavastine, authors of a French general history of medicine. The work is thus a monument of German scholarship not only in the sense that it is the first complete exposition of its theme but also because it rests almost entirely on German work of the last thirty or forty years. The writer of this notice is not a biologist, nor is he familiar with more than a small portion of the specialist literature concerned. He must therefore confine himself to a summary of the contents of the book and a layman's estimate of its merits.

The enquiry is undertaken from the point of view of the history of medicine, a wise decision which lends it direction and gives it a setting in a wider context. Dr. Lesky is to be congratulated on so handling her special subject as not to leave out of sight its bearing on the general history of culture. She claims to have worked through all the available material, and this claim the long table of *Behandelte Stellen* substantiates. The starting-point of the enquiry is Magna Graecia at the turn from the sixth to the fifth century B.C., because it was then that Alcmaeon cut sufficiently free of cosmological speculation to ask the biological question, whence comes the seed in man. After Alcmaeon and the Pythagoreans, the Hippocratic writers supply the next great source. Then it is the turn of Aristotle, the greatest figure in the whole history of biology, whose influence dominated later antiquity and the Middle Ages. Finally, Galen and the Arabs come up for discussion. Like other historians of science (as distinct from philosophy) Dr. Lesky cannot fit Plato into her picture. Her judgment on this debatable, or at least debated, point is worth quoting. *Für Platon haben wir bereits darauf hingewiesen (S. 18 f.) dass er das Ursprungsproblem des Menschen und alle mit ihm zusammenhängenden Fragen nicht vom Standpunkt biologischer Theorienfindung aus betrachtete, sondern alles seinem teleologischen Wertsystem einordnete* (p. 30).

The main topics handled by the various schools throughout the seven or eight centuries of active Greek speculation were three: the nature and potentialities of the seed, the determination of sex, and resemblances between parents and offspring. The main theories concerning the first and most fundamental question, the nature of the seed, were again three; the view of Alcmaeon and other Pythagoreans connecting the seed with the brain and the spinal marrow; the theory of Pangenesis elaborated by the Atomists and adopted by the Hippocratic writers; and finally, Aristotle's theory of its origin in the blood. To understand how the Greeks applied their various views on the seed to their theories of sex-determination and heredity, it is necessary to remember that it was all but universally believed that the male partner was not alone in contributing seed. The belief in female seed was not disposed of till the work of K. E. von Baer on the ovum in mammals published in 1827. Accordingly, both sex-determination and the inheritance of particular characters were explained on the theory of the predominance of either the male or the female seed. The hermaphrodite was the occasional result of a drawn battle. In keeping with the whole development of Greek thought, the idea of predominance (*truphē*) undergoes successive refinements; it is at first quantitative, a mere matter of the amount of either seed. Then it becomes qualitative, thickness or thinness, strength or weakness, in the seed being the determining factors. After that environmental factors enter. Empedocles thinks sex is determined by the temperature of the womb, warmth producing males and coolness females. There also develops the idea that

the right side of the body, being the stronger, is male and the source of the male sex and male characters in the offspring. Aristotle introduced a still greater degree of refinement, and put forward the view (which owes more perhaps to metaphysics than to science) that the part of the male in generation was to provide the Form, of the female to supply the Matter. Needless to say, all sorts of combinations of these views were tried. Nor are these varying views—eloquent enough in themselves of the obstinacy with which the enquiry was pursued over so many hundreds of years—merely speculative. They are accompanied by the vast practical activities in anatomical research of Alcmaeon, Herophilus, Aristotle, Galen.

In tracing the development of this ancient branch of science it is probable that the most novel element in Dr. Lesky's work lies in the completeness of her picture. It may be well, however, to conclude by an example of what she has to contribute in detail. Dr. Needham found in Aristotle the first formulator of the Preformation theory in genetics, admitting only the possibility of a vague anticipation in the Hippocratic *μῆτρ' ὄντας*. Dr. Lesky much surprised me by claiming Anaxagoras as the originator of this view. Working over the evidence she advances, I became convinced that she is right. Here again is one of those startling resemblances between the pre-Socratic period and the early phase of modern science. Dr. Lesky does not claim that Anaxagoras influenced Malpighi and Swammerdam, but she rightly stresses the interest of the parallel. Her work seems as cautious as it is original, and will long play a useful role.

B. FARRINGTON.

A History of Board-Games other than Chess. By H. J. R. MURRAY. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952. Pp. viii + 287, 86 text figs. 42s.

Mr. Murray, who forty years ago published his *History of Chess*, has now written what is essentially a work of reference to other board-games, fuller and more up-to-date than the old standard works of Thomas Hyde (*De Ludis Orientalibus*, 1694) and Stewart Culin (*Chess and Playing Cards*, 1898). The board-games of the world are classified under the five main headings of games of alignment, war, race, hunt, and mancala, and for each variety details are given of its rules, nomenclature, and geographical distribution. In his first chapter, the author discusses the board-games of the ancient and classical world, while a final chapter is devoted to the general topic of the origins and distribution of board-games.

In his reconstruction of the board-games of classical times, Mr. Murray owes much to Professor R. G. Austin's scholarly article in *Antiquity* (1940), but is able to throw further light on some problems from his wide knowledge of present-day games. Thus Pollux's difficult commentary on Sophocles' mention of the 'five-lined board' is clarified by what we know of games played on pentagrams in Crete, India, and the New World; but the mystery of the 'sacred line' remains.

Of the five main classes of board-games, we have no evidence from the classical world of any of the hunt or mancala (pebble-and-hole) type. Games of alignment are inferred from surviving boards and from a mention in Ovid. For the rest, *petteia*, *poleis*, and *latrunculi* belong to the class of battle-games, requiring skill (like draughts); while *kubeia*, *grammai*, and *duodecim scripta* are of the race-game variety (like backgammon). So much the author deduces from scattered literary references and the rather confusing commentaries of later antiquaries.

The ethnological interest of board-games lies first in the evidence they afford for contacts and borrowings between civilisations, and second, in the study of their purpose and importance for those who play them. On the first topic Mr. Murray provides observations in support of Plato's contention that *petteia* and *kubeia* came to Greece from Egypt. As for the function of games in the ancient world, there is little direct evidence that they were played for any other purpose than as pastimes, but many modern analogies suggest that they may sometimes have been used for divination.

It seems, indeed, that in many parts of the world some board-games are really quite serious undertakings, concerned with soothsaying, amusing of spirits, or curing the sick. This is one of the many lines of study suggested and made easier by this extremely thorough and careful work, which will from now be the standard book of consultation for its subject. The reference to Marin's article on page 234 and in the bibliography should read *Mon* XLII (1942), 64.

W. C. BRICE.

The Dramatic Festivals of Athens. By SIR ARTHUR PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE. Pp. xxii + 336, with 207 illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953. 50s.

Eight years ago, in the Preface to his *Theatre of Dionysus*, the late Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge looked forward to a com-

panion volume which would discuss, among other subjects, the Dionysiac festivals, the inscriptional records, and the costumes of the actors. Six weeks before his death in February 1952 he asked Professor T. B. L. Webster to see the completed work through the press, having already begun to read and correct the proofs. It is with mixed feelings of regret, respect, and expectation that one opens a book which is to be a memorial of a long and distinguished life of scholarship.

Festivals and costumes have between them most of the space, but there are also chapters on actors, chorus, and audience, and, finally, a short essay, well illustrated from inscriptions, on the history of the 'Artists of Dionysus' and their guilds. 'The treatment in the text' (so says a footnote to one section) 'is an attempt to adhere to the evidence and the possible meaning of words, without reciting the whole history of opinion on the subject.' The virtues of this approach need not be laboured: it brings with it full quotation of texts, detailed reference, and concise factual discussion; references to artistic evidence are, not surprisingly, more selective, but it has been possible to include over 200 photographs, a valuable supplement to the text and a very great convenience. All this makes a stern course for the non-specialist; those who stay the course have an opportunity to measure evidence against hypothesis in the light of a critical judgement whose general soundness and accuracy it would be impertinent for the reviewer to praise.

The Anthesteria is included among the festivals, partly for the sake of the connexions which have been made between some of its elements and the dramatic festivals (these, it is shown, are of marginal importance for drama), partly 'to place the dramatic festivals in the general setting of the worship of Dionysus at Athens' (though here and elsewhere the emphasis is rather on what happened than why). Add now to the references van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (1951), with its catalogue of *choes* and selection of plates. The section on Rural Dionysia is useful, within its length, for dramatic performances outside Athens. Appended to the chapter on City Dionysia is a reprint, almost complete, of the dramatic inscriptions relating to that festival and to the Lenaia, with brief introductions and notes. Chronological evidence from other sources is given only incidentally, and the important new didascalia-fragment from a text of Aeschylus (*P. Oxy.* 2256) has appeared too late for mention.

On costumes and masks a good deal has been said in recent years, and new material continues to be published (e.g. terracottas in *Olynthus* XIV, *Corinth* XII); Professor Webster has discussed some of the evidence for comedy further in his *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*. Here, without decrying what has been achieved already, we may perhaps hope that fuller collection and study will help to remove or define the doubts which the present work has expressed. In general, the author warns us against argument from artistic representation to real life, from fourth- to fifth-century practice, and from South Italy to Athens. For comedy the evidence of the so-called 'phlyakes'-vases is excluded because the costumes they display are regarded as independent derivatives of early Dorian farce, and therefore not to be compared directly with those of Attic comedy; the performances correspond perhaps to Attic mime, of which some surviving traces are mentioned. This hypothesis needs more development. Nor is he willing to follow up the demonstrations (often, it must be admitted, empirical) of the possible use of the known masks in the known plays, with their additional results for identification and chronology. What emerges is a general, and in part provisional picture: we need more.

The chapters on actors and chorus survey the main questions and the materials for discussion without attempting to enter into detailed controversy, though footnotes indicate some of the places where fuller discussions may be found. Thus, the section on 'Number of actors and distribution of parts' makes a brief analysis of the plays as a basis for the conclusion that three actors, given some quick changes of masks, could have performed the tragedies without help from anyone who could reasonably be called a fourth actor; in Old Comedy an additional actor is seen as taking an occasional or unimportant part; for New Comedy no fixed custom is inferred owing to the uncertainties of Greek fragments and Latin adaptations. On this and other questions throughout the book the brief discussion from first principles has still a useful service to perform.

In a work which lacks the author's final revision, some caution is occasionally necessary over details. Some minor inconsistencies remain at his own wish; where there are slips of pen or print they can usually be corrected on sight, or easily checked. Perhaps it is desirable to mention some. P. 25, Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* i.2, add, after 'ῥοσχυρί', the words 'αὐτοῖς σπουδῆς καὶ θιάσῳ μενούσῃ'; the schol. should have a full stop after 'σπουδαγμέν'. P. 27, l. 3 from the foot, for 'cakes' read 'cakes'. P. 39 n. 2, for '394' read '953' (cf. passage 28, p. 26). P. 42 n. 3, read 'IG ii' 3103' and ' (four names

follow)'. P. 96, Plutarch, *Kimon*, 8, read 'τὴν τῶν τραγῳδῶν κλῶν'. Pp. 106 ff. (dramatic inscriptions)—a few restorations appear to be wrongly marked; the date applied to Ameipsias (p. 114) can be corrected from p. 119. P. 145, l. 6, for 'Iophin' read 'Iolaos'. Correct the caption of fig. 160 from pp. xx, 210. P. 214, Athenaeus I 21 d, read 'ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν τραγῳδῶν . . . μίσις', as on p. 256. Text and plates have been well produced, and those concerned deserve our gratitude for what must have been an exacting task on a useful and important book.

E. W. HANDLEY.

The Birth of Civilization in the Near East. By HENRI FRANKFORT. Pp. 116, 24 pll. London: Williams & Norgate, 1951. 16s.

The Director of the Warburg Institute is well qualified to write on the early Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilisations, and in expanding four lectures delivered at Indiana University in 1948-9 he develops themes first presented in his *Kingship and the Gods* (1948) and *Before Philosophy* (1949). His aim, as clearly stated in the preface, is to concentrate on the social and political innovations which mark the appearance of the first civilised societies. 'Civilisation' is to be understood in the narrow sense of *homo politicus*, and Frankfort rightly confines himself to Egypt and Sumer ('Mesopotamia') as the cultural centres of the ancient Near East, for the later development of civilisation in the peripheral areas was derivative.

The opening chapter is a criticism of the historical philosophies of Spengler and Toynbee, whose views on civilisations and their development he cannot accept, since they betray the weaknesses of the historian who is 'truly familiar only with classical antiquity and its western descendant. His *Urmensch*, his "primordial man" is the Greek or the Aryan Indian.' He finds that though these writers have a true perception of the poverty of the usual view of history as an evolutionary process they cannot guard themselves against the danger of projecting into the unfamiliar past the modes of thought of the present day. 'In this respect Herodotus was more perspicacious; he realized that the values of different cultures may be incommensurate when he frankly epitomized his description of Ancient Egypt in the statement that its laws and customs were, on the whole, the opposite of those of the rest of mankind (p. 19—*History*, II, 35).' Frankfort, however, agrees with those whom he criticises in viewing history not as one progressive civilisation but as several different 'species' (to use Toynbee's analysis), each passing on its individual course from birth to death. For him the birth of civilisation is marked by unusual creative activity initiated by a shock or crisis, which soon develops into an integrated system unifying the individual characteristics, which he calls the 'form', of the civilisation.

In the second chapter we are shown the essential features of the neolithic age—agriculture and the invention of pottery and weaving—as it can be traced in Mesopotamia through the stages, called after the principal excavated sites of each period, Hassuna, Samarra, and Halaf to Al Ubaid. There may be a weakness in the reasoning here, for although Frankfort argues ably that civilisation in Egypt emerged suddenly with the unification of the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt under Menes as shown on the Narmer palette, the evidence for a similar 'crisis' which may have led to the emergence of the city in Sumer is not so strong. It is true that many specialists, both archaeologist and philologist, accept a sudden commencement of city life and that this is reflected in both the Babylonian and Hebrew accounts of the advent of civilisation. Frankfort does not tell us what it was that set in motion these 'crisis' events, nor does he explain the sharp differences between the Egyptian and Sumerian cultures, though these are well described. Even if the answer to these problems must be speculative, the author's range of experience and interest in such matters would be helpful.

In the middle of the fourth millennium the characteristic hall-marks of civilisation appear, and we can study monumental architecture, writing, representational art, and a new kind of political culture. These differ in purpose and function between Egypt and Mesopotamia, and are thus the essential 'form' of their respective civilisations. In Mesopotamia urban life was precarious and dependent on an uncertain river irrigation and communal effort, and this led to a religious consciousness of the protecting deity resulting in a political cohesion through a form of theocratic socialism. In the earliest times the temple owned and controlled the surrounding land, though not to the exclusion of private enterprise and ownership, and enabled man to fulfil the purpose of his being by serving the gods. The written sources are too fragmentary to disclose gradations of power in the proto-literate period, and this has misled some to think of this phase as one of primitive communism. Writing

was developed to meet the administrative needs of a quickly emerging system of political control. Frankfort draws freely on his experience as the excavator of Tall Asmar and Khafajah in the Diyala region to present the best general account of the life and institutions in early Mesopotamia so far available to us. He carries the picture up to the reign of Sargon of Agade, who began to break down the central powers of the temple over the land.

In marked contrast to Mesopotamia the development of civilisation in Egypt proceeded along other lines, despite the influences of Mesopotamia on the country between the end of the Gerzean period and the beginning of the First Dynasty, for which the evidence is collected in a valuable Appendix. The distinct development was not the city, especially the capital city which was for long ever changing, for this played an insignificant role. The characteristic of Egyptian civilisation was the institution of divine kingship and the rise of a monarchical society with Pharaoh at the centre which lasted for almost three thousand years with little change. This, according to Frankfort, gave Egyptians a unifying sense of security which their Asiatic contemporaries lacked. History shows that this notion, if dominant, was more crippling to individual initiative than the 'insecure' pattern of Mesopotamian political life.

It is not possible to read this book without much profit and stimulation of thought on fundamental historical questions concerning the rise of divergent forms of civilisation.

D. J. WISEMAN.

Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary, I. By B. HORNE-MANN. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1953. Pp. xi + 315 unbound plates in case. Dan. kr. 100.

This work consists of a pasteboard filing-cabinet containing more than three hundred numbered cards, each about $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{4}$ in., on which are reproduced by a collotype process outline sketches, mostly in pencil, of selected Egyptian statues from various collections. This particular 'volume' is the first part of the work to be issued, and is concerned with statues of males only. It is broadly divided into two categories—statues with feet placed together and those with the left foot advanced. Both groups are further subdivided according to the position of the hands. Inscriptions are summarily sketched merely to indicate their location on the statue. Little detail is in fact intended; most faces, for instance, are rendered as featureless masks. Each card gives at least two aspects of a particular piece, and some have several views and two or three cross-sections. A brief index lists the various groups according to their poses.

The term 'statuary' has been broadly interpreted to include specimens which are not normally regarded as the work of the sculptor. There are, for instance, some seventy-five cards concerned with the mass-produced votive bronzes of the Late Period; some twenty others deal with shawabti figures in various materials; six are of pottery figurines, mostly of predynastic date, and two are of anthropomorphic alabaster vessels. Even more surprise may perhaps be felt that a number of cards should be devoted to such objects as glazed amuletic figurines of deities and the crude little wax images of the Four Sons of Horus which protected the wrapped viscera in later dynastic burials. Perhaps it is the inclusion of such specimens that has dictated the omission of some notable examples such as the striding statues of Senuwret I from Karnak, the earliest complete royal statues of this type, the unusual standing statue of Senenmut at Chicago, the Amarna king at Brooklyn with his unique standing pose, the Anen of Turin, the gold Amun at New York, the Tuthmosis III from Medamud, to name a few at random—the list could be greatly expanded.

Within the limits set by Schäfer's original scheme for a typological study of Egyptian statuary, Miss Hornemann appears to have carried out her task with diligence, but the reviewer of this work must constantly ask himself whether such industry has been well spent. Miss Hornemann's outline drawings, competent as they may be, cannot convey subtleties of style nor precision of detail. If collotype was to be used as a means of reproduction, one asks whether photographs, supplemented with line drawings where necessary, would not have served the purpose better. The chief criticism of this work, however, must be that it has remarkably little use. The general public fluttering through the cards will seek in vain for any appreciation of the true character of Egyptian statuary; to the philologists, by now the greater proportion of professional Egyptologists, it is irrelevant; the archaeologist uses different tools, and depends upon data other than poses for the dating and identification of statues; and the few serious students of Egyptian art-history will still have to fall back upon their own records, compilations, and evaluations of Egyptian art forms, since Miss Hornemann's summary drawings cannot assist any stylistic analyses.

CYRIL ALDRED.

Forschungen auf Kreta, 1942. Ed. F. MATZ. Pp. vii + 166, 122 pl. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1951. DM. 80.

This account of German archaeological investigations in Crete during the earlier part of their occupation of that island is edited by Professor Matz, who contributes a foreword and explains how the set-up and some of the plans were destroyed by bombing. The authors deserve praise not only for an excellent publication but also for their restraint in refraining from attacking sites excavated by other nationalities. This restraint has been rewarded by results that are far more valuable than more spectacular ones would have been from famous sites, because these researches open new ground and illustrate how deeply the Minoan civilisation had permeated the west end of the island.

Ulf Jantzen describes neolithic burials in the Kumaro cave on the Akrotiri peninsula only a quarter of an hour's walk from the monastery of Gouverneto (already noted by Marinatos as a Mycenaean site.) The extreme richness of the Knossos material, as Jantzen points out, had prevented Evans from illustrating much of the plain neolithic, and his publication had therefore, quite innocently, given the impression that the decorated sherds were more numerous. This account not only corrects this impression but also adds to our list of neolithic shapes the bowls with inverted rims and those with undulating rims (well known in the neolithic pottery of Central and Northern Greece). It is still open to question whether the differences between Kumaro and Knossos neolithic are due to regional or chronological distinctions. Pithos rims with rough unpolished surface and a line of string holes below the rim have parallels in Macedonia.

A stone axe and two obsidian blades were found. No burial was found *in situ*, but some human bones belonging chiefly apparently to the neolithic period were found washed out of their original position by rain. The absence of humus suggests that the cave was used only for burials in the neolithic period, though it may have been occupied by shepherds in L.M. III times.

August Schörgendorfer describes a tholos tomb and a settlement at Apesokari (a name which the local inhabitants luridly derive from 'the heads that fell there' when it was a Turkish place of execution). The site commands a narrow valley leading from the Mesará through Míamou to Lévena. The Minoan cemetery had been heavily looted by the peasants, so that Schörgendorfer was lucky to discover a small unrobbed tholos tomb of M.M. I date, the earliest certain example of a Cretan tholos except the very primitive one excavated by Marinatos at Krási. The pottery, typical but not exciting, and the fine collection of birds' nest stone bowls (mostly steatite or breccia) all date from the M.M. I and M.M. II periods. The entrance complex of rooms is interesting because it was used purely for ritual purposes. There is no sign, as in some of Xanthoudides' tombs, that the rooms were used either for primary burial or as ossuaries. The Germans also tested the settlement, excavating two rooms of the M.M. I-II period. After the destructive M.M. II earthquake there was an attempt to rebuild them, but the attempt was abandoned so soon that it is suggested the workmen may have been removed to work on the new palace.

The next two chapters by E. Kirsten and K. Grundmann describe trial excavations on the important Monastiraki site in the Asomatos valley, a district rather neglected by recent investigators despite the gold rings from Vistagi now in the Rethymno Museum (Pendlebury's 'Pistagi'; I have also heard Bistayi, all perhaps from an original *ἑμιστάγι*).

The excavated parts look poor and provincial beside the great palaces of Central Crete, but a comparison is obviously unfair, since the Monastiraki rooms belong to the domestic quarter, not the state apartments. The considerable area, however, occupied by the building certainly justifies the appellation 'palace', and the importance of the site from administrative and commercial points may be gathered from Dunbabin's map in his account of the antiquities of Amari (*BSA* XLII). The absence of a general map is perhaps a defect in this book, though to Cretan exiles the beautiful views of Crete are more than adequate compensation.

The materials from the Late Minoan cemetery of Khania are described by Jantzen, who arranged in the Mosque by the harbour what was rescued from the old museum burnt out in 1934. The vases illustrate the first half of the L.M. III period, not very adequately illustrated in earlier publications, and the shapes provide some interesting variants on familiar types, especially the straight-sided alabastron, described, I know not why, as 'a water-jar'. He also lists the M.M. I vases found by Theophanides.

Drerup describes some vases from a L.M. III grave at Suda, the best being a fine imported Levanto-Helladic crater with chariot and warriors frieze.

The same writer describes briefly the site of Aptara occupied from Protogeometric up to Venetian times. The most interest-

ing remains are the city walls, the cisterns, and a twin sanctuary (to unknown deities) probably erected about 400 B.C. The wide circuit of the walls (3.8-3.9 km.) makes it certain that they were used as a city of refuge by the surrounding villages. The walls are said to be all part of one system, despite the astonishing differences in technique of various sections.

Gabriel Welter and Jantzen give an account of their researches on the site of the Dictynnaeum and the astonishing Roman 'autobahn' leading up to it. Considering the pitiful condition to which the site had been reduced even in 1791, the Germans have done well in reconstructing its history. Geometric sherds indicate the existence of a shrine in the ninth century B.C. By the end of the seventh century there seems to have been a prostyle temple of which fragments of a terracotta sima were found. The temple started by the Samians after their occupation of Khamia in 520 B.C. seems never to have been completed, but some blocks and a large Doric capital built into the Roman foundations presumably belonged to the temple Herodotus refers to. There are also some fragments of the Hellenistic temple visited by Apollonius of Tyana. More remains of the temple built by Hadrian in A.D. 123, showing that it had an Ionic porch in blue marble on the East side and a Corinthian porch in white marble on the West. The relief with legs of a Pan described by Pococke proved to be a sculptured base for one of the Ionic columns in the Ephesian manner.

The final chapter consists of a survey of sites in Western Crete by E. Kirsten, who includes in it a number of places that I should have counted rather as Central Cretan, but the survey is good and well documented. He makes useful suggestions on the sites of Psycheion, Phoinix, and Arados. After the general survey he discusses in detail some trial excavations carried out in the Sybrita district. One of these extended the area of the trial carried out by Marinatos near Apodhoulou, a site that obviously merits further investigation. Other tests on the site of Sybrita itself showed evidence of occupation from the Late Minoan III period up to medieval times. I am disappointed, however, to note that Kirsten associates the name with Sybaris and the Achaean colonisation of Crete. Personally I have always associated Sybrita with $\beta\epsilon\lambda\tau\upsilon$ and Britomartis, and thought that it was one of the few names which were almost certainly Minoan.

The book is beautifully printed and illustrated, and Messrs. de Gruyter deserve great credit for their share of the work.

R. W. HUTCHINSON.

Il Palazzo Minoico di Festòs. Scavi e studi della Missione archeologica Italiana a Creta dal 1900 a 1950. Vol. II, Il Secondo Palazzo. By LUIGI PERNIER and LUISA BANTI. Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1951. Pp. xiii + 647, 309 text figs. Price not stated.

This publication of the second volume recording the Italian excavations at Phaistos has been delayed by two events, first, by the death in 1937 of that fine scholar and most charming man the late Luigi Pernier, and secondly, by the outbreak of the Second European War. Some of the material was described by Pernier as early as 1907 and written up to date in 1929, but the difficult task of bringing the whole work up to date to 1950 has been admirably discharged by Professor Luisa Banti, who has tried, as she states in her preface, to preserve as much of Pernier's work as Dunbabin did of Payne's in the Perachora publication.

After a brief preface there is an introduction summarising what we know of the destruction of the first palace, survivals of parts of it into the period of the second palace, the construction and destruction of the second palace, and some remarks on stratigraphic tests carried out in 1936 East of the Central Court.

Part 5 (Parts 1-4 have been published in Vol. I) is devoted to a general description of the ground floor of the second palace, followed by shorter descriptions of the elevated area of the palace in the North-west and the evidences for a second story there, and by descriptions of various stray finds of interest and of certain rooms in the North-east area. The first five chapters of Part 6 consist mainly of a detailed account of the architecture of the second palace, the materials, and the art, with emphasis on the differences between the art of Phaistos and that of Knosos.

The next six chapters are occupied by a detailed account of the pottery, with some very interesting and stimulating remarks on the local varieties of pottery at Phaistos in particular, in the Mesara generally, and in Eastern Crete (a speculative but plausible survey). A very short chapter on the question of the dating of the destruction of the first and second palaces merely whets the appetite for more, but I think we can appreciate the reason. The Phaistos book is a *sermo in doli* which will not go out of date entirely, and Professor Banti probably wishes to exclude from it anything that might appear to be still *sub judice*. She has already expressed the views she formed after

her excavations in 1939 in the volume of *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* for 1942, and here confines herself to replying to some criticisms of her dating made by Schachermeyr in *Klio* 1945 and by Platon in *Κρηνικὰ Χρονικά* for 1949 by affirming the reliability of the stratification of Room 27 of the first palace and the impossibility of its remaining in use as a cellar to a later period as suggested by Platon. Pendlebury defended, I think successfully, Evans' stratification against Åberg's attempt to undermine it so far as the Palace of Minos is concerned, but it does look as if M.M. Ib and M.M. IIa were palatial fabrics, and as if the poorer people in many parts of Crete, perhaps even at Knosos in the poorer quarters, continued to use pottery of M.M. Ia types into the M.M. II period. The importance of this point can hardly be overstressed, since it not only affects the validity of Evans' ceramic dating for Crete as a whole but also the date of the construction and destruction of the earlier palaces at Phaistos and at Mallia. I hope Professor Banti will return to this controversial question at a later date.

In the final chapter of the volume the authors discuss the shrines of the palace, and display a healthy scepticism, strongly refusing to regard everything as sacred, as may be seen by some of their sub-headings such as 'the supposed altar in the North-west corner of the Central Court' and 'baths or lustral basins'. The so-called 'lustral areas' have never been satisfactorily explained. If they served a religious purpose, one would have expected to find one represented on one of the numerous seal stones illustrating religious cults. If they were baths, why did the Minoans, who were otherwise so fond of drains, not furnish them with an outlet for the water? One of these lustral areas, at least, the one opening out of the throne room of Minos, must have served a ceremonial purpose, though not necessarily a religious one. If they were indeed baths, may I suggest the possibility that they were Turkish baths, since the moisture provided by the body of the bather does not require a drain to carry it away; the heat, of course, would have been provided by the normal portable braziers.

It is curious that Phaistos, which provided one of the best instances of survival of the cult of the Minoan Velchanos, has no continuity in its palace shrines, not even from the first palace to the second palace.

On the whole the volume is splendidly produced and a worthy crown to the long labours of Pernier in Crete. On some of the photographs the shadows are rather dark (e.g. Fig. 96 and Fig. 165), but this is largely caused by the intensely bright sun in Crete in the middle of the day. It is possible, of course, to photograph in the morning or evening, but then the shadows, though less dense, are longer. Signor Stefani's plans, when they occur, are, as always, beautifully drawn.

It does not matter very much in what order the chapters are read, but a specialist can browse for hours on this volume and find interesting material everywhere. Compare, for example, the classification of the masonry into three types: (a) 'isodomic' ashlar masonry reserved for external walls, façades, courts, light wells, and rarely in corridors which may have been open to the sky; (b) walls with two ashlar facings and rubble filling, a rare form of construction, at present known only in the walls North and West of Court 49; (c) walls built with irregular stones, but these differ in the two palaces; the first palace walls had a base of small irregularly rectangular stones 0.80-1 m. high and above small stones cut in paralleloped fashion with plenty of clay mortar, held together by an external coat of stucco, whereas the walls of the second palace had the same structure from top to bottom, usually large irregularly paralleloped stones. Wooden beams no longer occur in the fabric of the walls, but are liberally employed for doorways and antae. Stucco is employed in the usual Minoan manner and we find the same two varieties analysed by Heaton at Knosos, a coarse variety $1\frac{1}{2}$ cm. thick covering all walls and a fine coat, only 5 mm. thick at most, laid over this as a ground for painted decoration.

Individual points of interest are the bronze socket of the door post between Vani 25 and 40 (p. 71), a fragment of pithos from Magazine 27 with an inscription in Linear Script A incised on it (p. 87), an interesting steatite lamp (p. 109 and figs. 57, 58), slim amphorae with vase-stand incorporated in the base, dated M.M. III by Evans, but clearly belonging to the latest period of the Palaces at Phaistos and Hagia Triada (p. 112; cf. also an example from Katsambas with a cartouche of Thothmes III recently excavated by S. Alexiou), a cubicle opening off Room 63 compared by the authors to Room 4 at Hagia Triada and the Room of the Plaster Couch at Knosos (p. 169), and some faience plaques with scale and shell patterns perhaps attached to wooden caskets, not to a wall as first suggested (p. 342).

The authors refrain from reconstructing, in Evans' manner, an elaborate *piano nobile* and content themselves with drawing distinctions between the 'piano unico', 'primo piano', and 'primo piano sopraelevato', leaving not disproved but un-

proven the question whether there was a full second floor in the ordinary sense of that term.

Two small examples of genuine arches were found in internal walls, but one of these might belong to a Hellenistic repair, and the other which appears to be of M.M. II-III date is of a rather primitive type (pp. 447-9 and Figs. 278, 279).

The volume is a necessity for all libraries and a desirable luxury for all individuals who can afford it.

R. W. HUTCHINSON.

Fouilles de Delphes. Tome II. Topographie et Architecture. Le Trésor de Cyrène. Text by J. BOUSQUET. Drawings by J. BOUSQUET and Y. FOMINE. Paris: de Boccard, 1952. Pp. 113, 17 text figs. 51 pll. Price not given.

This is a brilliant book. The foundations of the treasury stand nowhere even to toichobate level, and the scattered blocks are neither numerous nor well preserved. Yet M.M. Bousquet and Fomine have reached a restoration of the whole building very plausible in its main lines, and have shown it to be as interesting, though by no means so beautiful, as the acknowledged masterpieces of its age, the fourth century B.C. Nor can the student of Greek architecture afford to ignore Bousquet's conclusions on the mathematics of its design, which seem, after a perusal of Chapter VI, surprisingly well established.

Situated near the east wall of the sanctuary, the foundation (XIII on the general plan of Delphi) was uncovered in 1895. It clearly indicates a treasury some 64 by 9 metres, facing south. In *BCH* 1912 Dinsmoor assigned all the marble fragments in its neighbourhood, though correctly perceiving their fourth-century date, to the slightly later treasury, No. XIV, on the terrace above. Pomtow in 1924 returned them to XIII, but gave this to the Acanthians and, misled by the unique antae with their engaged columns, restored it as prostyle with an extraordinary columnar inner door. In 1936 Miss Shoe confirmed Dinsmoor's date by a study of the mouldings, and in 1937 the torrent of Rhodini uncovered the new fragments which, with others found among the Roman shops below, have made the present study possible.

Bousquet first relates the treasury to a small gate (B) in the east wall of the sanctuary, whose threshold he discovered in 1948. South of Gate B the wall is polygonal of the sixth century, north of it square or trapezoidal and probably of 334/3 B.C., being perhaps the stretch then in course of erection 'alongside the Prytaneum' according to the inscription *FD* III, 5, 62. Now north of our treasury is a short retaining wall evidently designed in close conjunction with it and therefore, though polygonal, of the fourth century. The new sanctuary wall truncates it on the east, and so proves that our platform, at least, had been laid out before 334.

All courses up to the toichobate of the treasury are of the grey S. Elias limestone, used on the fourth-century temple of Marmaria. The core was of conglomerate, so also fourth century. The clamps are H-shaped. The toichobate itself was of S. Elias stone, but not so well finished, and contained blocks of irregular length. A more regular toichobate, for which the surface of the course below had been carefully prepared, was never laid. The clamps, too, have changed on the existing toichobate to Π -clamps, whose two prongs run vertically downwards. These are used on the rest of the building. There was apparently an interval, associated by B. with the Third Sacred War; and when work was resumed, the walls were made slightly thicker. Hesitancy appears in the toichobate blocks and the orthostates, both of varying height, but dressed to give the orthostates everywhere an apparent height of 85 cm., the toichobate 29. Reference to Plate XXXII will make all clear. A ragged boundary results on the rear façade between the limestone toichobate and marble orthostates. The building, indeed, was unfortunate in its stone. It was half of Parian, half of Pentelic marble. The Parian for some reason ran out, and the inferior Pentelic used to fill the gaps was relegated where possible to courses, such as the frieze and cornice, normally coloured on Doric buildings.

The orthostates, the lowest marble course, were set back some 10 cm. from the front of the toichobate, giving the treasury a width here of 5.94 metres. An ordinary wall-course was 0.297 metres high, exactly one-twentieth of this amount. B. reasonably infers a foot of 0.297 metres, wall-courses each a foot high and a width, at orthostate level, of 20 feet. The eventual length was 28 feet. Above the orthostates came a special 'chiselled course', slightly higher than an ordinary wall-course and totalling with the orthostates a height of 1.169 metres, or 63 dactyls. The dactyl for this architect was as important as the foot.

As on the Pinakotheké at Athens, the rear corners had false antae, somewhat longer on the long sides. The two antae of the distyle façade are formally unprecedented. Their outer sides are nearly twice as wide as their fronts, but the half

columns attached to their inner faces make their capitals after all nearly square on plan—bisected though they are on front elevation. A deep chamfer half separates each engaged shaft from the wall behind. The construction, however, of alternate long and short blocks follows the normal Greek fashion; and B. has recovered the first five courses of the east anta, numbered upwards A to E, immediately above the orthostate. He has also the block from immediately below the capital. He rightly concludes, from the diminution of the engaged column and other telling evidence, that the wall comprised ten courses between the orthostates and the architrave soffit, and with the orthostates totalled exactly 13 feet in height.

The architrave calls for no comment structurally, but the metopes had various widths. The north-east corner-block of the cornice, still perfect and evidently, from its inscription, *OMI*, from the rear façade, shows from its mutules that the north side had the narrower, the east the wider metopes (46.4 to 48.3 cm.). The main façade had a mixture, with two at the corners of 52 cm., one at the centre of 48.3, and four others of 46.4 each. There were therefore three between the two central columns, and this façade resembled a propylon. The angle of the pediment was $14^{\circ}2'$, or 1 in 4, and the architrave soffit came exactly 7 feet below the apex of the raking sima, giving the front a height of exactly 20 feet, equal to its width at orthostate level.

So far all seems reasonably certain. B's cross-wall and door will perhaps arouse more controversy. No foundations of a cross-wall would seem from Plate III to remain. I cannot see that the block Plate XIII, 5, from the 'chiselled course', even granted that it comes from the west wall and has the marks of clamps on its inner face, is certainly placed itself or can establish the line of the cross-wall. Plate XXXIV, at any rate, shows a toichobate, orthostate-course, and 'chiselled course' of quite irregular stones; and the inscription on Plate XIII, 5 appears nowhere to run over on to neighbouring blocks. Perhaps, however, we should grant B his square cella, of exactly 17 by 17 feet, on the analogy of the Siphnian Treasury. He gives its door a lintel unprecedented in Doric, five courses below the architrave. But again he pleads the influence of the Ionic treasuries.

Indeed, other unusual features seem to derive from Ionic. The column-shafts, for instance, have an apophyge, unique in Doric, below the echinus; and the geison-bed has an elaborate Ionic moulding, an ovolo above a cyma reversa. Others are at least eclectic; for instance, the ovolo crowns of the anta-capitals and the cyma reversa crowning the abacus of the column-capitals. The taenias of both architrave and frieze slope outwards in a way almost unprecedented. Most remarkably of all, a small cavetto with painted leaf decoration separates each metope from the taenia of the frieze. The door, as restored, is given an eclectic cornice of ovolo, Lesbian Leaf, guilloché, cavetto, and astragal, specially designed, thinks B., to call attention to it as an important unit in the Treasury's mathematics; and, in a similar spirit, the very visible cavetto, when added to the perfectly square metope, makes an important mathematical irrational. After a short argument that the building is Cyrenaean—from the names of proxenoi engaged on it, historical likelihood, and some resemblance to fourth-century buildings in Cyrene, chiefly the Strategion—B. moves on to its architectural mathematics.

Its designer was closely influenced by the geometer Theodorus of Cyrene (for whom see *Theaetetus* 147D) and by Plato, and much concerned with the architectural expression of irrational roots. Where he could achieve no direct relation (as he often could) of lines, areas, and volumes, he showed from some dimensions that at least he knew the numbers crucial to the mathematicians of his age.

The lower diameter of the column is 30, its height 208 dactyls, respectively ten times the square root and one hundred times the cube root of 9 (the two lowest square numbers, 4 and 9, and their sum, 13, were then enjoying a great vogue). Further, the lower to the upper diameter was as $\sqrt{3}$ to $\sqrt{2}$; so that the architect had obtained and, living after Hippocrates, had consciously obtained an area at the top of the shaft two-thirds that at the bottom. He showed, in fact, that he knew the areas of circles varied exactly as the squares on their diameters. Again, the heights of architrave and frieze are related as $\sqrt{2}$ to $\sqrt{3}$, the ratio between the diagonals of a square and of its cube. Without the prominent moulded taenias their respective heights would have amounted merely to 21:26.

Turning to the three notorious problems of the fourth century, we find our architect knew the value of $\sqrt{\pi}$, for he made the height of the column-capital $11\frac{1}{2}$ digits. 208 divided by $11\frac{1}{2}$ gives $10 \times \sqrt{\pi}$ (1.772). The height of the frieze, too, is 1.772 feet. $\sqrt{\pi}$ appears so often, because it is the side of a square equal in area to a circle of radius 1.

He could also double the cube. The door was 126 digits high, and 1.26 is the cube root of 2. If we doubt this measure, the orthostates, at any rate, are 63 digits high. But let us grant B. his tiny door. As he restores it, it is a mathematical *pièce de résistance*. For the two upper corners of its opening are exactly determined by the points of intersection of the diagonals of the square, 20 feet by 20, of the whole front and of the rectangle, 20 by 13, of the front up to the architrave soffit. Finally, the ratio of its height to that of the front columns equals their ratio to the total height. So it embodies three mathematical qualities completely distinct from one another. For clearly there is only one value for the rectangle of column height that will make its height a geometric mean between those of the door and the whole building. The width of B's door-opening, at its narrowest, is exactly that given by the intersection of the diagonals.

Last of all, our architect could trisect at any rate one given angle. For the angle at the apex, at the centre of the rear wall, of the isosceles triangle inscribed in the square cella is exactly trisected by two straight lines drawn, it seems, to the jambs at the narrowest point of the door-opening and produced along their outer 0.371 metres (see p. 62, fig. 9) to the centre of the inner face of each front column. (The reader could have done in Fig. 14 with some indication of the door-jambs, and also a scale.)

We need not believe all these mathematical values had been rigorously proved. Indeed, Fig. 14, showing the trisection, is an adaptation of the figure in Heath's *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, p. 148, itself merely a diagram showing that a certain line DE would have to be drawn, but not telling us how to draw it. Again, no exhaustive method of finding π is known earlier than that of Archimedes. One simple graphical method of obtaining irrationals of low value, suggested by Joseph Kohm as perhaps ancient, is given by B. in an appendix. But for the most part B. is satisfied, reasonably enough, that many values not yet rigorously proved were already known in practice. B. is surely right to suppose that, in the absence of a decimal notation, most had been obtained mechanically; although it is uncanny to see how often, in his own words (p. 89), numbers are employed 'qui aient à la 3^e décimale un 9 ou un zéro . . . et la multiplication par 100 ne détruira pas l'exactitude du calcul'.

Nowhere, to B's knowledge, is there any attempt in this Treasury to employ the ratio 2.618 : 1.618 :: 1.618 : 1, the famous Golden Cut, evident though it is, according to B. himself, in the contemporary Theatre of Epidauros (*REA* 1953, 41 ff.).

If correct, all this marks a revolution in our knowledge of fourth-century architectural proportion; and most of it, at first sight, seems thoroughly established and hard to contest. I have only a few observations to make.

The evidence of Cyrenaic authorship is surely strengthened by those strange late temples at Cyrene with similar half-columns engaged to the inner faces of the antae: the Temple of Artemis, for instance, discussed by L. Pernier in *Atene e Roma*, serie III, Anno IV, fasc. 3 (1936). Their detailing seems clumsier than in our treasury; but one could have wished for some mention of them in this book. While stressing the influence of Theodorus, Theatetus, and Plato, B. ignores other contemporary names of some importance—Aristippus, for instance—connected with Cyrene. Perhaps this does not matter, and perhaps at this time the Platonists monopolised mathematics. The evidence that our architect could double the cube (an achievement none of our literary authorities connects with Cyrene) is perhaps a little less satisfactory than one could wish. Was the door so low? B. replies that we have its west jamb (Pl. XXVIII, 6) almost complete, that it was 126 dactyls high, and that a jamb of two blocks would be as unprecedented as a low lintel. The matter is not quite so simple. For the builders had trouble to get their stone, and this jamb-block was almost the largest marble block in the building. Compare its 2.15 × 0.63 × 0.25 metres with the 2.32 × 0.42 × 0.3 of the largest block in the architrave. Perhaps, then, they were forced to make each jamb of two stones. One may notice, incidentally, that, as set out on Fig. 13, the height of the door opening has a proportion of 1/1.66 to that of the columns, and the columns one of 1/1.54 to the whole building—a progression a little less uniform than B. makes out. If B. has anywhere taken advantage of scanty evidence, it is over this cross-wall and door.

The text is most carefully produced. I have found no misprints beyond an occasional 'miss Shoe', as on e.g. p. 55, l. 18. The photographs are admirable, and the measured drawings, where I could check them, full, clear, and honest. One wishes that publishers would use more often on the plans of Greek buildings as they exist today the shading favoured by Koldewey and Puchstein. It indicates the third dimension at once. One can ponder over Plate III of this volume without recognising the relative levels of the blocks. But the production in general is all that one could wish. An English reader is apt to envy the

French School the official resources so encouraging to its publishers. But he can only rejoice in the thoroughness and intelligence with which it at present directs them.

W. H. PLOMMEY.

Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Volume II, The Theatre. By R. STILLWELL. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952. Pp. xi + 141, 8 pl. and 103 text figs. \$10.

The theatre at Corinth, which lies about 200 metres north-west of the Temple of Apollo, was first discovered in 1896, and trial trenches were dug in it between that date and 1909. The task of clearing and investigating the whole theatre, which involved the removal of enormous quantities of earth, was carried out by the late Dr. T. L. Shear between 1925 and 1929. The excavation accounts were published by him in *AJA* XXIX, 381-8, XXX, 444-63, XXXII, 474-89, XXXIII, 515-36, and by R. Stillwell, who assisted him as architect, in *AJA* XXXIII, 77-97.

The latter has now published, in the series on the Corinth excavations, a handsome and detailed volume on the theatre, with many drawings of the architectural fragments, and 103 text-figures consisting of photographs and sketches. The eight chapters are headed: I. History of the Excavation; II. Location and General Description; III. Detailed Description: the Greek Period; IV. Detailed Description: the Roman Period; V. The Theatre as an Arena; VI. Restoration of *scenae frons*; VII. Inventory of Architectural Fragments (a painstaking catalogue); VIII. Summary and Chronology. Plates I-VIII at the end give plans and sections of the theatre and restorations for various periods of its construction. It would have been helpful if the names of parts of the theatre had been added to Plates III and VIIa. There is no index.

It is unfortunate that the Corinth theatre is not better preserved, but wars, earthquakes, time, and stone-robbers have taken their toll. Fairly substantial remains of the Roman period are certainly visible, though most of the cavea seating has disappeared; but the remains of the Greek theatre, apart from the Hellenistic orchestra gutter, are scantier. Even the bronze sounding-vessels, to which Vitruvius (V.5.1, V.5.8) refers particularly in connexion with Corinth (they were taken to Rome after the sack of the city), have left no trace of where they once stood. Perhaps the most striking feature is the paintings adorning the arena wall. To turn the orchestra into an arena, ten rows of seats were removed, and the arena wall was decorated with hunting scenes, the lower half of which was quite well preserved at the time of the excavation. Eight photographs of them (figs. 76-83) are given. It is curious that no reference is made to E. Capps, Jr., 'Observations on the Painted Venatio of the Theatre at Corinth and on the arrangements of the Arena', *Hesperia* Suppl. VIII, 64-70, pl. 8-9.

Stillwell dates the earliest theatre to about 415 B.C. From this period come, it appears, the Greek seats, some of which, as well as many foundations, have been preserved. The seats are of the detached type found at Eretria and elsewhere, and it is claimed that Corinth is the first extant example. The Hellenistic theatre included a deep skene and an orchestra circle with 'wings' joining on to each end of the stone proscenium; in connexion with these the author rightly discounts any influence from the Syracuse theatre. After the sack of Corinth the theatre was in a somewhat ruinous state (cf. *Vitr.* V. 5.8), but evidently continued to be used, possibly with a temporary stage of the *phlyar* type. At the end of Augustus' principate and the beginning of Tiberius', a new cavea (the seating has not been preserved) and a *scenae frons* of the straight Asiatic-Hellenistic type were built. About A.D. 77 the theatre was badly damaged by an earthquake. A cornice is inscribed *TRAIANO AVG GERMANICO ET COLONIAE LAVD IVL (Lous Iulia Corinthiensis was the name of the Roman colony; cf. O. Broneer in Hesperia X, 388), but the general re-building seems Hadrianic, a date which would suit the sculptured friezes found in the theatre; the latter, which are being published separately, evidently come from the scenae frons. The conversion of the orchestra into an arena, as mentioned above, is attributed to A.D. 211-17. The orchestra was later made waterproof for aquatic performances.*

How many *cunei* were there in the Roman cavea? This volume is oddly inconsistent on the point. The Greek cavea had fourteen *kerkides*; and on p. 46 we are told: 'The lines of the stairways [in the Roman cavea] were established on the Greek, save that below the lower diazoma the number was certainly diminished by half. Not enough has been cleared above the diazoma to be certain, but the number was probably doubled. It was almost certainly so in the upper *macranium*' (sic); and in n. 13 below, on 'diminished by half', the author adds: 'This gives the normal Vitruvian arrangement of seven *cunei*.' We can presumably take this last number as definitive;

but in Pl. I, drawn by J. Travlos (cf. Stillwell in *AJA* XXXIII, 96) the Roman theatre is shown as having eight *cunei* from top to bottom. True, this is only a topographical plan; but in Pl. VIIa and B, specially drawn to show plans of the second century A.D. Roman theatre and of the arena, the number of *cunei*, the lower portion only of the cavea being shown, is in each case given as six.

In such a study, in which there are many footnotes with references to works on the theatre, it is surprising to find no mention either of Pickard-Cambridge's *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* or of Fiechter's monographs on the theatre of Dionysus and on various individual Greek theatres. There are many places where a reference to one of these or a comparison with other theatres would have been useful. On p. 40 (cf. p. 12), where it is reasonably argued that two sets of stairs connecting stage-buildings and orchestra are *Χαράνοι κλίμακες*, mention could have been made of Eretria, where a single set of such stairs exists. At p. 77, n. 39, a reference should also have been given to Fiechter, *Baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters*, fig. 119 (Mazois' theory of the working of the *aulaenium*); cf. W. Beare, *The Roman Stage*, Appendix E (= *Hermathena* LVIII, 104-15). On p. 96, where the author connects the conversion of the orchestra into an arena with Caracalla's campaign of A.D. 214, and compares the theatres of Curium in Cyprus and of Philippi, a comparison could have been made with the methods adopted at the theatre of Dionysus in Athens (Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.* 258-9) and elsewhere.

But the author is correct in comparing at many points the theatre of Sicyon. He mentions the two blocks let into the Hellenistic orchestra gutter (p. 20, n. 5), the deepness of this gutter (p. 132), the 'fountain' (p. 53, n. 20), and the fact that the entire area of the *hyposkenion* was not made available (p. 132). This last is surely due, as at Sicyon, to the presence of rock immediately under the stage-buildings. We can think also of the ramps which led up to the Hellenistic stage, and which can be roughly paralleled by Epidaurus, Oropus, and Sicyon (cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.* 204).

The text is defaced with such words as *aditi* for the plural of *aditus* (table of contents and pp. 10, 44, 58, 77 n. 39, 86), *hospitalium* for the singular of *hospitalia* (pp. 12, 58, 61 fig. 54, 62, 68 and fig. 61, 69), *Oxelos* as a transliteration of *ὄχλος* (p. 41, n. 1), *κωνυκεῖον*, & for *κων* (pp. 84, 96; correctly in the footnote to the latter, which, however, contains other misspellings). *Spargiones* for *sparsiones* is no doubt a misprint (pp. 55, 94), since the correct form appears on pp. 41-3. *Versura* is a substantive, which on p. 58 and elsewhere denotes side-walls flanking the stage (cf. Vitruvius V. 6.8; such terms need definition), so that one cannot speak of a *porta versura* (p. 13). Three times on p. 97 *cochlea* seems to be used as a plural. Stillwell, with others, understands the word as denoting revolving doors; although it means 'snail' and hence 'spiral', we do not know exactly what sort of opening it signified in the theatre, since Varro *R. R.* III. 5.3 says only *ostium humile et angustum et potissimum eius generis quod cochleam appellant, ut solet esse in cavea in qua tauri pugnare solent*. *Kontomobolon* (p. 87, and the same in Greek letters on p. 97, n. 22) should be *kontamobolon*; cf. *DA* I 1485, *RE* s.v. 'Monobolon', Capps in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, loc. cit. *Koilon* as a word for the auditorium of the Greek theatre is commonly used by German writers, and is retained in Dinsmoor's index to *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, but has no ancient authority.

On p. 8, note 7 presumably refers to the Roman seats, made from re-used Greek seat blocks, which are mentioned on p. 49 and illustrated in fig. 41. At p. 28 n. 13, for 'Falkner' read 'Falkener', the translator and editor of the botanist Onorio Belli's manuscript on Cretan theatres dated 1586 (wrong date in the reviewer's article in *BSA* XLIII, 162 n. 5). At p. 95 n. 25, *ΕΠΙΛΑΕΟΛΟΓ* looks like a misprint. At p. 137 n. 25, for '000' read '136' (*op. cit.* refers to n. 19), for 'Wiener' read 'Wiener'.

We may conclude that, whereas the Greek theatre at Corinth has little new to add to our store of knowledge, the Roman adaptation of it has much; and that Dinsmoor (*op. cit.* 314-19) is justified in dealing fully, on a comparative basis, with that period of the building there. Those who want to study details of a Romanised Greek theatre or of the Corinth excavations will certainly need Stillwell's volume.

O. A. W. DILKE.

Corinth, XII, The Minor Objects. By GLADYS R. DAVIDSON. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952. Pp. xiv + 366, 148 pll.

Corinth, XIV, The Asklepieion and Lerna. By C. ROEBUCK. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1951. Pp. x + 183, 69 pll. \$10.

The rate of progress of the monumental publication of *Corinth* has greatly accelerated recently, and it is a pleasure to

welcome two volumes at once, as well as those reviewed in this and the last number of the *Journal* by other hands. Miss Davidson's publication of the minor objects has been eagerly awaited by all who are interested in any branch of Corinthian art or life and by all archaeologists who are responsible for the study and publication of small finds from an excavation or miscellaneous objects in a museum, and will make their work much easier in the years to come. It is in many respects a model publication: 'every object omitted from the catalogue is either a duplicate of one included or so poorly preserved as not to warrant the space required for its description. Each catalogued object is illustrated.' Better still; many comparanda are illustrated in the plates.

Though nearly three thousand objects are catalogued and illustrated, these finds are far from presenting a complete picture of ancient and medieval Corinth. The finds from such important areas as the Kerameikos and the North Cemetery are excluded, because they are receiving separate treatment. And the nature of the site, with its long record of habitation, causes the early periods to be very scappily represented; for a picture of Corinthian industry in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. it is necessary to turn to Perachora. Half the objects are of Byzantine and later date; of the remainder, more than half are of the Roman period; only 650 of the nearly 3000 items are of the Greek period, and about 400 of these are terracotta figurines and related objects.

The riches included in this volume and the long period covered by it make it impossible here to give any full account of its contents. It is possible here only to mention some of the more important categories and to make some observations on the remains of the Greek period.

The most numerous class comprises the terracotta figures and moulds, best considered together with those from the Potters' Quarter (*Corinth* XV. i and ii, to be reviewed in a later volume of the *Journal*). The bronze work for which Corinth was famous is poorly represented by a few animals and small fragments of bronze statues which have escaped melting down. There are two interesting bronze vases from geometric graves of the eighth century; one, a phiale, with central spike in place of omphalos, enables Miss Davidson to correct recent views about the date of introduction to Greece of the phiale, and its early development; an earlier phiale since found in a ninth-century grave in Athens (*Hesperia* 1952, pl. 77 b and pp. 287 f.) supports her view.

The glass, both Roman and medieval, is more copious than the bronze. Corinth has produced the biggest collection of Roman glass of any site in Greece, and much of it comes from deposits which are approximately datable. Miss Davidson's account—enriched by observations by D. B. Harden—is valuable on the technical side as well as for its careful description and classification. The Byzantine glass comes largely from two factories whose remains were found in the area of the classical Agora, and affords interesting evidence of the transfer of this art in the eleventh and twelfth centuries from Egypt to Greece, and thence to Italy and northern Europe.

One of the most valuable sections is that on loom-weights, which are for the first time classified and dated (it may be doubted whether the supposed prehistoric loom-weights, pl. 146 c and pl. 76, no. 1192, are older than the eighth century). The relation of Attic and Corinthian types in the fourth century B.C., when the Corinthian type was imitated at Athens, stamped inscription (factory mark?) and all, is interesting. Spindle whorls, needles, thimbles, bobbins, weaving picks, and other implements used in spinning, weaving, and sewing are carefully distinguished in their use. There is a thorough classification of the types of Byzantine finger-rings, ear-rings, and buckles, and careful publication of a large number of Byzantine seals and seal-impressions, and much information on a number of varied and curious subjects. For instance, one may wonder why no dice of the Byzantine period have been found, though the Byzantines played draughts, marbles, and other games; and learn facts, unfamiliar to the classical archaeologist, about the origin and etymology of treacle (pp. 315-16).

85, pl. 6: R. V. Nicholls assures me that this is one of the very rare oriental dedalic imports to Greece, from Syria or Phoenicia. Miss Davidson says 'the clay seems Corinthian', but Nicholls disagrees, and says that its grey rather coarse clay is typical of the Syro-Palestine area. 213, 215, pl. 17: may these be model cakes, like Class XXV of the terracottas from the Potters' Quarter, and others from Perachora? 463, pl. 43: may well be Egyptian; but it seems curious to say (p. 21, n. 31) that 'the Maltese dog was . . . probably known to the Greeks only through representations'; the representations on Attic vases (one with the inscription *μαρμα*) appear to be drawn from life; see Keller, *Antike Tierwelt*, 92 ff. and *ÖJh* 1905, 242 ff. 614, pl. 54: the snakes oddly resemble those on some Proto-

corinthian clay vases of nearly a thousand years earlier. 832, pl. 61, alabaster alabastron: why not 6-5 c. like similar examples elsewhere? 1195, pl. 76: could the impression be of a bridled Pegasus? 1308, pl. 81: mirror-case rather than mirror? P. 190: fish-hooks were found at Perachora (*Perachora* I, pl. 80, 6) and no doubt it is because Corinth stands two miles from the sea that more have not been found there. Pl. 147 c (see p. 204), Corinthian weight in Athens: 5 c., not archaic; see L. H. Jeffery, *BSA* XLIII, 205, n. 4. 1802-7, pl. 102, and p. 227, might have had a reference to *Perachora* I, 74 and pl. 18. 10-15, 22-4. 1999, pl. 107: cf. *Perachora* I, pl. 84. 32; no. 1999 is mentioned *ibid.* 74, n. 3 and 177. 2887-9, pl. 136: discussion of Corinthian bits should refer to N. Yalouris, *Mus. Helv.* VII, 30 ff. 2909-2918, pl. 138: with these terracotta pyramids, no doubt votive, cf. the late archaic votive inscribed pyramid found at S. Mauro Forte in S. Italy (*JS* 1882, pl. 11; *IG* XIV, 652). 2926-2938, pll. 139-41: no evidence of handles on the votive shields; so also on the fourth century and Hellenistic shields from the Potters' Quarter (*Corinth* XV, ii, Class XXXVI, 23-5); earlier most model shields have handles.

An index by periods might have been useful (I have made and use one), but the grave-groups and other closed deposits are thoroughly cross-referenced. The context of some of the smaller groups might have been given more fully, as the coins and vases which provide most of the dating evidence are not published in this volume. But where so much is given, in relatively manageable space and form, it would be unfair to ask for more. The comparanda in particular are models of relevance.

Dr. Roebuck's volume on the Asklepieion and Lerna is an admirable account of an outlying part of the site, which in its completeness leaves little to comment on. This is the more remarkable, in that he was not the original excavator of these buildings. The Asklepieion was laid out in the late fourth century B.C., with a small Doric temple prostyle in *antis*, which had been preceded by another little shrine, probably of Apollo, a dedication to whom was found in its votive deposit. The surroundings of the fountain of Lerna, with a peristyle court into which dining-rooms look, were laid out at the same time as part of the same plan. The date at which Asklepios appeared in the sanctuary beside Apollo, whom he was to displace, is uncertain; the appearance of votives especially suited to Asklepios (parts of the human body) and inscriptions which record dedications to Asklepios in the last quarter of the fifth century indicates that it was at least as early as that period.

The earliest material from the area is of the middle of the sixth century, from graves; the votive deposit begins at about that date, but most of it belongs to the fifth and fourth centuries. There are few vases, though the miniature and other late conventionalising vases are interesting, nor other votives of intrinsic value. The many representations of parts of the body offered in gratitude to Asklepios show an unfortunate lack of medical differentiation; it is clear that they were ready-made and, with one or two exceptions, are not appropriate representations of the particular diseased state which had been cured.

The destruction of the early group of buildings and closing of the votive deposit is dated after 315, on the evidence of a single coin of Thebes (p. 129). Other evidence, of lamps, pottery, etc., might suggest a date nearer the middle of the century, perhaps in the third quarter. Is it justified to prefer a later date because of the presence of a single coin?

A topographical point of interest concerns the temple of Zeus, which, according to Pausanias (ii. 4. 5), was closely associated with the temple of Asklepios. A few fragments of a Doric temple were found in the excavation (pp. 5, 147, and pl. 62, 1-2). The dimensions do not accord with those of the fragments recently studied by Dinsmoor (*Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 104 ff.); they belong, it appears, to a building of about the size of the temple of Apollo, Dinsmoor's to a much larger building. No trace of either of these temples (if indeed there were two)¹ was found by trenching in the area where from Leake's time to this a large temple is thought to have stood. Travlos' plan (p. 3, fig. 1) marks 'Zeus' in the area west of Lerna, although the evidence of the excavation was negative. This offers a topographical and architectural problem which it is hoped that future excavators at Corinth will solve.

One may in passing express the hope that a complete plan of ancient Corinth may soon be published. For many purposes one is now obliged to use the sketch map in de Waele's article in *RE*, Suppl. VI, 189-90.

T. J. DUNBABIN.

Griechische Goldbleche des 8 Jahrhunderts v. Chr.
By DIETER OHLY. Pp. 171, 31 pll. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1953. DM. 28.

The important and enigmatic series of eighth-century Attic gold reliefs was systematically treated for the first time in a thesis published by W. Reichel in the early years of the war. This work was not altogether satisfactory: war conditions prevented its adequate illustration and it contains gaps and inconsistencies which would no doubt have been remedied had the author not been killed in the war. In any case, only one or two copies of Reichel's book exist in this country.

Ohly's study will be welcomed not only for his meticulous re-examination of the material but also for the rays of light it throws on the development of Attic art in the eighth century. Although Ohly's plough goes deeper, he has in fact considerably narrowed Reichel's field both in time and space. Of the thirty-five eighth-century reliefs discussed, thirty are Attic (including one previously attributed to Corinth) and the remaining five Eretrian. Contemporary gold reliefs from Crete, Rhodes, and Corinth are mentioned only in footnotes. Ohly adds to Reichel's list material from the Ashmolean and Kerameikos, two reliefs in a Swiss private collection (formerly belonging to Professor Pfuhl), another (recently published by J. M. Cook) in Mme Stathatou's collection in Athens, and, in a final footnote, a new relief in the possession of a dealer which is published by Hampe in *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*.

Ohly devotes much ingenuity to the reconstruction of the matrices from which the reliefs were struck, and from a group of them re-creates with all the skill of a conjurer a wooden chest covered with gold reliefs. His classification, which corresponds in the main with Reichel's, establishes four Attic groups. The Eretrian finds are attributed to a local workshop contemporary with or later than the latest Attic. The arrangement of these groups in a chronological sequence is more controversial. Again following Reichel he places the masterly 'orientalising' animal-frieze reliefs first and the incompetent 'geometric' ones last. The conception of a gradual decline in artistic technique in the course of the eighth century is an interesting one. (Kunze and Ohly rightly discount Reichel's suggestion that the animal-frieze reliefs come from oriental matrices. Ohly goes farther, if I understand him rightly, and will not allow that these early Greek masterpieces are even influenced by oriental art.) Ohly attempts to trace this tendency in other branches of Attic art. I might add that a similar process can be observed in Crete, though at a rather earlier date. Here an imaginative and original 'proto-orientalising' style is nipped in the bud by the wintry influence of Attic geometric design. But it must be admitted that the parallel artistic trends which Ohly professes to see in allied arts—such as the relief pithoi from Tenos—are little more than interesting possibilities. To obtain the desired sequence, the dates proposed even by 'early-dating' archaeologists like Kunze must often be drastically set back. Nevertheless, the arguments are stimulating and Ohly's thesis, though at this stage largely speculative, may turn out to be solidly founded.

The author conscientiously faces the possibility of his chronological sequence being inverted. The stylistic arguments he advances in defence are not very convincing—and might well have been stronger—but the evidence from tomb groups—although painfully imprecise in view of our ignorance of contemporary Attic ceramic development and bafflingly inconsistent in the manner of all tomb groups—does make it at least unlikely that the animal-frieze reliefs are the latest. How far back in the century they belong remains doubtful. Ohly appears to consider that they were made early in the eighth century, but as far as I can see there is nothing in the ceramic evidence to support a date earlier than about 760. An earlier date is not, however, inherently improbable, since a fragmentary 'orientalising' gold relief was found in a tomb near Knossos (shortly to be published) in a context not later than the first third of the century.

Some of Ohly's speculations, which cover a wide range, seem to border on fantasy. For instance, the supposed spiritual affinity between a sixth-century Rhodian relief-pithos and a Dipylon amphora. Again it hardly seems profitable to compare one of the Dipylon ivory figurines with a huntsman wrestling with a lion, still less with the lions themselves on gold reliefs. Nor is it sound to compare the figure style of Attic vase painting with that of the reliefs, because the craft of the painter and that of the engraver (since, as Ohly points out, we are concerned here with engravers rather than goldsmiths) are demonstrably poles apart at this period.

At other times the reader will find it difficult to appreciate stylistic niceties owing to the inadequacy of the illustrations—inevitably inadequate from the nature and condition of the originals, but it may be said that here no miracle has been

¹ In ii. 4. 5 Pausanias names two temples of Zeus, one *ὅπου τὸ ἱερόν*, the other near the Asklepieion and recorded in the same sentence with it. But the first, being of Jupiter Capitolinus, must belong to the Roman colony, and should not be brought into the discussion of Greek architectural fragments.

achieved as was achieved by Kunze with his photographs of the Cretan bronze reliefs. There is, however, a welcome number of detail photographs. No doubt there would have been more had the originals been accessible. Most of the reliefs are also illustrated by small drawings which are useful for giving the content though hardly the style of the originals. It was an excellent plan to include photographs of many of the vases from the relevant tomb groups. The book ends with a praiseworthy array of indexes and concordances.

A few minor blemishes: note 107/28; the reference Kunze, *Gnomon* 4 would be misleading to anyone who had not noticed in the list of abbreviations that Kunze, *Gnomon* refers to vol. 21 of the periodical. Similarly, the reference 'Benton' (104/5 and elsewhere) somewhat inappropriately covers other articles in *BSA* XXXV, such as J. M. Cook's on Protoattic Pottery. 108 and notes thereto: for Loftus read Loftus.

J. K. BROCK.

Die griechischen Bronzen der klassischen Zeit und des Hellenismus (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der statuarischen Bronzen im Antiquarium, Band II). By K. A. NEUGEBAUER. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1951. Pp. 110, 40 pls. DM. 32.50.

When Neugebauer died in 1945, he had virtually completed the text of the second volume of his catalogue of the Berlin bronzes, which was to contain all the post-archaic Greek statuettes from the mainland and the east, including those of the Roman imperial period; and he had also prepared for publication several of the statuettes from Magna Graecia which were to share a third volume with Italic bronzes. All this valuable material has now been made available to students thanks to the good offices of Professor Blümel; and its publication, despite the difficulties of post-war Berlin, is a fitting tribute to a lifetime devoted to the study of classical bronzes.

As a cataloguer Neugebauer believed that no detail was too trivial to be passed over in silence; and it is, I think, a fair general criticism of the text of this volume to say that it tends to be overlaid with information, some of which might have been left to the pictures to convey, and some of which might have been omitted altogether. Yet one cannot help being impressed by its meticulous care and the frequent felicity of the characterisations. And, when all is said and done, too much information is better than too little.

It would be rash to try to criticise Neugebauer's stylistic observations in any detail without having seen the bronzes for oneself; and the opportunity of doing so seems as remote as ever. In the meantime, the following are a few random points suggested by reading the volume:

(i) Is there really sufficient evidence to assign the Dodona Zeus to Corinth? Neugebauer draws attention to the close resemblance between the heads of the Zeus and the Perachora Heracles, especially in profile; but the Zeus has neither the narrow ribs, nor the V-shaped stomach, nor the slanting eyes characteristic of the Heracles and the related Modena kouros (Payne, *Perachora* I, 141). Nor, after all, is the Corinthian origin of the Heracles more than a surmise.

(ii) The praying peplos *Kore* (no. 4) is ascribed to Sicily (even if with a good deal of reserve) on the strength of the symmetrical folds of her skirt; but, notwithstanding the mirror found in a Sicilian tomb (*AJA*, 1937, 337, fig. 3), is this convention necessarily confined to Sicily or even the Peloponnese? It occurs, to mention only a few examples, on *BMC Bronzes* no. 242, probably found at Corinth (cf. Poulsen, *Strange Stil*, 18; in any case not Sunium as stated in *BMC Bronzes*), on *BMC Bronzes* no. 241 from Sunium (not Athens as stated in *BMC Bronzes*), on Athens Nat. Mus. 7399 from Attica; on Acropolis 6491 (de Ridder 793) and Acropolis 6514 (de Ridder 787). Miss Lamb is surely right in claiming the last-named *Kore* and the closely related *kouros*, *Cab. Méd.* no. 928, for Athens (*Greek and Roman Bronzes*, 154 f.); and with them must go *BM* 242. I do not mean to imply that the Berlin bronze is Attic (against which its Peloponnesian provenance argues), only that a dress convention is too mechanical a factor and too easily transferable to indicate by itself where a bronze was made.

(iii) For the same reason I feel doubtful whether the 'spinning girl' can be ascribed to Argos merely because two Argive terracottas from Tiryns happen to show approximately the same peplos arrangement. To make the argument watertight one would have to prove that a similar arrangement of the peplos could not have occurred elsewhere; and Olympia is sufficient to discourage the attempt.

(iv) The combination of Polycleitan anatomy with Lysippic proportions makes one wonder whether the hollow-cast male figure (no. 10) may not be Hellenistic rather than first half of the fourth century as Neugebauer proposes.

(v) The Dodona hoplite: it is worth recording that according to some MS. notes (at present deposited in the British Museum) for a study of Corinthian bronzes, Humfry Payne thought this piece Corinthian. The hoplite looks close to the warriors on the splendid large crater recently discovered at Vix (*ILN*, June 13, 1953, 999).

(vi) With the warrior from Tarentum (no. 45) compare H. van Gulik, *Allard Pierson Museum Catalogue of Bronzes*, no. 3, p. 2 and pl. 11.

(vii) Nos. 73 and 74: to the list of parallels add a bronze from Egypt recently acquired by the British Museum.

Compared with those of the first volume, the colotype plates are a little disappointing, but not more so than most post-war reproductions. I noticed few printing slips, and only one which might cause momentary trouble: p. 8 'Heratempel' for 'Heraklestempel'.

D. E. L. HAYNES.

Catalogue des Monuments votifs du Musée d'Adalia.

By H. METZGER. Paris: de Boccard, 1952. 68 pp., 12 pls. and a map. Price not stated.

This excellent little book contains a description, accompanied in each case by an adequate photograph and a discussion, of the votive reliefs now in the Antalya Museum. These stones had indeed remained already too long unpublished. Following in the path of L. Robert's illuminating article on Kakasbos (*Hellenica* III, 38 ff.) M. Metzger does much to clear up the prevailing confusion between the various local deities of southern Anatolia. His discussions are concise and marked by admirable good sense and restraint; the conclusions never go beyond the limits imposed by the evidence. Two principles are emphasised in the foreword: first, the importance in all doubtful cases of the weapon or other attribute carried by the deity, and second, the strictly local character of the cults which these rustic reliefs attest. M. Metzger has accordingly confined himself for the most part to classifying the monuments and assembling the relevant evidence from the locality in question. Of the new discoveries the most striking is that afforded by No. 16, a dedication 'Αρτέμις Κι -- (κ)αὶ δῶδεκα θεοῖς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ὁτῶν[v]. Both Artemis and the father are new in these Twelve God dedications. The thirteenth figure in the middle being in this case unmistakably feminine, evidently the Artemis of the inscription, Weinreich's explanation of the previously known male central figure as representing the Roman Emperor must plainly be abandoned; he is no doubt, as M. suggests, the father of the Twelve Gods.

A few individual points call for remark. P. 42, n. 3: the statuette dedicated Θεῷ Ἐρίκῳ is at present actually in the Antalya Museum. P. 48, n. 1: M. objects to Pace's reading *Αἰρ.* 'Αρτίοχος Νέωνος Σπολίου[v] that after the patronymic we expect either an ethnic or an epithet for the deity (Men). But in fact, in the Burdur district from which this stone comes, the grandfather's name is frequently added without τοῦ (see *JHS* LXXII, 118). P. 63, No. 34: the obscure ΑΥΤΩΝ of the inscription is surely to be explained by No. 16; read [δῶδεκα θεοῖς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ] ὁτῶν[v] καὶ ἑν[ταυθὲν] ὁ θεὸς τοῦ θεῶς. Lastly, the difficult inscription of No. 16 itself. M.'s reading καὶ ἑνταυθὲν τοῖς Ἀρτέμιδι is certainly not on the stone, being much too long. (τοῖς is particularly objectionable.) From my own squeeze I am inclined to read merely καὶ ὁπῶν Ἀρτέμιδι. The mysterious opening letter-group ΟΥΟΥ... ΟΥ must apparently conceal some designation of the dedicant, possibly his trade: I had thought of ὁ κοῦ[πε]ός, i.e. κουπεύς. The alternative ὁ Σού[μ]ιος would be anomalous. The grandfather's name after Φάλλω τοῦ looks like ΟΥΛΑΙΟΥ, perhaps an error for ΟΥΑΛΕΟΥ.

The six or eight misprints are not serious: in No. 22, l. 1, read 'Αρτίοχος for 'Αρτίοχο, and in No. 23 read Pl. VIII for Pl. VII. But it is not to be regretted that the author has not seen fit to use the modern Turkish spelling of place-names? Is there really any longer justification for transliterations like 'Khodja Tasch'? Now that we have at last a standard spelling that has every prospect of permanence, and which must eventually prevail, surely the sooner it is adopted by scholars, the sooner we shall be rid of this tiresome nightmare.

It may be added that a number of new reliefs of this kind have turned up in the last few years and will, I hope, shortly be published. They necessitate no modification of M. Metzger's conclusions.

G. E. BEAN.

Malerei und Zeichnung. By ANDREAS RUMPF. Die Denkmäler; der griechisch-italische Kreis seit dem 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. bis zum Ausgang der römischen Kaiserzeit. Handbuch der Archäologie (Otto-Herbig) 6. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1953. Pp. xxxvi + 199, 72 pl. DM. 38.

In less than 200 pages accompanied by about 700 illustrations the author tells the absorbing story of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman paintings and drawings—i.e. vase-paintings and engravings—from about 1000 B.C. to about A.D. 450. This Herculean task, as is pointed out in the preface, was first entrusted to Pfuhl (whose contribution grew into the three-volume book published in 1923), then to Rodenwaldt (who had to relinquish it in 1929 because of other duties), then jointly to von Salis and Rumpf, and finally to Rumpf alone. Rumpf's manuscript was finished and delivered in 1932, but long delays retarded the printing, and during the war the manuscript was destroyed. What we now have is a new work begun by Rumpf in 1950 and at long last brought to a happy conclusion.

It is an extraordinary achievement—a model of conciseness, comprehensiveness, and adequate documentation. Nothing significant seems to have been omitted, and though important objects have often had to be described in a few words, they are placed in their proper setting and footnotes refer the reader to the relevant bibliography. Moreover, though the task of providing a trustworthy handbook is never lost sight of, the text is also personal in the sense that it gives the author's considered opinions and thus presents a consistent picture. Rumpf must, of course, have been greatly helped by Pfuhl's volumes, as well as by Miss Swindler's *Ancient Painting* (both of which are constantly quoted), but these books appeared more than twenty years ago, and much has happened in the interval.

The author begins with a short general introduction dealing chiefly with the sources of our knowledge of ancient painting and an outline of studies regarding it, from the time of Winckelmann to that of our day. It is a heartening tale, showing the immense progress made in archaeological research during the last two centuries due to enrichment of material, a more and more scientific approach, and of course the widespread use of photography. The actual story starts with proto-geometric and geometric of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., as it was expressed all over the Mediterranean world—in Argos, Laconia, Crete, the Cycladic islands, Cyprus, East Greece, and Italy. (To the bibliography on Cycladic we may now add Kondoleon's valuable article.)

The manifold wares of the succeeding epoch are next described. Instead of calling it 'the period of Oriental influences', as is ordinarily done, Rumpf proposes the term 'idäischer Stil', since, in its early phase at least, the decoration resembles that on the shields from the Idaean cave in Crete. He points out that 'Oriental influence' covers a much longer period than that of the late eighth and the seventh centuries, and also that many of the wild seventh-century designs (particularly on Attic vases) are not primarily due to contact with the Orient. On the other hand, it remains true that the curvilinear floral ornaments and the rows of animals and monsters that characterize many seventh-century vases have an unmistakable Oriental flavour, and that therefore the old term is not inept; so, being by now familiar, it will probably remain with us. Rumpf's next period, starting about 650 B.C., is the 'Daedalic', which brought restraint and order into the *Sturm und Drang* of the Idaean style. It produced such masterpieces as the Chigi vase, the Piræus amphora, and the metopes of Thermion, and it ended with Sophilos.

Attic black-figured and red-figured vases and related material of the sixth and fifth centuries are described at considerable length, with full use of Beazley's attributions. Literary sources and extant monuments are correlated where possible, so that we obtain a vivid picture of this great epoch. The same applies to the fourth century B.C., the South Italian wares, and the Etruscan paintings. (Lysippos' career, by the way, we now know from a Delphian inscription, began not in the fifties of the fourth century (p. 132), but as early as the sixties.)

Of particular interest is Rumpf's treatment of the wall paintings of the Roman period. It is refreshing to see taken for granted what seems to many of us an obvious fact—but which has nevertheless been challenged—that the figures in these wall paintings from Rome, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Boscoreale, and Stabiae are copies of famous Greek works, just as were many sculptures of that time. Instead of lengthy polemics, Rumpf simply accepts the fact and puts illustrations of such paintings on the same plates with original Greek products, letting the pictures speak for themselves. (The Odyssey landscapes appear as 'copies of Hellenistic pictures of c. 150 B.C.' in the caption of pl. 55.) Here and there supporting evidence is cited, for instance, the existence of several copies of the same composition or the concurrence of an extant work with the description by an ancient writer of a famous Greek original.

Naturally, and Rumpf also makes this plain, such copying was more or less confined to the actual figures. The incidental decorations must in many instances have been original work, necessitated by the adaptation of the pictures to the decoration of Roman houses.

In this connexion it is interesting to see that Rumpf concurs with the now prevailing view that the scenes on the Centuripe vases, which so strikingly resemble some of the Pompeian paintings, belong to the third century B.C.

The story continues through the second, third, and fourth centuries A.D. and ends in the middle of the fifth century. The chief paintings and mosaics of this later period are enumerated and described, and, since they are less well known than the Pompeian ones, this section of the book will prove particularly valuable. One question we may, however, ask. Are there really in the paintings of the first three centuries of our era such clearly defined styles that we can call them Augustan, Flavian, Hadrianic, Antonine, and Severan? Must we not bear in mind that in those times also the majority of the actual figures continue to be copies of former works? Apart from the stylistic evidence that enables us to distinguish classical and Hellenistic prototypes and the specific statements by Vitruvius and other writers, there is the fact that even in the meagre store that has survived we find replicas belonging to different periods. The same figures, often in similar compositions, appear not only in pictures placed in Mau's second, third, and fourth styles, but in those of later periods. It is only gradually, it would seem, in the course of the third century A.D., and particularly in the fourth, that a marked change of style heralding Byzantine conceptions makes itself felt. Until then 'Graeco-Roman' motifs persist to an astonishing degree—in painting as they do in sculpture.

The author apologises for the absence of an index on the understandable score that it would have had to be almost as long as the text. Perhaps, however, an index limited to names of artists would have been possible and helpful.

Mr. Rumpf is to be congratulated on his fine book which will be a boon to us all and which is a worthy companion of Lippold's *Antike Plastik*.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Germany 8 = Karlsruhe 2. By G. HAFNER. Pp. 51, 44 pl. Munich: Beck, 1952. DM. 36.

The second fascicule of the Karlsruhe CV contains those vases in the collection which were made elsewhere than on the Greek mainland and includes 3 plates (43-5) of Cypriot, 3 (46-8) of East Greek, 1 (49) of Villanovan and Impasto, 1 (50) of Bucchero, 2 (51-2) of various Italic wares, 2 (53-4) of Etruscan, 27 (55-81) of South Italian red-figure, 5 (82-6) of Gnathian, Campanian black-figure, and Hellenistic pottery. The plates, as is usual in Germany, are admirably produced; the illustrations are clear and of reasonable size. There is some confusion over the classification of the South Italian vases, especially Campanian and Lucanian: pl. 75-6, described as Campanian, contain both Apulian (pl. 75, 6; 76, 1-5) and Lucanian (pl. 75, 2-3); the vases on pl. 80-1, reputedly Lucanian, are in fact Apulian, with the possible exception of pl. 80, 3, which remains something of a mystery.

Pl. 43-5. Perhaps the best short survey of Cypriot pottery as a whole is that by J. R. Stewart in *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum*, pp. 115-99, according to whom the Karlsruhe vases may be classified as follows: pl. 43, 1-5: E.C. III; pl. 44, 1: L.C. I; 2, M.C. I-II; 3, probably M.C. III; 5, M.C. I-II; 6-10, Base-Ring I; 11, Cypro-Geometric I; pl. 45, 1-6: Cypro-Archaic I-Bichrome IV.

Pl. 54, 7. The skyphos B150 is surely not Etruscan, but Campanian; other vases of similar shape and decoration are Naples 85995; B.M. old nos. 1283, 1284, 1287; Catania 4257; Nocera, Raccolta Fienga 598; Paris, Bib. Nat. 1167. Later fourth century B.C.

Pl. 55, 1, and 57, 1. The column-krater B8 is not by the Sisyphus Painter himself but by a member of the Tarporley School under his influence; for the drawing cf. the column-krater Bologna PU500 (Pellegrini, fig. 74; CV 3, IV Gr. pl. 2, 1-3) and the bell-kraters Sydney 46, 48 (NMH, p. 323, fig. 83) and Lecce 678 (CV 2, pl. 16, 3 and 15, 2). Ca. 380-70 B.C.

Pl. 55, 3 and 57, 2. The false attribution of the bell-krater B9 to the Amykos Painter is the fault of Trendall. In *Frühit. Vasen* (p. 34, no. 99) he confused this vase (Winnefeld 261) with B300 (W. 210), which Hafner has rightly assigned to that artist. B9 is by a quite different painter, influenced by the later work of the Tarporley Painter; other bell-kraters by his hand are B.M. F165 and Vatican V3 (Trendall, *Vasi Italiani*, p. 82, pl. 231). Cf. also Würzburg 824 (Langlotz, pl. 247) and a pelike in Altenburg (Bielefeld, *Gr. u. Etr. Tongefässe*, pl. 12, above).

Pl. 55, 4-5 and 58. The bell-kraters B96 and B127 are both

by close followers of the Tarporley Painter. The former may be attributed to the Valletta Painter, named after a bell-krater in Valletta with (a) maenad and satyr, (b) 2 draped youths; the latter to the Marburg Painter, who also painted the bell-krater Marburg 786. These two artists are very closely related, and flourished during the second quarter of the fourth century.

Pl. 59, 1 and 60, 1 (B5). For this particular variant of the panathenaic amphora shape with a tall, rather upright, mouth see also B.M. F331 and Brussels R403 (CV 2, IV F, pl. 2, 2). The style is very close to that of the Lycurgus Painter (see Trendall, *Vasi Italiani del Vaticano*, p. 5, n. 11), early in the third quarter of the fourth century.

Pl. 59, 5-6. The pelike B901 is of a shape common in late Apulian and Gnathian; in style of drawing and subsidiary decoration it is most closely related to Cambridge G245 (CV 1, IV De, pl. 46, 1), and would seem to be a product of the Darius Painter's workshop ca. 330-320 B.C. The volute-krater B4 (pl. 61, 5; 62-63; 64, 1-4) may well be by the painter's own hand; so, too, the fragments B1549-50 (pl. 64, 5-7).

Pl. 65 (B94). For shape, subject and subsidiary decoration cf. with Bologna PU 565, 567, 568 (CV 3, IV Dr, pl. 6, 1-2 and pl. 7).

Pl. 66, 1-2 (B136). By the painter of Bologna PU 579 (CV 3, IV Dr, pl. 20, 3-4). Cf. also Bologna 577 (CV, pl. 21, 3-4), Brunswick AT291 (CV, pl. 37, 1 and 38, 4) and Halle inv. 244. Last quarter of the fourth century. The bell-krater B218 (pl. 67, 1-2) is also related in style.

Pl. 68, 1 (B223). Not Apulian, but Campanian; by the same hand as the bell-krater in the Château Branicki, Wilanow (CV, pl. 4, 9) and related in style to the APZ Painter. Last third of the fourth century.

Pl. 69, 1-2. The nuptial lebes type 2 (standless, see ARV, p. viii) B41 belongs stylistically to the wider circle of the Iliupersis Painter; near in style are B.M. F132, Brussels A147 (CV 2, IV Db, pl. 8, 4) and Brussels R352 (CV 2, IV F, pl. 1, 3), and an oenochoe in Taranto showing the youthful Herakles with women and warriors. The date must be not far from the middle of the fourth century. Pl. 69, 3-6 are examples of nuptial lebetes of the later period, when this shape is exceedingly popular.

Pl. 70, 2-3. The oinochoai (shape 1) B12 and B65 belong to the Kantharos Group of Head Vases, (see Cambitoglou's article in this issue of the *JHS*, pp. 116-8). Other important examples from this group are Lecce 942 (CV 2, pl. 54, 1), Copenhagen inv. 8760 (CV, pl. 265, 3), Paris, Musée Rodin 953 (CV, pl. 35, 4); to it also belong Karlsruhe B72-73 (pl. 72, 7 and 6), the mug B79 (pl. 72, 12), for which shape see Cambitoglou, *BSR* 1951, p. 40 n. 4, the plates B230-1 (pl. 73, 9-10), and the pyxides B251 and 991 (pl. 74, 1-2). Pl. 70, 7 (B66) belongs to the Amphorae Group (see p. 120), which includes Brunswick AT290 (CV, pl. 39, 4-6), Bologna PU 582 (CV 3, IV Dr, pl. 16, 3-4), Vatican V59 and the column-krater once Treben, von Leesen, 42 (*Kat. pl.* 1). All should be dated to the later fourth century.

Pl. 70, 8-10. The three *choes* B63, B1880, and B1882 are now illustrated in Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, figs. 414, 416, and 466 respectively. The first and third are by the same painter, a companion of the Truro Painter, one of the later followers of the Tarporley Painter in the second half of the fourth century.

Pl. 72, 5. The kantharos B108 belongs to the Stoke-on-Trent Group of Head Vases (see p. 111), as also does the boar's head rhyton B88 (pl. 73, 6). For parallels to the shapes of the kantharoid skyphos B109 (pl. 72, 8) and the mug (oenochoe shape 8N) B64 (pl. 72, 9), see Würzburg 863 (Langlotz, pl. 245) and Copenhagen 264 (CV, pl. 265, 5) respectively.

Pl. 72, 10. This stands near to the group of Reading 51. 7. 13 (see p. 119). Late fourth century.

Pl. 74, 9. From the workshop of the Darius Painter; for the general style cf. B.M. F443, Oxford G307, Lecce 803 (CV 2, pl. 52, 1 and 3). Late fourth century.

Pl. 75, 1. Not attributed by Beazley to the Caivano Painter (*JHS* 1943, p. 81), but closely connected with him, as also is the hydria B113 (pl. 75, 4). Third quarter of the fourth century.

Pl. 75, 5 (B248) is by the same painter as Palermo 1666, with which it is almost identical.

Pl. 75, 2-3. The hydria B769 is not Campanian and, from the rather unsatisfactory reproduction, looks to be an early work of the Roccanova Painter, a Lucanian artist who is much influenced by ordinary Apulian of the circle of the Iliupersis Painter. Pl. 75, 6 is Apulian of the later fourth century, and the fish-plate B221 (pl. 75, 7) looks to us also to belong to this fabric. Also Apulian are B306, 307, 304, and 938 (pl. 76, 3-3 fabric. Also Apulian are B306, 307, 304, and 938 (pl. 76, 3-3 fabric, and 5); they are all by the Lampas Painter (see Cambitoglou, *BSR* 1951, pp. 39 ff. and pl. V), to whose works may be added a number of vases in Taranto from Canosa, which were found together with ordinary Apulian of the time of the Darius Painter,

and which therefore may probably be dated ca. 330-310. The lid B938 finds a striking parallel in Reading University 137. 51 RM. The three vases pl. 76, 7, 9, and 10 are of an Italiote fabric as yet uncertain, but we should put them nearer to Apulian than Campanian.

Pl. 77. Paestan. *PP Supp.* (BSR 1952) nos. 134 and 103 respectively. Third quarter of the fourth century.

Pl. 80, 1. The pelike B770 is not Lucanian but Apulian. The same artist (who may be called the painter of Karlsruhe B770) also painted the pelike, Sydney 88, and the skyphos, Halle 516. He is a follower of the painter of B9 (pl. 55, 3). The skyphos B775 (pl. 81, 4-5) is near in style. Third quarter of the fourth century.

Pl. 80, 2 (B126). Also not Lucanian, but Apulian of the second half of the fourth century. It is closely related to a pelike in Catania inv. 4364 (Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenbilder* pl. 50, 2) which was painted by the same hand as: (i) pelike, Vienna 903, (a) youth and woman, (b) youth with dog; (ii) lebes gamikos, Berkeley 8/447A, (a) Eros and woman, (b) seated woman and youth (an attribution already made by Miss Victoria Johnson); (iii) epichysis, Marburg 105, seated woman and youth with cista.

Pl. 80, 5-6 (B129). This also seems not Lucanian, but a minor Apulian work in the manner of the Iliupersis Painter; it is from vases of this type that the Roccanova Painter derives his style.

Pl. 81. All the vases on this plate are also Apulian of the middle or second half of the fourth century.

Pl. 82, 1-4. For Campanian black-figure lekythoi (Pagenstecher group) see *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alexandrie*, no. 14 (1912), pp. 229 ff.; Greifenhagen, *CV Brunswick*, p. 44; *PP Supp.* (BSR 1952), p. 37.

The skyphoid-pyxis B236 (pl. 84, 7), as Hafner suggests, may be of Campanian origin. The use of a matt orange paint on the vine leaves and tendrils is characteristic, and it should be noted that similar decoration occurs on several vases of this style with a Sicilian provenience (cf. Catania 789, Libertini, pl. 86) and on one from Reggio, (*INS* 1942, 228, fig. 35).

A. CAMBITOGLU and A. D. TRENDALL.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Österreich, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, I. Die rotfigurigen attischen Trinkgefäße und Pyxiden. By F. EICHLER. Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1951. Pp. 46, 50 pll. \$9.50.

A beautiful and admirable fascicule. The vases from the Österreichisches Museum have now been incorporated into the Kunsthistorisches, and this fascicule illustrates the red-figure drinking-vessels and pyxides of the combined collections. The pyxides are few and dull, but kylikes and skyphoi form a splendid series. One thinks first, of course, of the masterpieces of the early fifth-century cup-painters: Onesimos, Douris, the Brygos Painter (the sixth century is not so well represented); but there are also respectable early classical pieces, e.g. the Lewis Painter's skyphoi (interesting themes, but what a boring painter he is), and a most useful series of late fifth- and early fourth-century cups.

The photographs are very fine, and this is particularly welcome, since many of the best vases are largely known through Reichhold's drawings. Eichler's text is a model of lucidity and care. References are full and accurate; on attributions Beazley's opinions are always given and generally followed, and where Eichler differs from them (as on the difficult demarcation of the Jena Painter and his followers like the Q Painter) he makes both his position and Beazley's clear. The only reference I miss is to Beazley's suggestive remark (concealed in the Addenda to *AV*, 473 on 151/4, and never I think repeated): 'Der Stil des Triptolemosmalers scheint auf demjenigen der Wiener Dürschale S. 200 Nr. 9 [Inv. 3694, here pl. 9 and 10] zu fassen.'

I append a list of small criticisms of detail: Pl. I, 1: maenad with dolphins deserves remark; a genuine case of contamination?—the painter while working on this figure momentarily forgot the thiasos and drew a Nereid. It would be interesting to know if the dolphins were in his first sketch, but since Eichler does not mention a sketch we can rest assured that it is not visible. Pl. III, 3: surely not sixth-century; stemless cups are rare before the end of the archaic period, and the style suggests to me a date around 480. Pl. V, 4: the resemblance to the Kleophrades Painter seems superficial. Pl. VI, 5: rock rather than cushion? so, silen and maenad rather than man and woman? Pl. VIII, 1: left-hand figure on A, akontist rather than jumper? Pl. XI: reversed palmette under Odysseus's foot shows where the painter closed the pattern-band. Pl. XVII, 1: left hand drawn for right (Eichler); this mistake is often made in red-figure (cf. fig. 2 here, right for left), even by great artists in fine works: e.g. Beazley, *Berliner Maler*, pl. 27, 4

(macnaud on Oxford stamnos), *Pan Males*, pl. 9 (Herakles on Athens Busiris pelike). It must be connected with the technical process of outlining the whole silhouette first and putting in all details afterwards. Pl. XXIII, 1: preliminary sketch in thinned glaze is interesting. Pl. XXX: these surely are a pair. Pl. XL, 3/4: has this really any connexion with pictures of the Persian wars?

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

The Development of Attic Black-Figure. By J. D. BEAZLEY. (Sather Classical Lectures, vol. 24). Pp. xiv + 127, 49 pls. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (London: Cambridge University Press). 1951. \$6.50 (43s.).

Beazley has long promised a list of Attic Black-figure Painters and their works, corresponding to his *ARV*. This is not that—though that is here described as being well advanced—but though a slighter in some ways an even more welcome thing. Attribution is not enough; and it is well that Beazley, whose tireless employment of his unequalled eye for individual styles has set such a fashion in the study of Greek pottery, should sometimes show us as clearly as here that broad grasp of the nature of art and style without which detailed study is barren. There is much illuminating and delightful detail in the book, but its purpose is to trace the main lines of development, and many corners are left altogether unexplored: 'Tyrrhenian' vases, for instance, are mentioned only incidentally in an occasional footnote; the mannerist fringe beyond the Amasis Painter (Affecter, Elbows Out) not, I think, at all.

In Chapter 1, after defining the black-figure technique, the author glances at the development of vase-painting in Athens from Protogeometric through Geometric, and traces it more closely through the seventh century, up to the moment before the adoption of full black-figure by the Nessos Painter and his companions. A debt to Corinth is often noted here and hereafter. Chapter 2 begins with a wonderful characterisation of black-figure in relation to Greek art as a whole. The author goes on to discuss the great painters of the later seventh century and their slighter successors of the early sixth, running into the second quarter with the C Painter. Chapter 3, one of the most fascinating, is devoted to the François Vase and its potter and painter; Chapter 4 to their contemporaries, painters more monumental than Kleitias, the Painter of Acropolis 606, Nearchos, and especially Lydos, who carries on into the next generation. Chapter 5 covers the Little Masters, other cup painters, and the Amasis Painter; Chapter 6, Exekias, with a word or two at the end about others: Nikosthenes and the painters who worked for him, and other better men. The last sentence of this chapter should be engraved on all our minds: 'The lesson is that fine work may be found on vases which cannot be assigned to any of the noted artists.' Chapter 7—Late Black-figure—falls into two parts: the generation of the invention of red-figure (Andokides Painter, Psiax, Antimenes Painter) and that of its triumph (Leagros Group, corresponding to the red-figure Pioneers). The final chapter, on Panathenaics, picks up earlier threads and carries on the story through the fifth and fourth centuries with a glance at the Hellenistic age.

The illustrations give a good picture of the development and achievements of the style, and introduce some fine unpublished material (column-kraater and panathenaic by Lydos, pls. 15, 1 and 18; the strange Amasis cup, pl. 26, 4; fr. by Exekias, pl. 27, 3). They are on the whole well reproduced, though through no fault of the author's the backgrounds have been painted out.

A few points of detail. P. 36: for a possible seventh-century Corinthian geranomachy with deformed pygmies (fr. of Transitional olpe in Leiden, Brants, pl. 12, VIII, 8, 9, *Necrocorinthia* p. 342) see *BSA* XLIII, 38 n. 9. P. 38: Acropolis 606—is not the fallen man the key to the composition? Battle for the body of a hero, rather than simply a fight in which one man has already fallen. P. 44, line 9: for 21 read 19. P. 55, eleven lines from the bottom: for 'horses' read 'hares'. P. 68, pl. 27, 3: the space above Theseus's head is substantially greater than that above Tyndareus's, and he may have been seated. P. 91: I do not understand why the fr. by Lydos in Chicago should be later than the Florence Panathenaic, which is associated with the late oenochoe in Berlin. P. 92: the Mastos Painter seems to me in his Nauplia Panathenaic (pl. 37) to be nearer in feeling to Exekias than the Andokides Painter or any other of the circle ever gets; I could imagine that in his youth he had painted the Vatican mourner (pl. 33 and p. 74). P. 108 (n. 56 to p. 23): another curious sceptre held by Zeus in the presentation scene on the B.M. Phrynos cup (pl. 21). P. 115, n. 44 four lines from the bottom: for 'Neoptolemos' read 'Achilles'. P. 119, Chapter VIII, n. 6: the Burgon amphora has been cleaned, and the animals are clearly horses.

The book is full of illuminating accounts and suggestions:

distinction between Lydos himself and his workshop (p. 49); assessment of position of Heidelberg Painter (p. 50); importance of Amasis as potter (p. 62); development of Exekias (pp. 64 ff.); distinctions in Nikosthenes's workshop (p. 73); the Antimenes Painter perhaps a pupil of Lydos (p. 79); and innumerable others. A book to instruct and delight scholars and laymen alike.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

Choes and Anthesteria. By G. VAN HOORN. Pp. 200, 540 figs. Leiden: Brill, 1951. 80 guilders.

The choes, small vases few of them of any size, of which almost every Museum has an example, delight us with their shape and pictures. They also stimulate our scientific curiosity when they are connected with the Attic festival at which such vases were dedicated, the Anthesteria.

The idea of collecting all known choes is an old one, but after the premature death of Frickenhaus, it remained unfulfilled. Deubner rendered a service in his *Attische Feste*, where he illustrated a number of little choes. He then reckoned the number of choes known at about 400 (p. 95). But Deubner's contribution was mainly philological, a critical working over of the written sources. Professor Van Hoorn's book, the publication of which we have awaited with undiminished interest, has shown how much richer the scattered material is. Over 1000 choes are included in his catalogue. Apart from many unpublished vases in Museums, it enumerates also the material in private collections which are difficult of access, and has also collected Italian choes for the first time.

It is clear that a long and conscientious pursuit and collection of the material and diligent autopsy in many Museums has been needed for this work. The author's chief object has been the descriptive catalogue, which covers more than two-thirds of the book, and only what is left is devoted to the text. In the sixty pages of the text, in large type and with broad margins, the author sets out briefly what he believes to emerge from the pictures on the choes. The account is divided into chapters: 'The nether world', 'Resurrection of liknites', etc. This dismemberment of the festival into the elements of which it is composed, instead of advancing in line with the celebration of the feast from its first to its last day, deprives the description of the liveliness that is a special accompaniment of such collective outbursts. We are bound to try to reconstruct the festival, even from the smallest detail of the pictures; and, after resolving it into its elements, we should expect the indispensable integration. Some extremely interesting rites are unexploited, such as the *hieros gamos*, to which only a few lines are devoted. In the ceremony of the Swinging the aetiological myth is not alluded to, though the two beautiful choes of the Vlasto Collection and New York (figs. 10 and 12) give occasion for an extensive elucidation of this ceremony. The author avoids hortological questions presented by the choes themselves, and there are many queries to which he gives no answer. The author refers to the subjects on the choes with equal brevity, though one would have expected further attention to the most important, those which are of especial artistic interest or whose content is rare. In the chapter 'Artistic competitions' the important questions raised by the few choes with representations from the theatre are not touched on at all. In vain we search among the illustrations for the choes in Leningrad with child-actors (in the relevant bibliography, catalogue no. 585, add the sole publication from photographs, Bethe, *Griechische Dichtung*, pl. VIII). In his very general account of the theatrical choes the author does not indicate at all on which of the three days of the festivals these representations could be placed. We are not accustomed to this timeless and placeless exposition of the elements of this festival. Buschor in his brief account (*AM* LIII, 1928, 100), and more broadly Deubner in his book, try as far as possible to follow the participants in their three-day programme.

The author is guided by sound judgement in not illustrating or relating to the Anthesteria certain rather larger choes, mainly with mythological pictures, which seem not to have even symbolic relation to Dionysos. Indeed, the opposite problem presents itself, whether the pictures on the festival choes are to be not always referred to the Anthesteria, but to other feasts of Dionysos. It is possible, for example, that the Amasis Painter on his late oenochoae represented feasters at the Great Dionysia, moved by the state organisation of this feast about that time.

The beginning of the choes is carried back by the author (p. 53) to the geometric period, and he accepts their use in Protoattic too. Here it would have been useful to illustrate as a prelude to the later choes the nice Protoattic child's chous from the Kerameikos, Athens N.M. 206 (C.C., no. 399; Bochlau, *JdI* II, 1887, fig. 13).

The chapter on 'Technique of the Choes' could be supplemented by a brief examination of the shape. H. R. W. Smith

(CVA San Francisco, on pl. 25, r) has remarked justly that the framed choes are older than those without frame. This last development is accompanied by a slenderer shape. From the end of the fifth century artists prefer to lay it out plastically, without the linear intervention of the frame. How much the drawing may gain in clearness in this manner is well shown by the delightful chous with Eros, fig. 370.

Reference from the text to the plates is not made directly, but requires a certain initiation, which detracts from the immediate enjoyment of the works; at the bottom of each page are given the small numbers of illustrations and catalogue, while reference to the notes is made in other larger numbers. From plates to text there intervenes another numerical index; and finally, a third set of numbers relates to the types of ornament, for which the reader has to learn that they are assembled on separate plates at the end of the illustrations.

The book's rich display of pictures gives unmixed gratification. Almost all the photographs are good, complete, and beautifully arranged. The only disappointment is the poor illustration of the big chous from the theatre of Dionysos (fig. 101), a splendid work of the Eretria Painter (see now the good pictures in Bielefeld, *Zur. gr. Vasemalerei des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, M. XV. It would perhaps have been preferable to sacrifice a few choes without special significance in order to illustrate some well known but important vases, such as the New York Pompe oenochoe, the Leningrad chous, and others. Fig. 23; see *Festschrift A. Rumpf*, 119 ff.

For the two chief services rendered by the book, the abundant and careful illustrations and the complete catalogue, we are grateful to the author. Without his conscientious collection of the material, which presupposes a complete knowledge of the subject, it would have been impossible to write in the future the broad study of Choes and Anthesteria, based at once on the written sources and on the works of art, which is demanded.

SENNI KAROUZOU.

Répertoire des Gigantomachies figurées dans l'art grec et romain. By F. VIAN. Pp. 136, 60 pl. Paris: Klincksieck, 1951. Fr. 2000.

La guerre des géants. Le mythe avant l'époque hellénistique. By F. VIAN. Pp. xii + 306. Paris: Klincksieck, 1952. Price not stated.

Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst. By C. CLAIRMONT. Pp. 143, 40 pl. Zürich, 1951.

'Travaux mythographiques' have long occupied scholars of classical archaeology and religion, and by now the literature devoted to many subjects or scenes has become formidable. Nor can any work involving the collection of representations remain definitive for long, but can at the best reassemble what is known and adjust our attitude to the myth in the light of any additional material. Such works may be designed for the archaeologist and give full lists and descriptions avoiding overmuch entanglement in religion or cult; this omission may sometimes be welcome, but the picture is incomplete and the work of compilation involved deserves a resultant work of reference which should be more than a guide to the interpretation of incomplete or obscure representations. More rarely, all other sources are assembled and discussed as fully as the monuments; the result may then be both the better for being complete and the more obscure for being overburdened. The books under review here represent much of the best in each approach.

Vian's two books on gigantomachies mark him out as himself a giant-killer. He has already tackled other aspects of the subject in articles in *REA* and *RA*, and more is promised. In *La guerre des géants*, for which the *Répertoire* provides lists and illustrations, he discusses the monuments and literary sources, both extant and hypothetical, for the myth before the Hellenistic era. The Titans, vengeful sons of Kronos, and the Giants, rebellious children of Ge, are fairly distinguished. Early representations of Zeus' duels with centaurs or Typhon are associated with the former while true gigantomachies appear first only toward the middle of the sixth century. The battle scenes he derives from oriental and Egyptian schemas of god or pharaoh grouped with falling or fallen enemy, as is the Zeus and Heracles combination fighting from the chariot and not dismounting as parabates in the Homeric manner. The giants appear as hoplites with few concessions to their stature or bestiality. The gods often muster the same order of battle; thus a central group of Zeus in the chariot, Heracles shooting from the timon, Athena beyond the horses and a suppliant Ge before Zeus is found, especially on a fine group of unfortunately fragmentary Acropolis vases which Vian for the most part convincingly restores. Poseidon breaks Nisyros from Cos to crush and bury a giant; Hera's role as decoy for Porphyryon and her lively participation in the battle remind us that she was not always Junoesque; Dionysos uses animals, the Letoides bows and arrows. Athena in a stiffly archaic Promachos pose con-

fronts a falling giant and only relaxes on later-sixth-century scenes, where further disintegration of the theme is apparent. Driving a chariot drawn in three-quarter view, she rides down a giant, Heracles descends from the chariot as sometimes does Zeus. As Athena is more prominent in Athenian scenes (there are 139 monomachies of Athena listed among 226 black-figure gigantomachies) so Delphic representations give place of honour to the Letoides. Etruscan versions offer characteristically barbaric features. In the fifth century Dionysos' entourage grows with satyrs and maenads appearing; by the time of Phidias the giants are becoming bestial in appearance and eventually anguiped, and discard armour and sword for skins or stones and branches. The Parthenon metopes and the painted scene within the Athena Parthenos shield (Vian follows von Salis and figures on p. 115 a reconstruction derived mainly from vase paintings) were rather conservative in these features and Vian perhaps exaggerates Phidias' influence as responsible for the reshaping of the myth in art which is apparent in his time, and unduly discredits any major painting which may have inspired the vase scenes.

A second part of the book is devoted to literary sources and religious matters. Giants are found in the *Odyssey*, not the *Iliad*, and it is difficult to tell whether Homer or Hesiod knew of a written Gigantomachy. Vian argues that in the *Bibliotheca* of ps-Apollodorus is preserved the outlines of the archaic story, and a desperately fragmentary passage of Alcman is adduced to provide a terminus ante quem for such an epic. He argues well for the dependance of the representations on a literary text, but the scenes do not appear until the time when Pisistratus inaugurated the Panathenaic Games in part commemorating the Olympian victory and incidentally popularising this 'mythe imperialiste'. One might better suppose that the same occasion crystallised the elements of the myth to the standard story which inspired the artists of that period. It is noteworthy that 'Götterversammlungen' appear with growing frequency on Athenian vases from this time on. The Olympians fight and sit together as a family at last, and another generation of scholars might have paralleled the phenomenon to a Pisistratid editor's aid to Homer and Hesiod in giving the Greeks their gods. Further connexions with the Panathenaea are sought in the ἱπποδρόμος (a racing meta is found in some gigantomachy chariot scenes), the Pyrrhic dance, the Athena type, and the embroidered scenes on the goddess' peplos—motifs not convincingly significant in this context.

Throughout Vian gives all necessary references and pursues various relevant diversions from the theme. His interpretation of the monuments is thorough, and his command of the material justifies some otherwise bold restoration of fragmentary vases or worn metopes. Discussing the myth in religion, he is more often led to giants than gigantomachy, which as a rationalised story given literary coherence rather derives from isolated cult practices, beliefs, and stories than influences them. His presentation of the evidence for an archaic literary source is sound, though his date for it is questionable, and he presses too far the theory of the origin of the myth in 'confréries' of giants. On the whole the results of his patient sifting of evidence are more sound when that evidence is material than when it is literary or mystic.

The *Répertoire* lists 558 Greek and Roman representations of the myth, including combats against Typhon, many monomachies and monuments illustrating the development of the giant in art: within this scope he includes little which is doubtful and always acknowledges it if doubt is justified (however, no. 408 should be struck out). He illustrates nearly one-sixth of the monuments he lists in figures which are small, and some indifferently reproduced. The lack of detail in them is unimportant in such a work concerned rather with subject than style, but his interpretation of some scenes rests on details invisible in his illustrations. Hardly any have not been published before (no. 95 is republished incompletely). A concordance to earlier lists and his reasoned omissions from them are recorded.

Clairmont writes for the archaeologist and tackles his theme in two parts. In the first he lists 288 Greek, Etruscan, and Roman scenes of the Judgement of Paris, adding a concordance to lists made by earlier scholars. The objects are described and discussed where their original publication is wanting, and many vases are illustrated for the first time. Greek vases supply over two-thirds of the catalogued scenes, and are dealt with in considerably greater detail. The second part is devoted to a brief discussion of the role and appearance of the arbitrator, usher, and competitors with other figures divine or semi-divine who appear sometimes in the public gallery. The prize-apple, groups of women on Greek vases, and the scenes appearing on the backs of vases illustrating the Judgement receive attention. As the interrelation of back and front is so often ignored by iconographer and archaeologist, the latter is

especially welcome in a work of this kind. We miss a more general discussion embracing the literary sources (which are not ignored) as well as the monuments, and the combinations and permutations of lists reflect the diligent scholarship of the writer without telling the reader much he might like to know about this characteristically Greek story of a beauty contest which started a war. But the author promises no more in the title. The references to each item are generally full, although for the red-figure vases an illustration might be mentioned as well as the bare *ARV* reference; the artist of K 60 and others is the Antimenes Painter not Antimenes, K 38 was attributed in *MetMusStud.* V 114 no. 84, K 43 are fragments of stands, the museum number of K 48 *bis* is Mykonos KZ 1125, and K 39 is Mykonos KZ 1489, not in Athens. Omissions are less remarkable than inclusions, although the Alexandros of Louvre F 66 (*CVA* VIII, pl. 77, 12; Beazley, *JHS* LIII, 310) might have found mention beside the other excerpts and lone figures listed by the author. Another candidate for an earliest-ever Judgement of Paris, perhaps later than the Chigi vase (K 1) but before the Sparta ivory comb (K 3), is the 'Agamemnon' of *BSA* XXXV, pl. 54 f: the inscription may be as well read Α[γαμέμνων] on the analogy of the Aeginetan lambda of the Menelas stand (Jeffery, *JHS* LXIX, 26; Rumpf, *Muz.* 31). Some identifications are based on the presence of Hermes, almost ubiquitous in mythological scenes, a figure seated on a rock, groups of women, some with men attendant, running figures regardant, a figure in Persian dress, etc.; they do not all convince. K 6 is most doubtful and the 'goddess' surely male. An 'error' in the identification of Hermes' arm on K 7 is pointed out on p. 17, yet made on p. 16. The arm is surely Hermes', as the preserved part of Paris' drapery suggests that he could not be extending his left arm backwards: the hand is then wrongly drawn—as is that of the second goddess, whose left hand it must be that we see—and the gesture is as on K 8. Plate references to *Chalkidische Vasen* for K 7 (pl. 134–8) are omitted. K 127, the West frieze of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi, is identified more convincingly than hitherto, although there is no near contemporary parallel for the moment depicted with Athena and Hera leaving court and Aphrodite just arriving to take the stand. Since publication K 29 has been illustrated in Beazley, *Development*, pl. 15, 1 and K 73 with a photograph in *JHS* LXXI, pl. 39d, while *Basle Vente Publique* XI, no. 319 and *PAE* 1951, 125 f., have appeared. Misprints are scattered and unimportant (Roman figure II is regularly printed for Arabic 11). The production of the book and quality of the paper are excellent and the plates good (no late black-figure lekythos can have been so fully illustrated as K 116). The writing is lively and the indexes full; the book is a pleasure to handle, as well as being a mine of information.

JOHN BOARDMAN.

Ganymed. Mythos und Gestalt in der antiken Kunst.

By H. SICHTERMANN. Pp. 126, 16 pl. Berlin: Mann, 1953. DM. 10.

The author lists 422 Greek and Roman representations of Ganymede giving full references to each item and including caricatures and individual figures not illustrating any part of the myth so much as the youth's attractiveness. His text is less of a commentary on his catalogue than an independent essay on aspects of his subject and the problem of reconstructing the original of the well-known Ganymede and eagle type. The book does not therefore include a full bibliography of the myth which is well supplied by Friedländer in *RE*. The Homeric story is of the youth chosen for his beauty by Zeus to be his cup-bearer and stolen from his father Tros, who was compensated by the gift of the Immortal Horses. The erotic motive is not as yet expressed, and the youth is simply νεώλιος ἄνθρωπος, but from the sixth century it is accentuated by writers and not figured more expressly in art only because the Father of Gods is involved (the exception, in which the usual 'courting-scene' gestures are apparently depicted, is, as one would expect, Etruscan). The commonest representation through the fifth century is the pursuit by Zeus, and usually figured attributes include the god's sceptre, the cock (here the gift of a fighting pet, not originally an erotic symbol), and occasionally the cup of office. The actual capture is not illustrated, except by the fine terracotta group from Olympia (with Ganymede's head now *AJA* LVII, pl. 81), but Mingazzini's doubts whether this should not rather be identified as Poseidon and Pelops are by no means dispelled. I would at any rate question its uniqueness as the figure carried by a god on a cup by Douris (Louvre G 123, 100*BWP* 46, fig. 9) need not be female, as indeed Kunze pointed out; in fact, where Sichtermann sees a breast, surely the youth's right arm is laid across his body under his cloak, while the other details mentioned are not conclusive (p. 27). It is only in the fourth century that Ganymede is first represented being carried by the eagle, messenger or substitute

of Zeus. Pliny records a bronze group by Leochares of 'aquilam sentientem quid rapiat in Ganymede et cui ferat parcentemque unguibus etiam per vestem puero'. With this a marble group in the Vatican has long been associated. Sichtermann discusses the inaccuracy of its restoration and points out that this is a 'Nachbildung' not a copy, citing other groups, notably a Berlin mirror relief (his pl. 7, 3), as necessary contributions to any reconstruction of Leochares' original. The early date of the mirror is a difficulty, but the group is explained as an early work of the sculptor of around 370. Derivatives of the type, down to Roman times, when the scene could symbolise the soul's journey to heaven and apotheosis, are briefly reviewed. Ganymede is also represented still on the ground while the eagle seizes him (referred to a painted original, although surely more satisfactory sculpturally than the two flying figures), standing posed with the eagle beside him, offering the bird a drink from his cup, and playing knucklebones with Eros—all these being late inventions, in some of which the original story seems to have been forgotten. The book is not an easy one to read, and is rather weighed down with philosophical speculation on the significance of Myth, the sublimation of 'ἔρως παρθενικός' in the fourth century, and even the inclination of an eagle's head. Perhaps its greatest merit is its study of 'Vorbild', 'Nachbildungen', and the 'Replikenreihe' of an original bronze sculpture; in this Sichtermann is master of his material. The plates are good and, though nearly all the objects have been illustrated elsewhere, the new photographs used here present them better.

JOHN BOARDMAN.

A Book of Greek Coins (A King Penguin Book). By CHARLES SELTMAN. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1952. Pp. 31, 48 pl. 4s. 6d.

Whether coinage was the invention of the Greeks of western Asia Minor or their neighbours the Lydians may still be an open question. But it was the Greeks who succeeded in combining in this simple commercial medium the means of economic convenience and work of the highest artistic merit, to an extent which has ever since been both an example and an inspiration. Coins present us with the finest work of the die-engravers of ancient Greece in a form that is at once familiar and easily handled. Professor Seltman's little book will not only satisfy those to whom the Greeks and their coinage are already well known, but will also serve to enlighten and arouse the interest of a much wider section of the public. To cover the period from the beginnings of coinage to the death of Alexander the Great in so small a scale, without over-emphasising certain periods or regions at the expense of others, is no easy task. Yet this survey, following as it does the rise, so astonishingly rapid, of the artistic level in various parts of the Greek world, the influence of fifth-century Athenian art, and the tendency by the end of that century towards a 'pan-hellenic' style, is remarkably even. It includes a surprising amount of information, not divorced from its relevant background and illustrated by a comprehensive series of coins. Most of the coins figured are already well known, but it is just these which by their outstanding interest of type or excellence of design are truly representative of Greek coinage. Among them perhaps two pieces may be singled out. The noble head of Zeus (no. 97, pl. 38) made about 420 B.C. for the Olympic festival by the artist 'Da . . .', a discovery, this, from a recent find, and the full-face Apollo (no. 105, pl. 42) signed about 370 B.C. for Glazomenae by the engraver Theodotos, whose work is remarkable, even in this company. These two coins are illustrated to great advantage: not all the others are so fortunate. In so wide a field as this the text inevitably contains points over which a divergence of opinion may be expected. It is doubtful whether everyone will accept the theory of Pythagoras' responsibility for the late sixth-century incuse coinage of the south Italian cities; nor is it really easy to follow the tempting suggestion that the features of the Demareteion goddess (no. 52, pl. 13) reflect those of Demarete herself, or, for that matter, that the young Herakles on the Alexander tetradrachms from the mint of Alexandria is really Alexander himself (no. 116, pl. 48). There is also an unfortunate misprint on p. 15, where 497 is given as the date of the Demareteion. However, such points as these cannot detract from the wide appeal which this very informative and well-presented little book deserves to make.

J. M. F. MAY.

Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Volume IV. Fitzwilliam Museum: Leake and General Collections, Part III, Macedonia-Acarnania. London: British Academy, 1951. Pp. xxxiv-xlix, 321. 6d.

The third part of the Leake and General Collections of coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum to be catalogued for the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* covers a wide field ranging from

Macedonia, including the Chalcidice, through Thessaly, to Illyria, Epirus, Acarnania, and the islands off the Epirote coast. The majority of the coins are from the collection of Colonel Leake and reflect, though not perhaps to the extent that might have been expected, his 'Travels in Northern Greece'. Leake had great opportunities for collecting coins, and the absence from the catalogue of certain South Illyrian or North Epirote mints serves to emphasise the small scale of their coinages and to console more recent collectors who have similarly failed to acquire them.

If Part III contains few specimens of outstanding interest, it nevertheless provides a valuable body of material for reference or research. As series the Alexander tetradrachms, including posthumous issues, and drachms (nos. 2106-2187, 2190-2247) are impressive, and the same may be said for the coins of Larisa (nos. 2383-2424), as usual the most strongly represented of Thessalian mints. Among individual pieces may be singled out the gold nikoterion of the early third century A.D. with types referring to Alexander the Great, acquired by Leake at Serres (no. 2351), also the highly interesting, unique bronze coin of Phalanna (no. 2434). An interesting and rare piece is the coin of Ichnae (no. 1950): here, the style, strongly reminiscent of Akanthos, does nothing to contradict Svoronos' attribution of coins of this type to a mint in the Strymonian district. Less certain is the tentative attribution, following Svoronos, of no. 1901 to Aineia: coins of this type, showing a cow suckling a calf, with the legend 'ΕΝ . . .', have long presented a problem, and must still be classed under the indefinite heading 'Uncertain Mints, Thracio-Macedonian region'. So, too, must no. 1992, which is assigned with even greater reserve to Therma.

The catalogue has, again, been admirably compiled by Professor Heichelheim. Many, however, would have looked for the coins of Neapolis (nos. 1971-82) under the heading Thrace, while Damastion (nos. 2571-4), although correctly defined as Illyro-Paeonian, is still given an Illyro-Epirote context. Sometimes, too, it is unduly difficult to trace individual coins on the relevant plates, even though these face the catalogue. The plates themselves, unfortunately, are of variable quality, and in general fall short of the standard required for and deserved by a work of this nature.

J. M. F. MAY.

Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, part 2: Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins. By DOROTHY B. WAAGE. Princeton: University Press, 1952 (London: Oxford University Press). Pp. xii + 187, 8 pl. £8 2s. 6d.

Students of coin-circulation in the ancient world will be indebted to Mrs. Waage for this detailed catalogue of over 14,000 coins found in the excavations at Antioch and Seleucia Pieria. It should perhaps be pointed out that the 'Greek' coins, apart from those of the Seleucid kings and of other Hellenistic rulers and cities, are largely of the Roman period and issued in the name of Roman emperors. (Finds of Arab coins from the same sites have already been treated in a separate work.)

The work is carried out on a lavish scale, with some good illustrations. There is, however, a minimum of interpretation, beyond the bald statement in the preface (p. x) that 'At no time did Antioch import coin'. That this is, in essence, true can be verified from the excellent charts, which are a most useful feature and present a good summary of the essentials. Thus, in the Seleucid period, only a little over a hundred coins, out of over a thousand, are of mints other than Antioch. Clearly the capital of the Seleucid empire was well able to supply her own currency needs; and indeed was able also to supply other areas, as far afield as, e.g. Dura-Europos (as emerged from the Dura finds, published by A. R. Bellinger in *Dura, Final Report* IV). During the first three centuries of the Roman empire, Antioch continued to supply the bulk of its own currency: the Antiochene issues of Roman emperors, usually inscribed in Greek save for the Latin formula S.C., outnumbered the imperial Roman currency at Antioch by more than three to one. The importance of regional issues, which Michael Grant has done much to define and emphasise in recent years, could hardly be more strikingly demonstrated. Some change may be perceived during the half-century forming Diocletian's reorganisation of the imperial monetary system: the products of the Antioch mint occurring in the finds now have a somewhat reduced majority of less than two to one (of the pieces with identifiable mint-marks).

There is an occasion tendency on the author's part to wish to attribute to the Antioch mint coins which are better attributed to other mints. For instance, on p. 7 it is argued, albeit not in the least dogmatically, that certain Seleucid issues attributed by Newell to Apamea may after all have been struck at Antioch; but it seems to the reviewer that the attribution to Apamea remains unshaken, and that it is natural enough for coins of

Apamea to have found their way to Antioch. Again, there is the case of nos. 390 ff., Greek-inscribed coins of Trajan previously attributed to Caesarea in Cappadocia; but here regarded as products of the Antioch mint, on the strength of the number of specimens found. Here it must be remarked that the number of specimens found seems far from conclusive: and that the coins differ radically in types, style, and fabric from known Antiochene issues. They are in fact unnecessarily intrusive into the very homogeneous Antiochene series, and the attribution to Caesarea should, in our estimation, be retained.

But a catalogue of this sort is a great task, and it has on the whole been successfully carried out. One is reluctant to make small criticisms, though there are one or two that should be mentioned. The curious convention of describing reverses before obverses is one that, it is to be hoped, will not form a precedent, for its advantages are dubious, and it even at times makes it more, rather than less, difficult to recognise what is being described. There is a fair crop of misprints, which, if not misleading, are somewhat annoying in so well-produced (and expensive) a book. Finally, the datings of coins nos. 266 and 297-9 need to be revised in the light of Henri Seyrig's important article on eras in *Syrie* 1950, which evidently cannot have been available in time for its results to be used here.

G. K. JENKINS.

Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien. By F. K. DÖRNER. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, 75, 1 Abh.). Vienna: Rohrer, 1952. Pp. 75, 30 pl. £2 17s. 2d.

Since before the war Dr. Dörner has been engaged in the collection of material for the volume of *Tituli Asiae Minoris* containing the inscriptions of Bithynia. His 'Vorarbeiten' in this field began in 1941 with the substantial *Inchriften und Denkmäler aus Bithynien* (*Istanbuler Forschungen*, 14), and after the war he was able to carry out a further tour in 1948. A preliminary report of this journey appeared in *Wien. Anz.* 1949 (12), and particular points were dealt with in *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, II, 1951, 94-6, and in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, I (1951), 374-9. The present volume contains the fruits of the detailed investigation of two cities, Prusa ad Hypium and Bithynion-Claudiopolis, and their *chora*, carried out on this same trip.

In general, the inscriptions of Bithynia are more rewarding to the antiquarian than to the historian in search of texts of direct importance for the political history of Asia Minor, and this volume is no exception. The majority of the inscriptions are funerary, though there are a few honorific dedications. Very few of the texts are earlier than the second century A.D., and our lamentably slight direct knowledge of Hellenistic Bithynia is not increased. However, although the material is mostly of relative unimportance, D. has published it with great care. The texts themselves are mostly well preserved, and raise few or no difficulties in the way of reading. At the same time the magnificent photographs with which D. has been able to enrich the volume permit us to see at a glance the development of the lapidary style of these two cities in the second and third centuries of the Christian era. One satisfactory aspect of the publication is that D. has been able to secure better readings of inscriptions previously known (mostly in *IGR* III, 60 ff.), and rediscovered by him, and also able to correct existing supplements in the light of his new texts.

D.'s commentary is brief. In regard to the antiquities and history of Prusa he properly leaves his discussion to his article on that city to appear in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie* (see *Bericht*, p. 7), though he gives a very clear account of the geography of the region. The brevity is rather to be regretted, however, where questions of interpretation are involved. Here D. has given us rather short measure. I note, in what follows, the most interesting texts, and a few points where I disagree.

Prusa ad Hypium: 4: a lengthy honorific inscription erected by the φίλαργοι in honour of their πρώτος ἀρχων. This text enables D. to improve some supplements in the texts of the series *IGR* III, 60 ff., 1421 ff. (His correction of *ibid.* 60, l. 2, δωδεκήμερον ἀρχ[χ]οντα, 'sic kann nur -- πρώτος ἀρχοντα gelautet haben', is difficult to accept unless we throw overboard Mordtmann's reading, based on a squeeze.) 7: a dedication in honour of M. Αὐρήλιος Μωκρετατιανὸς Βάσσις ὁ ἀρχιγεροῦσαιστής. The latter word is claimed by D. as ἀπὸς λεγόμενος. 9: a dedication to Hadrian. 10: another dedication, to a πρώτος ἀρχων, further described as ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Λύγωνσιων Σκουπρίων πενταετηρικῶν ἀγώνων (not previously attested at Prusa), and as ἀγορανομῆστος ἐπιφανὴς ἐν ἐπιγινῶντι κερῶ. The phrase ἐν ἐπιγινῶντι κερῶ, which occurs only at Prusa in *IGR* III, 60, is apparently a variant of, for example, ἐν δυσχερί καταστάσει or the more specific ἐν σποδελῇ (to which, as associated in both instances with the office of ἀγορανόμος, it no doubt refers). 12: apparently a fragment of an official instruction,

perhaps prohibiting the cutting of wood. 15: Διὸς Σωτήρος γίαιος Μινυτέρου τὴν πλινθίσαι τῷ βασιλῇ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων seems to indicate a new meaning for πλινθίς. As D. says, it is evidently the base for the altar (cf. κρηπίδωρα). The alternative suggested by him, that σύν has fallen out before τῷ βασιλῇ seems unnecessary. 18: of interest palaeographically by reason of the two dots over the iota of ἰουλιανῇ in line 8 (see pl. 6). This phenomenon, the main purpose of which was to distinguish syllables, is found in inscriptions of the second century A.D.: see, e.g. *IG* II², 2195, line 7 (A.D. 197-207): photograph in Kirchner, *Imagines*², pl. 51, no. 142; *ibid.*, 1368 (c. A.D. 170 (photograph in Kirchner, *ibid.*, pl. 50, no. 137), but occurs also in *Roy. Cor.* 9, l. 12, carved in the year 1 A.C. 22: an interesting (if ungrammatical) funerary epigram of the second century A.D., mainly in hexameters. The emphasis on friendship in lines 1, σφιστάτης φίλος κῆδος μετὰ πᾶσι λαλήτων, and 8, συμφίως δὲ φίλοις πλείστοις κείμενος ὡς παροῦντα, suggests that the dead man may have been an Epicurean. The peace of the grave is portrayed thus: πείθων καὶ γέλασεν, ἅ' ὅσον 355: ὡς γὰρ εἰδὼν | οὐδὲν ἔχεις καθίσειν ἢ νύκτα μακρὴν μετὰ σιγῆς | οὐ βασιλοῦ φέρος ἐν(θ') | οὐ βαλλίζων τις ὄρεται. The use of the two rare words βασιλοῦς and βαλλίζω in one line is remarkable. Of βασιλοῦς, which is, as D. rightly says, the Latin *basilius* = porter, we have here, so far as I can discover, the earliest occurrence in Greek dress. In the Byzantine age it is common: see Sophocles's *Lexicon*, s.v. βασιλοῦς. βαλλίζω is a rare Greek word, apparently confined to Sicily and Magna Graecia, whence it found its way into Latin in the form *ballo* (see *T.L.L.* s.v.). It was regarded by a character in Athenaeus (362a) (approximately contemporary with this stone) as low Greek: καὶ πῶς ἐπ' αὐτὸς οὐ βαλλίζουσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπαντες τῇ θεῷ: 'ὡ λῶστε', ὁ Οὐλπίανος γέλασας ἔφη, 'καὶ τίς Ἑλλήνων τοῦτο βαλλίζουσιν ἐκείνους, εἰδὼν ἑλληνικάς κομμάζουσιν ἢ χορεύουσιν ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν εἰρημένων. οὐ δὲ ἦν ἐκ τῆς Συβούρας ὄνομα πρίσμωνος κ.τ.λ. In reply to this Myrtillus brings the evidence from Epicharmus and Sophron, which are the only attestations of the word. It seems not unlikely that the use of these two rare words, one Latin and one Italian, may reflect a Latin or Italian original in the mind of the writer. The picture to be envisaged is presumably that of the shouting porters by day and the staggering revellers by night (βαλλίζω is equated in Athenaeus with κομμάζω, as well as χορεύω, and note the masculine gender of the participle), and such a picture recalls, even more than the fragment of Callimachus to which Dr. Maas referred D., the traditional picture of the noise of Rome (in particular *Juv.* iii, 232 ff.; *Hor. Carm.* iii, 29, 71 ff.; *Mart.* iv, 64, 20 ff.; xii, 57; 68, 6). Line 13: ἢ δ' ἀγαθὴ ψυχὴ εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν, is claimed by D. as probably reflecting Christian influence. I doubt this. The journey of the good soul to heaven forms part of some Greek notions of existence after death, from Homer onwards, and appears regularly in funerary epigrams: see, for example, Rohde, *Psyche*, II, 384-5. 27: a tombstone carrying the usual penalty-clauses, preceded by the 'pessimistische Bemerkung' (the exact point of reference of which is not clear): ταῦτα γὰρ κληρονόμοι οὐ ποιοῦσιν. A similar, if unspoken, mistrust of the conscientiousness of heirs may lie behind that variety of penalty-clause which imposes a fine in the event of the re-use of the grave, not on the re-user but on the heirs of the dead man: see e.g. *BSA* XVII, 1910/11, 227, 4-5 (Pamphylia); *TAM*, III, 325 (Termessos); *CIG*, 2824, (Aphrodisias): εἰ δὲ τὸν [ὁ]στλήν[γα] οἱ κληρονόμοι μου μετὰ τὸ ἐπιθῆναι με ἐν τῇ σοφῇ μ[ὴ] ἀφαιλίσσονται ἐστὶ μοι κληρονόμος ἢ θεὰ Ἀρροδίτη. 29: a gravestone with metrical epitaph consisting of several seemingly disjointed maxims: - - - [ὁ]μ[ο]παυλιν βίοντο[ν] ὥστε | μαθὲν γέλασεν | τῆς φίλης τάδε δῶρα πα[ρ'] ἡ | μὴν ὡς γε φίλοις | 'Εὐβολος ὡς τόπος τοῦτον | ἔχει δικαίως | πᾶς ὁ θεῶν ἡγήτορας, λύπης δὲ πέποιται. Lines 5-6 create a problem. If there is any consecutive sense in the γνῶμαι these lines evidently break it. Their meaning is certainly not clear, and D. shows praiseworthy caution when he says, 'Warum der Ort des Grabmals nach Ansicht des Verfassers mit Recht den Namen "Εὐβολος" trug, ist bei den vielen Bedeutungen des Wortes zweifelhaft.' It is possible it may be connected with the shape of the place (a tongue of land) where the grave lay. For this sense of 'Εὐβολος see Schol. *Pind. Ol.* vii, 35 b, p. 207 Dr. = *TAM*, II, p. 289. The Christian inscriptions call for little comment, although 40: a family epitaph, is worth noting on account of the phrase πρὸς θε(όν) αὐλιζόμενοι. The verb αὐλιζομαι is particularly common in LXX, and the phrase may derive directly from LXX, Ps. 90, 1: ὁ κατακλινὲν ἐν βοήθειά τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐλιζήσεται. (The phrase occurs also on two armbrands from Egypt: *SB*, 1572 and 1579.) 41: κόρης ἀπὸ πριμοῦλον is commoner than D. seems to suggest, particularly in Egypt: see *Wörterbuch*, III, Abschn. 10, s.v.

The second half of the *Bericht*, concerned with Bithynion-Claudiopolis, begins with a discussion of the metonymies of the town, followed by a valuable topographical and archaeological survey of the area. 73: fragment of an architrave giving

the imperial titles of Hadrian. Hadrian's interest in the city derived from the fact that it was the native city of Antinoos (cf. below, 78), and it may well be, as D. suggests, that the building attested by this fragment was dedicated by the emperor after the death of his favourite. 74: a list of persons who, in the office of agonotheutes and gymnasiarch, established an agon to Zeus Κασοειτηνός. D. says, 'Der Beiname des Zeus scheint an keltische Sprachformen anzuklingen', and he may well be right: see Holder, *Altelt. Sprachsch.* s.v. Quadriviae, etc. Professor Syme points out to me the inscription from Narbonensis published in *Rev. Celt.* 1903, p. 119 (= *AE*, 1903, 182), OYENI TOOYTA KOYAAPOYNIA, and further refers me to the names Quadronius (*ILS*, 1016; 1061) and Quadra (*ILS*, 9040, and Seneca, *NQ*, i, 16). On the other hand, the cognate Cadra, the name of a hill in Cilicia Tracheia (*Tac. Ann.* vi, 41) suggests that an Anatolian origin is not impossible. 78: a dedication to Antinoos, the first from his native town: [ἀγαθῇ τύχη] Νέων θεῶν [ἢ] Ἀντινόω [εὐχῇ], Σωσθένης. 79: a dedication to some deity by a family-group ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν οὐκίων. Of this D. says, 'In Z. 9 kann man in Zweifel sein, ob οὐκίων plur. von οὐκία oder οὐκίων = οὐκίων zu transcribieren ist; in ersteren Falle könnten die Weihenden die in Kleinasien so häufigen Erdbeben in Auge gehabt haben.' The second interpretation seems much more probable. 84 is of interest as revealing the complications which the existence of the parasitic iota in the nominative of feminine nouns of the first declension (a phenomenon particularly common in this region) may cause: φυλῇ Ἀπολλωνίς in *CIG*, 3802 having been read as φυλῇ Ἀπολλωνίς. D. shows convincingly that the iota is parasitic. 91: brings apparently a further ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in ἀνασταυδῶ. 97: the tombstone of a veteran of *legio* in *Scythica*, described as ἀπολοῖθες εὐχημάτων. The adverb appears here for the first time used of the *honesta missio*. 134: the tombstone of a βουλευτής καὶ ἀγωνοκόμης gives the first evidence from Bithynia for the μάκαροι Κλαυδίουοι (ισολύμπιοι) ἀγῶνες. 150: a tombstone erected by a family to their parents (after A.D. 212), of interest palaeographically, unless it be merely an extreme case of misspelling (a possibility D. does not envisage): the omicrons are written consistently as omega. 154: a tombstone of a young man described as ἡδὴ νομαρὶ ἐνδόξω, πελευτήσωντι ἐπὶ ξύτης ἐν(δὴ) κ, καὶ παρακαμίσθιντι ἐνθάδε, erected by his parents. He is thus evidently one of those who went to study Roman Law in Rome and elsewhere, and not a provincial assessor, for whom the same term is commonly used. Knowledge of Roman Law is not infrequently referred to in epigrams and other funerary monuments of the Imperial period: see L. Robert, *Hellenica* V, 1948, p. 34, n. 3. 158: gives the rare ethnic Ἀσσι(της).

Dr. Dörner is to be congratulated on the care and skill with which he has published these rather unrewarding stones. It must be, in addition, a particular source of pleasure to all that the work should appear as a *Wiener Denkschrift*. This is continued the tradition of epigraphical and topographical research in Asia Minor so closely associated with this series, and with the great names of Heberdey, Wilhelm, Keil, and von Premerstein. The dedication 'William Buckler in memoriam' recalls, in addition, one recently gone from us, whose great generosity was a major factor in Anatolian research in the first half of this century, and whose own contributions to the epigraphy of Asia Minor are of abiding importance.

P. M. FRASER.

Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir El-Bahari. Edited by A. BATAILLE. Pp. xxxiii + 161, 14 pll. Cairo: Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie, Textes et Documents X, 1951. 3360 frs.

An inscription first published in 1927 revealed the existence in 261-60 B.C. in the ruined temple of Hatshepsut of a cult dedicated to Amenôphis son of Hapu, who shared the new sanctuary with Imhotep-Asklepios and his daughter Hygieia. *Graffiti* discovered on the walls of the shrine have been published by many scholars, notably the late J. G. Milne, who copied all he could find into a notebook later entrusted to Seymour de Ricci and left by the latter to the University of Paris. M. Bataille has now been led by his researches into the *Memnonia* to collate and systematise the findings of his predecessors, revising and correcting where necessary in the light of his own readings, and here publishes the whole collection for the use of archaeologists and historians of antiquity. His edition contains in all 193 texts or drawings dating from the third century B.C. to at least the second century of our era, nearly half of them *graffiti* proper, the rest in red paint. The palaeography of the two classes is, of course, quite different, for, whilst the *graffiti* with their angularised formations can be treated as inscriptions, the painted texts approximate more closely to papyri, having rounded letters. The great majority consist of *stultorum nomina* or *proscynemata* and display little originality in either mode of

expression or content: the same *formulae* recur ad nauseam with only those variations caused by grammatical or orthographical idiosyncrasies. But from the collection as a whole at least three important deductions may be made about healing cults in general and this cult and its clientèle in particular.

First, we are again reminded of the tremendous popularity of these healing cults and their early adoption by the Greeks in Egypt. The writers of our texts came for the most part as pilgrims, not as sightseers, to seek the help of a healer whose dedication went no farther back than the third century, an indigenous deity with no Hellenic associations, who yet appealed to Hellenised Egyptians and even Greeks, whose cult was more popular even than that of Asklepios at Dér El Bahari, whom not even Christianity could completely expel. Secondly, we have evidence, perhaps important, of the Hellenisation of the Egyptian *χώρα*: though by far the greatest part of our pilgrims probably hailed from the Thebaid and the left bank of the Nile, a suggestion which onomastic tends to confirm, they used for their *graffiti* not demotic but Greek. On the other hand, this ignorance of their *ἑγχώρια γράμματα* and consequent readiness to adopt an alien tongue is not unexpected in view of the traditional priestly monopoly of writing. Thirdly, the psychology of the average pilgrim is illuminated by the frequent examples of repetition of the same name or group of names, confirming that his chief motive in writing was the desire to perpetuate his own name and so ensure the survival of his own person, or whatever element represented it after bodily death. Clearly it is the name that is important; it had lost little of its ancient magical significance for the inhabitants of Egypt, for few even dated their *graffiti*, few indicated their own place of origin, few recorded their trade or profession; yet 76 ends with *ἐς τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον*, 131 with *ἐς αἰὲν*, 179 with *ἐς τὸν ἀπέραντον χρόνον*. Further points of general interest are the evidence for the progressive disappearance of the dative in favour of the genitive (2, 77), the abundance of names unknown from the *Namenbuch* (e.g. in 4, 15, 66), the use of nominative for vocative (12, 58), the visit of the *strategus* Celer and his sons (123-4), and not least the variety and realism of the drawings (e.g. 29, 33, 69, 169, 189, and 190-3).

All the texts and drawings are reproduced with facsimiles, translated and edited with a wealth of bibliographical and descriptive detail. Few are completely lacking in interest. One of the most fascinating groups comprises 43, 48, and 49, all the work of a Macedonian, Andromachos, who in 43 describes himself as *ἀπογόνιος μισθοῦ*, giving the date of his visit as early in the Ptolemaic era, and in 48 records the circumstances of his case, retracing his name in deep, large letters in 49, 82, from the first or second century A.D., is dedicated to Memnon, as well as Amenôphis, because the Theban necropolis was for a tourist of Greek tongue the domain of Memnon, the *Μεμνών*. 86-89 are closely interconnected—86, the original *proscynema*, has a magical or Gnostic addition in 87, a name associated with it in 88, and in 89 a Christian endorsement probably intended, like the *Εὐς Θεός* ✠ of 141, as a form of exorcism. 126, from the first or second century A.D., contains the detailed testimony of a Roman soldier, Athenodorus, about a miraculous happening which he has personally witnessed in the inmost sanctuary. 101 reproduces a jumbled version of the Greek alphabet, 185 the alphabet in four vertical columns, 187 the opening words at least of *Anthol.* IX, 538, a hexameter line which contains all the letters of the alphabet, while 183 is an anagram or cryptogram of some kind. Pagan piety and magic thus appear cheek by jowl with their Christian opposition. But, though the Coptic monks did their best to eliminate these *reliquiae* of paganism, the last word lay with M. Bataille, who, with the help of his predecessors, has restored, and here presents, them in an artistically produced and carefully edited volume, with a full introduction and commentary, indexes and concordance, a plan, and twelve plates.

B. R. REES.

Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Subsidia, Vol. III. *La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes (du IX^e au XIV^e Siècle).* By R. P. VERDEIL. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1953. Pp. xii + 249, 21 pl. Dan. Kr. 38.

We must be grateful to the late Thomas Whittemore, to whose enterprise Byzantine studies owe so much, for having asked Professor C. Höeg in 1948 to publish Mme Verdel's doctorate thesis in co-operation with the Byzantine Institute in Boston. The publication has received a generous subsidy from the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique Française to cover the expense of illustrating the text with a great number of tables showing the different stages of Russian and Byzantine neumatic notation.

Until the publication of Mme Verdel's book one had to rely on O. von Riemann's 'Die Notationen des Alt-Russischen

Kirchengesanges' (Leipzig, 1909), which was in the main a summary of the work done by Rjashki, Metallow, Smolenski, and other Russian scholars in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In his article 'Zur Frage der Entzifferung alt-byzantinischer Neumen' in the *Riemann-Festschrift* (1909), Riemann, however, following Preobraschenski's line of investigation, had already proved the derivation of old Slavonic from Byzantine chant from the identity of Russian with Byzantine neumes.

These facts were nearly forgotten, and no further attempt to carry on these studies has been made since the study of Byzantine chant and its notation has been put on a broader basis.

Mme Verdel therefore had to start from the beginning in order to produce a text-book which should give all the necessary information to scholars interested in the development of Slavonic chant. This needed a summing up of the work of her forerunners in the field of Slavonic chant and also that of H. J. W. Tillyard, who had already drawn attention to a list of early Byzantine neumes which differed from the usual type of notation (*BSA* XIX, 1912-13), i.e. the Kontakaria-notation.

One of the most valuable details of Mme Verdel's investigation is her division of the Kontakaria-notation into two periods: (1) the first stage, dating from the ninth century, of which no Byzantine, but only Slavonic MSS. have survived, and (2) a later form which one finds in Byzantine MSS. of the tenth century. This second stage does not appear in Slavonic MSS., which show the old form of neumes until the middle of the thirteenth century. The tables of the signs of the Kontakaria-notation on pp. 141-3 give an excellent survey of this strange kind of musical notation which was given up in Byzantine music MSS. at the end of the tenth century. Mme Verdel is certainly right in comparing these signs with the great hypostases of the Koukouzelian-notation, i.e. signs for the guidance of the singer who knew the music by heart. This discovery becomes even more important in view of the connexion which Mme Verdel sees between a number of signs of the Kontakaria-notation and the 'great signs' attributed to Koukouzeles; the relationship of both is made evident by the tables on pp. 208-9.

On pp. 240-1 there is a supplement, signed by C. Höeg; one feels his guiding hand also in the footnote to the bibliography in which he points out that books with a later date than 1947 are added but not taken into account in the text. In these last years considerable progress has been made in the field of our studies, and we must regret that Mme Verdel was unable to include some of the results in the text of her book. Thus there are two slips in the music example on pp. 127-8 which could have been avoided if the correct transcription of the same hymn in 'The Hymns of the Hirmologium, I' (*Mon. Mus. Byc.* (1952)), p. 54, had been consulted. The neumes above *ἦ* (*ἡ-ῥίπα*) indicate the rise of a third upwards; the repeated note on (56)-*ῥῶ* *ῥῶ* is an *a*, not a *g*.

Another small point; Plate VII (fol. 61) reproduces the first page of the Chartres fragment, of which folios 62v and 63r are given on Plate VI; the text of the two *Stichera* is quoted by A. Gastoué on p. 97 of his *Catalogue des manuscrits de musique byzantine*, from which Plate VI is taken. The Chartres fragment itself, Mme Verdel failed to see, was cut out from the Athos MS. Laura P 67, as Tillyard has already stated in *BSA* XIX, 96, n. 1.

These points, however, are all of minor importance compared with the value which this laboriously compiled material will have for the progress of our studies. Now that the identity of a number of melodies from the Hirmologium and *Sticherarium* in both Byzantine and Slavonic MSS. has been shown—as one can see from the examples given on pp. 155 ff.—the bold step should be taken of transcribing some of the Slavonic hymns and placing them at the disposal of Eastern Liturgiologists. For the student of Christian Chant in general Mme Verdel's work has given another proof of the importance of the rôle of Byzantine hymnography in the conversion of the Slavs.

E. J. WELLESZ.

Voyages and Travels in the Near East made during the XIX Century: being part of a larger Catalogue of works on Geography, Cartography, Voyages and Travels, in the Gennadius Library, Athens. Compiled and provided with a Preface and Index by SHIRLEY HOWARD WEBER, Librarian of the Gennadeion. (Catalogues of the Gennadius Library, I.) Pp. x + 252; Frontispiece. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies, 1952. Price not given.

The librarian of the Gennadeion has made an auspicious start on the laborious task of publishing a detailed catalogue of its vast wealth of material, collected with unflinching zeal throughout his long life by Joannes Gennadius, and now

splendidly housed on the slopes of Lycabettus in the charge of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

The purpose and scope of the whole collection are explained in the Preface, which gives a lucid survey of its multifarious contents ('numbering some 55,000 titles'). From this it appears that the present volume covers only part of one of the seventeen main sections under which the library is classified ('Geography and Travel in the Near East from the earliest times to the present'), the works of travellers earlier than 1800 being reserved for later publication.

We have, accordingly, in the present volume a list of the full titles, with date and place of publication, of nearly 1100 works, followed by an Appendix giving over a hundred more, which are classified as 'mainly pictorial'. Subsequent editions and translations into another language are given separate numbers. The choice of the year of publication as the basis of arrangement is no doubt the best for practical purposes; and the usefulness of the work is much increased by the editor's invaluable notes summarising most of the items, and by his admirable indexes (I. 'Travelers and Authors'; II. 'General') the latter comprising place-names, important persons mentioned by travellers, and topics of interest, not merely archaeological. For instance, 'Black, Mrs. (The Maid of Athens)' gets five entries, Lady Hester Stanhope gets eight, Bandits (three), Brigands (four), Missionaries, in various towns and districts nearly twenty in all.

The notes provide a useful conspectus of the more important works, for which all students of topography will be grateful, though opinions may differ as to the need of summarising at some length the itineraries of such familiar works of Anatolian travel as those of Fellows and Arundell, whilst that of Spratt and Forbes on Lycia is not so favoured. And, if *Eothen* is to be similarly treated why leave out Adalia (above all!) from the list of places visited? On the other hand, these notes will be particularly welcome to the searcher among unfamiliar works: such comments as 'irresponsible and inaccurate' (No. 871) will help him quickly to sift the grain from the chaff, and to distinguish between valuable articles extracted, for example, from the *Revue des deux mondes* and modest records of brief tours to the most familiar sites in Greece recorded in the 'Programs' of German Gymnasias or minor Universities, or written by enterprising Greek schoolmasters and printed in Athens or even Patras.

It is obvious that Gennadius took infinite pains in tracing and collecting the latter class of printed matter—hunting small game as keenly as big!—and probably no single library can match the Gennadeion in this field. It may seem ungracious to draw attention to omissions, but when we find here nearly all the major works of travel in Greece and the Near East, we may wonder at the absence of Barker's *Lares et Penates* (Cilicia), Hogarth's *Devia Cypria* (from a particularly strong section on Cyprus), Manatt's *Aegean Islands*, and of any items of topographical interest from the pens of Finlay or Sir W. M. Ramsay. And why do we find in this section No. 848 (the work of a French traveller to North Africa who did not go east of Carthage), and No. 924 (Prince Roland Bonaparte's tour of Corsica)? This is not the only work with Napoleonic associations, for Pouqueville's *Voyage en Morée* is represented by the actual dedication-copy presented to Napoleon in 1805, as well as by versions in German and Italian.

Among many points of interest suggested by a perusal of the Index of Authors we may contrast the paucity of works by British men and women of letters (Disraeli, No. 208, Harriet Martineau, No. 411, F. W. Newman, No. 535, Thackeray, No. 391), with the rich array of French writers, which includes Chateaubriand, Alex. Dumas, Flaubert, Lamartine, Pierre Loti, and Théophile Gautier. Was it merely for the sake of completeness that Gennadius added to his library No. 23, a parody of Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*, published like the original in 1811, describing a mock tour of Paris? To keep it company among *curiosa* we find No. 557, *Romaic Beauties and Trojan Humsbys*, by 'Rattlebrain' (London, 1855), and, in more serious vein, No. 954, *Die Kunstwerke Athens, auf die Spuren des Gaudenzio Ferrari; ein Sommernachtsstraum in der Walhalla* . . . von Alexander Freiherrn von Warsberg (Wien und Leipzig, 1892).

A feature which interestingly reflects the appeal of the Near East to Londoners is represented by the six Panoramas of Cities exhibited in London between 1818 and 1846 (Athens, Nos. 1108, 1145; Constantinople, Nos. 1117, 1148; Corfu, No. 1113; Damascus, No. 1141).

Not the least of the problems confronting the editor of this Catalogue was that of the spelling of modern place-names. He has wisely chosen the most generally known form for the lemma in the Index, adding frequent cross-references from the less well-known forms; on the whole a satisfactory solution, which will cause readers no difficulty as regards Greece, the Aegean^W lands, Egypt, and Syria. But it must be reluctantly admitted

that in the Index the knowledge of Anatolian topography sometimes falls below the high standard of accuracy displayed in the Catalogue as a whole. Thus, Isbarta (Nos. 159, 216) should be identified with 'Sparta (Baris), Pisidia' (No. 718); Bourdour (No. 159) should not be separated from Buldur (Nos. 341, 578, 728). Adalia is indexed as in Cilicia, but correctly placed in Pamphylia in the notes on Fellows' *Journal* (No. 291), where, moreover, Selge should be placed in Pisidia, and Alaysun (Alaysoön in Fellows' phonetic spelling) should be identified with, and not distinguished from, Sagalassus. There is also a strange confusion over Telmessus: several entries are correctly given under 'Makri (Telmessus)', but 'Telmessus (Termessus), Caria' Nos. 718, 728) should read 'Termessus, Pisidia' for these two entries. Moreover, Cibyra (Nos. 404, 718) should be located in Phrygia, not Lycia; and Denizli, which appears in the Index as the site of Laodicea ad Lycum, is entered as Denizli (Colossae) in the note on No. 578. Even if this is due to an inaccurate statement by the traveller concerned, attention might well have been drawn to it. But Denizli is not, in fact, the site of Laodicea either, but several miles distant.

It is regrettable to have to call attention to these blemishes in a work so carefully planned and accurately compiled in all other respects. (The only errata that I have noticed are 'Symrna' and 'Nicodemia' in the notes on Nos. 402 and 714 respectively, and in the title of Hogarth's travel-book (No. 1087) 'Accidents in an Antiquary's Life' should read 'Accidents of,' etc.). Finally, may I make amends to the Editor by adding two small items of information that have escaped his diligent research? Lord Warkworth (No. 1033) became Earl Percy before the publication of his second Anatolian travel-book (No. 1060); and the unidentified author of *A Ride across the Peloponnese* (No. 784, extr. Blackwood's 1878) was George Macmillan, who enjoyed on this trip the stimulating companionship of Mahaffy and Oscar Wilde.

A. M. WOODWARD.

Orient Hellas und Rom in der archäologischen Forschung seit 1939. By K. SCHIEFOLD. Pp. 248, 8 pl. Bern: A. Francke Ag. Verlag, 1949. (Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte, ed. K. Hoenn, Band 15.) Sw. fr. 16.90.

The title *Orient, Hellas und Rom* (the rest appears in sub-title form), is a misleading description of this very useful book. It is essentially a bibliography of works on classical archaeology (the East is included almost exclusively for its bearing on Greek and Roman developments) produced during the decade 1939-49. As such it could hardly be bettered; but it attempts more, in that the author tries to see the whole field in perspective and to recognise some kind of common character—a phase—in the archaeological research of this period. This side of the book is not perhaps entirely convincing, but one cannot grudge S. some such theme to bear him up in the labour of compilation which he has so admirably performed. For the same reason one need not quarrel with an occasional lack of balance—a few subjects that happen to interest the author particularly are given a disproportionate amount of space. On the other hand, the thirty-two small and inevitably rather arbitrarily chosen illustrations are poorly reproduced and might well have been omitted. Working in Basle, S. was in a quite exceptionally good position to avoid the isolation forced on most scholars by the war, and to keep in touch with developments on all sides. He made the most of the opportunity, and in this book he makes it possible for others to profit from it too. In cases where I have been able to check him he has shown an impressive thoroughness, and in general good judgement, though there is perhaps inevitably a tendency to accept too readily the views of any writer on a subject in which he has no special interest. A book for which all classical archaeologists should be exceedingly grateful.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

Mélanges Joseph Hombert (Phoibos, V, 1950-51). Brussels: Cercle de philologie classique et orientale de l'Université libre de Bruxelles. Pp. 247, 11 pl. Price not stated.

Among many other papers whose subjects range from ancient Egypt to Roman Gaul, this memorial volume includes important studies on topics more closely related to the scope of this *Journal*: C. Delvoye on the ivory plaque of a warrior from the Artemision at Delos, and the fifth-century incense-burner found under the sacred way at Delphi; C. De Wit on the origin of the alphabet; M.-Th. Lenger on a papyrus fragment of Aeschines in *Timarch*, 53-4 (P Fouad 222); M. Leroy and J. Meunier on the teaching of Greek; A. Severyns on the fifteen-lines summary of the story of the Judgement of Paris prefixed to some

manuscripts of the *Iliad*, with comment on the literary and archaeological evidence for the apple of discord; R. Van Campenolle on Segesta, the first part of a study in which he examines ancient and modern theories on the origin of the Elymians, concluding that they are a Sican people, and takes the history of their relations with Greek culture down to 510 B.C. T. J. D.

Das griechisch-römische Altertum : Sonderdruck aus Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft, 2te. Auflage, 3te Band. By CARL WENDEL, ergänzt von WILLI GÖBER. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1953. Pp. 95. Price not stated.

In the ninety-odd pages of the *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft* devoted to classical antiquity, the student will find a sober and, in general, up-to-date account of the very little that is known about the libraries of Greece and Rome. In a branch of enquiry where 'facts' are mainly those of the gossip-column writer, and the amount of 'correction' to be applied is determined by subjective considerations, the reader is well served by references both to sources and other points of view. It would be easy but unfair to quarrel with conclusions on particular controversies. Few in this country, for instance, will follow the authors in their restatement of the dogma firmly held on the continent (e.g. A. Dain, *Les Manuscrits*, p. 99) that it was the great library of Alexandria which perished in 47 B.C. Nevertheless, by implication they answer in the negative the question 'Did the best, in some cases the unique, copies of ancient authors perish in this fire?' The absence of an agreed answer to such a question emphasises the superficiality of our knowledge of ancient libraries.

E. G. TURNER.

Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt. By J. ČERNÝ. Pp. 36. London: H. K. Lewis and Co. Ltd. 1952. 6s.

Within the thirty-six pages of his inaugural lecture delivered at University College, London in 1947, Professor Černý compresses a large amount of exact information available nowhere else. He discusses the natural history of the papyrus plant, mode of manufacture (he decides that paste was not used), and the quality of the finished article; the make-up into rolls, and the sizes of books; the scribe's writing instruments (the Egyptian scribe used only a reed brush, not a pen), palette, and posture; the lay-out of the writing, methods of correction, punctuation, and illustration, even the probability of a book trade in copies of the 'Book of the Dead'. The closeness of Č.'s inspection of the original material and the bibliographer's rigour applied to its measurement and tabulation will be of great service to the Hellenist who seeks to probe the known debt of Greece to ancient Egypt. The reviewer gladly acknowledges that he has learned much.

E. G. TURNER.

Athenian Books in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C. By E. G. TURNER. London: H. K. Lewis & Co. Ltd., 1952. Pp. 23, 1 pl. 5s.

The relation between literature and its material means of expression is at no time of more interest than in Athens of the classical age, and though there is information to be gleaned from contemporary writers, it needs interpreting particularly in the light of the practice of subsequent ages as we see it in the papyrus. It is the particular merit of Professor Turner's inaugural lecture that it invokes the aid of archaeology and the vase paintings, as well as of literature and the earliest papyri, to present a picture that is the clearest and most convincing we have of the subject. It is a subject that demands considerable versatility; witness Professor Turner's exegesis of Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 944 sq., on the one hand, and his fascinating pages on the development of the pen, on the other.

Perhaps more attention might have been paid to the implications for Professor Turner's argument of the knowledge of drama that Aristophanes and other comic writers take for granted in their audience; in this connexion Euripides, *Hipp.* 451, might be cited as evidence of the common use of books in the later fifth century. And I am not convinced that the passage quoted on p. 17 from the *Palamedes* 'leads straight to the geographical works of the Ionians'; is it more than the cliché that, thanks to the invention of writing, the stay-at-home can keep in touch with friends abroad? But these are small points; unless Athens unexpectedly provides us with written material other than stones (ostraca are of little use here), it is unlikely that Professor Turner's essay, learned, humane, and wide-ranging, will be bettered.

C. H. ROBERTS.

Alkaios. Griechisch und deutsch herausgegeben von MAX TREU. Munich: Ernst Heimeran, 1952. Pp. 184. DM. 8.80.

The contents are: (i) pp. 6-80, text and translation; (ii) pp. 80-91, biographical notices; (iii) pp. 92-8, classified bibliography; (iv) pp. 99-123, *der Dichter und sein Werk*; (v) pp. 124-77, notes on interpretation; (vi) pp. 178-84, *Nachwort* and concordance-register.

No pretension is made, and none could be allowed, for the text. The principal fragments published in P. Oxy. xxi are repeated from the source with little change. For the rest, the text comes mainly from Diehl, including and adding to the offences against dialect, prosody, and palaeography with which that source abounds (σὺνθλασσε, σὺν ἔργον, σύνσταιμεν καλῶς, κατὰσπε, Ἀρηί, χρῶτα, αἶτα (twice), γάμοροι, εὖ εἶδα, and dozens more). There is no apparatus criticus. Opposite the text stands a translation into German verse, imitating the metre of the original wherever feasible.

The review of the life and work of Alkaios is in some respects better than any of its predecessors. It is worth while, though not always easy to penetrate the mist of uncertainties stated positively, of particulars described as universals.

The *Erläuterungen* are not a Commentary, but notes on selected passages, various in scope and quality. The text being what it is, the value of the notes is limited in advance; there are numerous useful observations.

D. L. PAGE.

Interpretazioni Eschileo. By A. MADDALENA. Pp. vi + 161. Turin: Edizioni di 'Filosofia', 1952. L. 700.

The voice of Aeschylus, says Signor Maddalena in his preface, has many notes and different people feel that different notes predominate. He himself will place chief emphasis on the note of sorrow, since he believes that sorrow is the centre of the poetry of Aeschylus. But sorrow has many aspects. It comes to the guilty, but it also comes to the innocent: it can be active, but it can also be passive. 'Modi infiniti ha il dolore, e infiniti gradi; ma sempre è dolore'. These sententious banalities give a very fair notion of the general character of the book. The complete plays are treated in separate chapters, the names of whose sections will help the reader to understand the pattern of the work. The *Agamemnon* is discussed under the following headings: 'Giustizia', 'Colpe e Sofferenze', 'Il Guardiano, il Coro, l'Araldo', 'Clitennestra', 'Agamennone', 'Cassandra', 'Vendetta e Inno di Clitennestra', 'Ate, poi, la abbandona', 'Ma il Bene trionfa'. So much of the book consists of translations and summaries, punctuated by aesthetic comments after the fashion of the remarks about 'sorrow' which I have paraphrased, that one wonders why the writer did not adopt the simpler plan of a running commentary. The actual views expressed, while in no way new, are for the most part sensible enough. Their lack of novelty would not be matter for reproach, were they only supported by an independent critical scrutiny of the poet's text. But controversial issues are never discussed in detail; and without detailed discussion of controversial issues little can be said about the *Prometheus* trilogy, for example, that brings any profit. Brief notes at the end of this chapter provide evidence of the author's acquaintance with the modern literature of the subject, but do little to remedy this deficiency. All quotations are in a prose translation which is accurate and seems to me to be in good Italian. M. is obviously a man of taste, and writes in an easy and agreeable style. But his book contains far too many of the vague and platitudinous generalisations that are typical of the 'aesthetic criticism' now so popular on the Continent to make it anything but dull reading. There are already far too many popular expositions of the conventional view of Aeschylus; and any new general book about him is bound to be a bore unless its author can offer fresh and well-grounded opinions that rest upon a careful examination of the poet's difficult text. This requirement M.'s book does not meet; and though it has its merits, they are of too negative a sort for them to excuse this failure.

HUGH LLOYD-JONES.

Il 'Prometeo' di Eschilo alla luce delle Storie di Erodoto. By GARTANO BAGLIO. Pp. 176. Rome: Angelo Signorelli, 1952. L. 750.

The light that shines forth from the histories of Herodotus to illuminate the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus in the eyes of Signor Baglio is indeed a lurid glare. His book will at once take its place in a special section of the immense literature of this play, a section whose components give their readers, if not perhaps an unmixed, a lively pleasure. Signor Baglio takes rank beside Lucie Félix-Faure-Goyau ('*Un pressentiment païen du Calvaire*', in *Le Correspondant*, 1914, 1157 f.), who was the first to suggest that Aeschylus, like Virgil, was vouchsafed a prophetic glimpse

of the Christian revelation; beside E. G. Harman (*Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound*, London, 1920), who argued that the play was an allegorical defence of Themistocles against his enemies; and beside J. M. Pryce (*A New Presentation of the Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus, wherein is set forth the Hidden Meaning of the Myth*, Los Angeles and London, 1925). I particularly recommend the diagram of the Descent and Ascent of the Monad on p. 85 and the frontispiece, a portrait whose subject is thus described: 'Aeschylus: visionary, of course, as no authentic portrait of the poet is extant', who has the distinction of having first perceived the 'hidden meaning' of the Prometheus myth, and of having 'related it to mythology in general and to the ancient mystical astronomy which mythology includes' (p. 5). He is almost entitled to take rank beside Professor J. A. Davison (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1949), who has lately demonstrated that the *Prometheus* is an allegorical defence, not of Themistocles, but of Protagoras. In Signor Baglio's view, the play obliquely describes the events of 480-479 B.C. Prometheus stands for Athens, the tyrant Zeus for Xerxes; readers will note with satisfaction that the apparent inconsistency between the Zeus of this play and Zeus elsewhere in this author is thus eliminated. Oceanus stands for Alexander of Macedon, and his fruitless visit to Prometheus for Alexander's fruitless visit to Athens. Io symbolises the Ionian race, and the descriptions of her wanderings conceal detailed allusions to Ionian colonisation in different parts of the Mediterranean. Signor Baglio works out with great thoroughness and ingenuity his account of what he calls Aeschylus's 'metodo pseudo-apocalittico' of making allegorical allusions to contemporary history. The reader cannot but feel grateful for the entertainment which his own 'pseudo-apocalyptic method' offers.

HUGH LLOYD-JONES.

The Women of Greek Drama. By S. P. YOUNG. New York: Exposition Press, 1953. Pp. 174. \$3.50.

This book is clearly a labour of love written by one who is, very probably, an effective lecturer; reduction to print is not always kind to his style (e.g. p. 162, foot). It does not set out to be a critical study of problems, although the author is aware of some, at least, of them (cf. p. 65, on Soph. *Ant.* 905 f.). It will be useful, one hopes, in stimulating interest at the elementary level of those for whom it is designed; one should not perhaps be unduly put off by the stridency of tone that the recurrent superlative or quasi-superlative imparts, especially at the opening of many of the chapters: e.g. 'Hermione is the most execrable woman in Greek drama' (p. 113). The nineteen chapters devoted to characters have a certain sameness of plan, and are mostly taken up with factual narrative of the play in question; the writer's judgements are often simplified to a point verging on naivety (e.g. last paragraph of ch. 6), but he is to be commended for his lively interest in contemporary transatlantic performances of ancient drama (e.g. pp. 22, 88-9, 101).

JOHN G. GRIFFITH.

Platons Akademie. By HANS HERTER. 2nd edition. Pp. 40. Bonn: University Press, 1952. DM. 2.40.

In this brochure the author builds, from external sources and from the evidence of the dialogues, a comprehensive picture of the Academy and its studies. He stresses the central importance of the Ideal Theory, relating to it alike the mathematical propaedia, the political teachings of the school, and the classificatory discipline which became a paramount interest. His account is at many points valuable and suggestive. This second edition is, it appears, distinguished mainly by expansion of the notes which appear at the end and which contain many useful references to sources. These notes would be considerably easier to relate to their context if indicator numbers were inserted in the text itself; as it is, their manner of reference (to page and line) condemns the attentive reader to counting every time down a page of forty-three lines in order to find his cue.

D. TARRANT.

Plato's Statesman. A translation of the *Politicus* of Plato with introductory essays and footnotes. By J. B. SKEMP. Pp. 254. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952. 28s.

A fresh study of the *Politicus* has indeed been long overdue, as the author of the present work remarks in his preface. This translation, accompanied as it is by full and valuable introductory and exegetic material, goes far to take the place of a new edition of the text itself.

Discussing the position of the dialogue in the development of Plato's political thought, Professor Skemp stresses its close relationship to the *Republic*, maintaining (against Grube and others) that the conception of the philosopher-king is not here

abandoned, but is upheld in preference to use of the popular 'shepherd' metaphor—the latter properly the analogue for a divine ruler rather than a human statesman. The astronomical and religious implications of the myth are considered with thoroughness and profit. The probable relation between the *Politicus* and Aristotle's *de philosophia* is discussed in the light of Cicero's reference in *de nat. deor.* I. 13. In treating of the cosmology of the dialogue, its priority to the *Timaeus* is assumed, and the comparison of the two accounts is made on that basis. But in an appendix note is taken of Mr. G. E. L. Owen's argument (since published, *CQ.* January-April 1953) that the *Timaeus* should be given an earlier than the customary dating. To this view Professor Skemp gives an interim and qualified assent; we may hope that he will take part in the further discussion that may be expected on this matter.

For the translation, the established text is in the main followed, but some of Diels' emendations and some of the translator's own are introduced and supported. The version given is easy and convincing in style and sound in detail. The passage beginning at 306d, on the various types of voice and action, may be instanced for the felicitous rendering of a great variety of epithets. The method of 'running commentary' at intervals, favoured by Cornford and Hackforth, is discarded for a continuous translation supported by ample footnotes where necessary; these are marked by equal erudition and humanity, and are indeed full of good things. The same is true of the detail of the opening essays, though at some points there will be question or debate. Some may (e.g.) feel with the present reviewer that the attempt to find an astronomical reference in the phrase *ἐν οὐρανῷ παράδειγμα*, *Rep.* 592b, is unsupported by the context of the passage and fails to carry conviction.

Platonists must all be grateful to Professor Skemp for this very valuable book.

D. TARRANT.

Plato's Gorgias. Translated, with an Introduction, by W. C. HELMBOLD. Pp. x + 107. New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1952. \$0.65.

'The Little Library of Liberal Arts', to which this volume belongs, is a series of cheap, convenient texts, mostly philosophical, and including a number of translations from classical authors. Most of the Plato volumes are reprints of old versions (Jowett or F. J. Church), but Mr. Helmbold has provided a new *Gorgias* with a brief Introduction. It is a useful piece of work. H. follows Burnet's text, except that he brackets a number of disputed passages as interpolations: 453^a8 (*καὶ τοῦ*) 460^a1-6, 505^a3-4 (surely '5-6 must go too, if this is right?'), 520^b2-3, 525^a4-5, 526^b6-7. For most of these suggested omissions there are precedents, but H. is clearly inclined to detect interpolation freely; in a work of this scope it is, of course, impossible for him to argue the case.

One or two places in which the translation is misleading may be mentioned. At 490^a8 Burnet's text (with his punctuation) means: 'You mean, in food and drink . . .'. In this, *λέγεις* is parenthetical. H., however, translates: 'You keep talking about food and drink . . .'. This is probably wrong: see Burnet on *Phaedo* 109^a1. At 491^b2, the construction of the sentence seems confused; at 482^a6 *τῶν ἑτέρων παθόντων* means 'my other love', i.e. Alcibiades. There are, however, not many such slips, and on the whole the translation is a reliable guide.

H. does not seek any special elevation or distinction of style; but his characterisation of Callicles raises, I think, an interesting issue. He says (Introd. p. viii): 'So far as Plato allows us to know, Callicles may have merely laughed or sighed or shaken hands all around when Socrates' final speech reached its great conclusion . . .'. And he generally seems to distinguish Callicles' utterances by a more colloquial style than he allows Socrates (e.g. 482c-486d; 489b-c). Is this right? Callicles is a serious young man, and, I should have thought, not only a vehement speaker, ready to use phrases like *ἐν κόπῃς τῶντων* and *φλυαρία*, but also a formal one: witness his repeated quotations and general 'bookishness'. But this is perhaps a topic which it would be worth while to debate in detail.

The publishers are to be congratulated on providing this useful and handy series; but a few more notes would have added greatly to the usefulness of the book: a translator who (like H.) has some new things to say deserves generous treatment in this respect.

D. A. RUSSELL.

Studien zu den platonischen Nomoi (Zetemata, 3). By G. MÜLLER. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1951. Pp. 194. DM. 15.

So much industry and ingenuity on the part of the author make it highly regrettable that his main conclusions must be

pronounced fundamentally unsound. He makes out a satisfactory case for regarding *Laws* and *Epinomis* as of a piece in thought and style; they are, he holds, genuinely Platonic; and their 'inconcinnities' are not to be laid at the door of Philippos of Opus, nor can they be cured by the help of the theory that Plato left these works in an unfinished state. But he fails to prove that a 'deep chasm' separates *Laws* from the other works of Plato; that Plato here reinterpreted or rather misinterpreted, levelled out, and 'trivialised' his own philosophy, and wrote so feebly, faultily, and obscurely that the once clear light of 'the Platonic reason' must now be declared dim and blind.

Müller obtains this result by the method of verbal analysis. Such analysis is useful and necessary, but if it is not meticulous it may be wholly misleading. A few instances of careless interpretation must here suffice. At 902a 9 he thinks Plato committed to the view that wrong-doing is no longer involuntary; his paraphrase omits *ἀνέναντον*, which shows how careful Plato was to dissociate himself from that popular account of the matter. He outruns the text in finding one evil 'world-soul' in *Laws* X. In spite of the warning *ἐνὶ ὅλῳ μόνον* in 903b 1, he finds nothing 'mythical' in 903-4. He finds a new brand of hedonism in *Laws* II and V, which is inconsistent with a similarly new doctrine of *φρόνησις*: *φρόνησις* is now piety, and piety is astronomy! The doctrine of the *νόμος* which governs the universe receives scant consideration; Müller has made up his mind that the *cosmos* is now for Plato self-sufficient and divine. From the point of view of *Rep.* all this is admittedly 'grotesque'. The chief basis of the argument is a series of alleged obscurities; it is curious that from this insipidated gloom Müller does not scruple to draw very definite conclusions. It is significant that he has similar results when he applies his methods to *Rep.* Different things are said there about the different grades of virtue and of knowledge; it is easy to produce confusion by mixing them all together. It is typical that on quite inadequate grounds *Rep.* 540d to the end of Book VII is condemned as an interpolation.

In general, Müller fails to allow for the restricted nature of Plato's aim in *Laws*. There is, for example, nothing about the Form of Good in *Laws*, but this fact does not prove that the dialectic briefly described in *Laws* XII is radically different from that of *Rep.* Nor does the absence of a detailed statement of the doctrine of Forms prove that Plato is now using the language of philosophy without its genuine sense. The absurdity of such arguments is clearer still from the incidental treatment of other dialogues, as when important deductions are drawn from the statement that there is 'no cosmology' in *Phaedrus*, and therefore its doctrine of soul as self-motion has little relevance to *Laws*.

J. TATE.

Plato. The Symposium. A new translation by W. HAMILTON. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1951. Pp. 122, 25.

Both introduction and translation are masterly. The former deals soberly and sensibly with what one may call the seamy side of the *Symposium*, and rightly emphasises the correlation between the ascent to Beauty in Diotima's speech and the ascent to Good in the *Republic*, which also uses the language of marriage and begetting (490b). The translation is remarkably lucid and readable. One would have liked to see some attempt to reproduce the stylistic flavour of Agathon's speech in euphuistic English. Unnecessary freeness is rare: 'dislike' for *φεισθήναι* (174a 7), 'abundant supplies' for *εὐωχίας* (220a 2), and *ἀντιπαρθεῖν* omitted (210c 2). At 175b 6 *παρὰ τὴν* is rightly taken as indicative.

J. TATE.

La catharsis des passions d'après Aristote. By E. P. PAPANOUTSOS. Pp. 41. Athens: Collection de l'Institut Français, 1953. Price not stated.

In his own writings on aesthetics the author, like too many others, had used the term 'catharsis' for what he took to be the 'psychic effects' of art. Later he decided to consult texts and commentators to see if Aristotle had used the word in a similar sense. This procedure has obvious dangers to which the author does not seem sufficiently alive, for it is all too easy to be misled by one's own preconceptions. The present pamphlet contains the results of his researches. Though it has some interesting, if inconclusive, discussions, one must regretfully state that no new light is shed on the problem. The work of J. Croissant, *Aristote et le mystère*, which conveniently displays most of the evidence, and of her critics (see, e.g., *Hermathena* XXV, 1 ff.) is unknown to the author. And, as he tells us in an additional note, it was only after the conclusion of his study that he learned of the existence of Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*.

Papanoutsos finds himself in agreement with Butcher; and this is not surprising, since, like Butcher, he is an eclectic, who dislikes clear-cut distinctions, and tries, so far as words go, to combine the medical with moral and spiritual interpretations. If I may summarise his rather rhetorical and repetitive treatment, the catharsis-doctrine does not mean that tragedy purifies the emotions of pity and fear as these are usually understood; rather, it arouses them in an extraordinary form. These refined, tragic, aesthetic emotions, free from pain and excess, spring up only when we consciously grasp 'a profound moral and religious meaning' from the 'life and destiny' of the tragic personages. It is the plot which works this transformation, harmonising the passions with reason and with one another.

As there is no textual evidence for this view of catharsis (but rather the contrary), the author follows Finsler and Rostagni in leaning heavily on the assumption that Aristotle's treatment of both catharsis and imitation is meant as a (strangely well-disguised) polemic against Plato's criticism of tragedy. But even his summary of *Rep.* X (on which he might well have consulted CQ XXX, 48 ff.) does little to fill the gap between the text and the gloss. Among minor blemishes one may note: an inaccurate and tendentious translation of *Politics* ('Poétique' is a misprint, p. 8) 1341b 32 ff.; the omission of five crucial words in the quotation from Iamblichus (p. 11); the neglect of the 'repugnant' quality in the plot of the *Medea* (p. 25); and certain incautious remarks on the poetic universal, which might be held to imply that in Aristotle's view the tragic characters are mere 'symbols', and that the 'reason' and 'law' inherent in the plot could be separately stated in plain prose.

J. TATE.

Loose-leaf Texts. Series A: Hellenistica. Edited by T. W. MANSON and G. ZUNTZ. Pp. 30. Manchester: University Press, 1949. 5s.

The texts of the thirteen sheets have primarily been taken from the philosophical and religious literature. Each group of texts is preceded by a short bibliography. As the texts are meant for University use, the references to translations may seem out of place.

In nos. 1-4 the Stoa is well represented. Nos. 1 and 2 contain passages from M. Aurelius. In the bibliography is a reference to Zuntz's 'Notes on Antoninus' (CQ XL, 1946, 47 ff.), which are of great value to students of textual criticism. In order to recover the archetype reading, the readings of the sources have to be considered independently, while again and again the decision has to be made on internal grounds, observations holding true not only of the text of the 'Meditations', but also of any text to be published. In 2, 4 the dittography *σὺν* is removed with Rendall, 2, 6 Gataker's *ὁβρις* accepted with Farquharson, the genitive absolute *ὡς δὲ δυνάτοιο ὄντος* (2, 11) well explained in the above-mentioned article, p. 54. Two passages from Musonius give the Stoic conceptions of asceticism and of the ethical character of kingship, while no. 4 is devoted to Epictetus. The second passage deals with Providence (I 16). In CQ XLIV (1950), 69, Zuntz discussed the duplication of *ἐπαινεῖν* in I 16, 18 and proposed to read *ἐπαινεῖν* in the first place. It seems, however, more probable that the second *ἐπαινεῖν* is due to faulty repetition, and other considerations support this view: in 16, 16 the praise is explicitly called *ὄνομα*. Therefore it is only logical that in 16, 18 *ἐπαινεῖν* appears first. Zuntz's reference to 16, 15 does not help, for there too both *ὄνομα* and *ἐπαινεῖν* appear, in this order. Lastly, the assumption of faulty repetition is facilitated by the preceding *ὄνομα*. For these reasons I would read *ἐπαινεῖν* in the second place.

The thirteen papyri of nos. 5 and 6 show the conditions prevailing among the Greek and indigenous population of Egypt. A few more notes on nos. IV and XII, explaining spelling and syntax, might have proved helpful to the student. Because of the full bibliography it contains a reference to W. Peremans and J. Vergote, *Papyrologisch handboek*, 1942, should be added to the literature.

Interesting is the composition of no. 7 (Asclepius). Four cures from Epidaurian inscriptions are followed by the quite different reactions to this cult from the later pagan (Aelius Aristides) and Christian (Justinus Martyr) sides.

From Lucian's *Alexander* and *Philopseudes* four paragraphs have been included. The conjecture *τελούμενος* (*Alex.* 38) is attractive, the interpretation of *δαί* (*ib.* 'each time') undoubtedly correct (cf. CQ XLIV (1950), 70).

No. 9 (Philo's description of the Therapeutae) serves the purpose of the series well, and so do nos. 10-12 (Psalms of Solomon, Messianic).

Finally, no. 13 contains Theophrastus's views on superstition and true devotion.

This series fulfils its purpose: ideas and conditions of the Hellenistic world are clearly illustrated by well-chosen passages. Besides, the texts have not been mechanically reproduced, but are based on an independent study of the evidence. Therefore it is to be hoped that the field covered by the 'Hellenistica' will be extended. For the sake of clearness, religious, philosophical, and profane texts could then be properly grouped.

A. H. R. E. PAAP.

Panaetii Rhodii Fragmenta. Collegit iterumque edidit MODESTUS VAN STRAATEN. Pp. xviii + 59. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952. 7.50 guilders.

In 1946 Dr. van Straaten published in French a level-headed study of Panaetius, not reviewed in this *Journal*, to which was subjoined a collection of the 'fragments' and testimonia. This collection is now reprinted separately with minor alterations. One fault of the original was that verbatim copying of the apparatus criticus from standard texts sometimes led to its appearing that Dr. van Straaten was claiming the credit for other scholars' emendations: this has been corrected. Some more scraps of *Stoicorum Index Herculaneensis* have been added, but there has wisely been no concession to the critics who would have had him print more of Cicero. It might, however, have been useful to do more than is done in the preface to record the passages in various authors, including Cicero, that have with more or less plausibility been alleged to have a Panaetian origin. Three 'dubia' should certainly have been included from Porphyry's commentary on Ptolemy's *Harmonics*. Two of these fragments are printed by L. Edelstein in a review in *AJP* 1950, 79; the first (if genuine) is not only unique as being a verbatim quotation, but also long enough to give an idea of Panaetius' style, at any rate in a technical work. It is ascribed to Παναίτιος τῷ νεώτερόν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ γινόμενα καὶ μυστηρίων λόγων καὶ διαστημάτων (p. 65 Düring). Who was this 'younger Panaetius'? K. Ziegler (*RE* s.v.) would distinguish him from our philosopher, who is, nevertheless, called by Suidas δ νεώτερος in contrast with an otherwise unknown (and it is to be feared fictitious) Rhodian philosopher. The subject-matter, too, suits him as a pupil of Diogenes of Babylon (who wrote περὶ μυστηρίων), and the citation of Plato's *Republic* as a Platonic scholar. Plato is again referred to (*Tim.* 36A) in a fragment not noted by Ziegler or Edelstein: βέλτοισι δὲ καὶ τὸ προκειμένον καὶ Παναίτιος ἀποδείξας ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς Ἑρατοσθένης καταχρησάτο πρὸς τὸ διαστήματι ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου (p. 96). But on the same page occur the words Δημητρίου καὶ Παναίτιου τοῖς μαθηματικῶς. Can 'Panaetius the mathematician' be the Panaetius? Perhaps, if Porphyry assumed that an author with such a title must have been a mathematician.

F. H. SANDBACH.

Plutarch: Life of Dion. With Introduction and Notes by W. H. PORTER. Pp. xxx + 106. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1952. 7s. 6d.

Professor Porter, who published an edition of the *Aratus* in 1937, now edits the *Dion*, which, as he points out in his preface, 'has hitherto lacked an annotated edition in English'. No scholarly edition has, so far as I am aware, been published in any language, for that of R. del Re (ed. 2, Florence, 1948) is designed for use in schools. The *Dion* is to-day among the most widely studied of the Lives. It is of special interest to Platonists because of Dion's associations with Plato and the Academy; it is a major source for Sicilian history in the fourth century; it is among the most brilliant of the Lives and yet at the same time illustrates the weakness of Plutarch as a biographer. An edition has long been needed, and Porter's work is to be warmly welcomed.

The longest section of the introduction deals with the vexed question of the sources. This survey contains nothing startlingly new, but is admirably clear and sound, especially on Timonides. It may be doubted whether, in view of the spate of recent work on the Platonic Epistles, there is any necessity to refute the arguments of Beloch against their authenticity. An addendum to this section rejects, rightly in my opinion, the view of Hammond that the chapters on Dion in Diodorus xvi are derived from Theopompus.

The Teubner text of K. Ziegler is printed without much alteration. Among the few conjectures of the editor ἀποσπασθῶσι for ἀποσπασθῶσι (25. 4) is noteworthy. The commentary is mainly historical, though difficulties of interpretation, as well as linguistic, syntactical, and textual points are by no means neglected. Seven Supplementary Notes on matters demanding fuller discussion are inserted at appropriate points in the commentary. This system is perhaps preferable to the grouping of these discussions in a series of appendices, but it has some disadvantages. Because the influence of the Academy on Dion is the subject of Supplementary Note V, his projected reform of the Syracusan constitution is dealt with after chapter

21, though Plutarch does not mention it until 53. 2-3 (where the commentary contains no reference to this discussion).

In far too many cases the references to passages in ancient and modern works are incomplete. It is not helpful to the reader to be informed (note on 23. 5) that the date generally accepted for the death of Dion is to be found 'in the *Oxyrynchus* (sic) Papyrus' (this chronological papyrus is *Ox. Pap.* 1. 12). On p. 62 there are six incomplete references. The introduction and Supplementary Notes, though lucid in other respects, would have been easier to follow had not the paragraphs been so short. Pp. 93-4 contains twenty-three completed paragraphs, of which only four consist of more than two sentences. The notes on 3. 1-2 and 28. 4 conflict on the year in which Dionysius I became tyrant: the latter gives the *Marmor Parium* date, which is undoubtedly false. The number of misprints is not excessive.

It is to be hoped that Professor Porter will now write a historical study of Dion, a task for which he is admirably equipped. The only modern monograph, that of R. von Scheliha (*Dion*, 1934), is unsatisfactory.

H. D. WESTLAKE.

Plutarch. Vita di Flaminio. Introduzione Testo Traduzione e Commento a cura di S. GEREVINI. Milan: Carlo Marzorati, 1952. Pp. 103. L. 450.

Dr. Holden in the nineteenth century edited seven of Plutarch's Lives; his *Manes* will approve the attention which the present century continues to give to his favourite author. The *Gracchi*, the *Aemilii*, the *Lysander*, and the *Cato maior* have all found modern editors; Professor Porter has given us annotated editions of the *Aratus* and the *Dion*; from Italy we already have the *Dion* and the *Brutus*, by Dr. del Re. It is fitting that this edition of the *Flamininus* should also appear in Italy.

A Roman master stands on Grecian ground,
And to the concourse of the Isthmian games
He, by his herald's voice, aloud proclaims
'The Liberty of Greece'.

Plutarch's *Flamininus* is of value as a source for the history of Rome's relations with Greece at the end of the third, and the beginning of the second century, B.C. A school edition of the Life, edited by Siefert and Blass, appeared in 1876; since then much valuable work has been done (by Holleaux, Aymard, De Sanctis, Walbank) on the period with which the *Flamininus* deals. Gerevini's edition appears in a series which, we are told, 'ha lo scopo principale di far conoscere agli studenti universitari, in un' edizione facilmente accessibile, i testi e i documenti richiamati nei corsi accademici'.

It would be unfair to expect from an edition more than it professes to give, but this little book (an Introduction, Ziegler's text with facing translation, a considerable bibliography, and a commentary) leaves many of the problems in the Life unsolved. The question of Plutarch's sources, for example, is not adequately treated; in this connexion, the incidental remark 'la fonte principale resta sempre Polibio' is not illuminating; one article on the sources by R. E. Smith (*CQ* 1944) is mentioned, but another (*CQ* 1940) is omitted; neither is there any discussion of an article by Klotz (*Rhein. Mus.* 1935) which seeks to show that the annalist, Valerius Antias, was the source of the non-Polybian part of the biography.

The Introduction is brief, but the Commentary is even briefer. A total of seventy notes works out at three to four per chapter. In Chapter 1 nothing is said, though some information would seem desirable, on 'the great statue of Apollo brought from Carthage'; in Chapter 2 no comment is made on Plutarch's obvious error in making Flamininus (a patrician) pass over the *tribunate* (δημοκρατία) to become consul. There are many similar omissions. Plutarch's idiom is sometimes strange and often difficult, but the commentary gives little or no help on points of grammar or syntax. The translation in general appears accurate; at 4. 1, ἥσαν μὲν οὖν . . . ἐπιχρησάντων, it is preferable to Perrin's in the *Loeb* edition. There are some misprints; most of them will not cause difficulty, but *Kolvtos passim* should be *Kolvtos*, and E. T. Griffith (p. 36) is surely G. T. Griffith. The bibliography should have included Aymard's well-known works and Walbank's *Philip V of Macedon* (Cambridge, 1940).

M. DUGGAN.

Lucien de Samosate: Philopseudes et De Morte Peregrini. Avec introduction et commentaire de JACQUES SCHWARTZ. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951. Pp. 113. Price not stated.

This book is published by the Faculty of Letters of the University of Strasbourg for the use of students; as the preface points out, it thus prolongs an old tradition, since the *Dialogi Deorum* were included in the syllabus when the teaching of

Greek was begun there in 1515. Each work is followed by a commentary of slightly greater length which is a model of good sense and succeeds in being both full and concise. It is attached chiefly to proper names and *realia*, with useful references to books for further reading but no separate bibliography. M. Schwartz abstains from passing any judgement on Lucian, and for linguistic curiosities gives only a general reference to Schmid's *Atticismus*.

The newly established text preserves the readings of the Γ class as far as possible. Two points invite comment. In *Per.* 11 the editor prints *θεόν* but remarks on the superiority of *θε(τ)ῶν* (which is apparently assumed in the note on pp. 267-8 of Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*); then for the difficult *μῆγον γούν* of the manuscripts he suggests *μῆρ' αὐτοῦ* as a source. The reading of Harmon in the Loeb text seems equally possible and better for the sense and Greek. Nor is the adoption in *Phil.* 15 of *οὐδέ τεττάρων μῶν πᾶν τὸν συμφορὰν Πανκράτην ὑπέρστανον ἐργάζεται* an improvement. It is the Hyperborean (pace M. Schwartz) and not Glaucias whose *συμφορὰ* is here in question; and *οὐδέ*, which needs the commentary to explain its meaning, is not more in keeping with Lucian's style than the rejected *ὁ δέ*. Lucian seems to have regarded *ὁ δέ* in several places as nominative corresponding to the unemphatic oblique cases of *αὐτός*. There is a similar use in the middle of *Phil.* 19 and others among the references given under *δε* in Schmid's *Atticismus* I, p. 425. This device is not unprecedented in classical authors; *Isoc.* xv, 7: *ὅσον αὐτοῦ τὴν φρόνησιν ἀσκήν μῦλλον τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ χεῖρον ποιθεύονται τῶν ἱδρωτῶν*.

The introductory notes on Lucian and on each work are brief and judicious. Having rightly warned his students that attempts to date Lucian's works in detail must be largely subjective, M. Schwartz argues that the *Philopseudes* and *De Morte Peregrini* were both written in 169-170, and (against Christ-Schmid, Helm, and Caster) that the *Alexander*, though not published until after 180, had already been written; hence the absence of any discussion of oracles from the *Philopseudes*, since they were adequately treated in the other two works. However, Lucian did not mind repeating himself on the follies of superstition and belief, and it seems unlikely that the three works were planned as a triptych. The *Philopseudes* is lighter in manner than the other two, merely a collection of tales intended for amusement; the brief mention of oracles (a more serious subject to many people) makes an artistic ending, and the length of the whole is typical of Lucian's larger works (twenty-three Teubner pages; nineteen other works have between twenty-one and twenty-nine). The introduction to the *De Morte Peregrini* includes a summary of previous speculations about its purpose—whether Lucian intended to attack the Cynics, or Peregrinus, or his cult. These possibilities are not mutually exclusive; many readers of Lucian will agree with the words of Philosophy in *Pisc.* 20: *Ἡράκλεις, πολυμῆσι τινα μὲν τὴν τέχνην*.

B. J. SINS.

The Language of the New Testament. By C. F. D. MOULE. Cambridge: University Press, 1952. Pp. 30. 2s. 6d.

In his inaugural lecture the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity is concerned to state the case for a renewed philological study of the New Testament. Form-criticism and typology are certainly more fashionable, and the very completeness of the victory won in the early years of the century by scholars (Deissmann above all) who insisted on interpreting the N.T. with the help of papyri and inscriptions has left many with the impression that there is little more to be done. Dr. Moule is concerned with the relations between theology and grammar (e.g. in the use of the definite article) and with a comparative study of the different styles within the N.T.; it is a pity that with undue modesty he illustrates his points largely from the work of other scholars. He rightly draws attention to the distinctive quality in N.T. language, which cannot easily be paralleled elsewhere; here he might have cited A. D. Nock's brief and brilliant article in *The Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1933.

The idea that an amanuensis in the ancient world might well influence the style and diction of a document is surely extravagant; their employment for legal documents is sufficient to show that it was not at least a common practice. And it is perhaps a pity that Dr. Moule so warmly commends Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek N.T.*; attractive as it is, it largely dates from the era before Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*, and so many texts have been published since it appeared that it is now dangerously misleading; it is effectively replaced by W. Bauer's *Wörterbuch*⁴ and Blass-Debrunner⁷.

Dr. Moule's lecture is stimulating, if slight in substance; students of the Greek language and of the N.T. alike will look forward to further studies to which this is the prolegomenon.

C. H. ROBERTS.

Ancient and Mediaeval Grammatical Theory in Europe, with Particular Reference to Modern Linguistic Doctrines. By R. H. ROBINS. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1951. Pp. vii + 104. 8s. 6d.

This consists of three chapters on leading currents in the grammatical thought of the Greeks, the Romans, and the mediaeval grammarians, and concludes with a description of the views of modern linguistics on the main problems involved. These are two-fold: first, that of the basis, theoretical or empirical, on which language is to be analysed and reduced to a grammatical statement; and second, the attitude which the grammarian should then adopt to the facts which his study has disclosed (centring in antiquity about the analogy: anomaly controversy). Greatest space—almost a half—has properly been given to the Greeks, because of their pioneer work and intrinsic importance.

The main points at issue are well set out, the style is eminently readable, and the book will make a useful introduction to its subject.

It would have been well to remark that unfortunately the Greeks did not make a scientific study of other languages; nor did they formulate a truly historical picture of their own language. But what did most damage was their inadequate word analysis, which bedevilled Greek and Roman etymology and stood in the way of a scientific treatment of language development.

As the author shows, the theoretical basis of much of the Greek grammatical work is now called into question, yet its practical success, especially in the establishment of the parts of speech, is incontrovertible. This, too, despite the often logical rather than formal basis of differentiation. Sometimes in this book the failure of the logical approach is over-stressed: so on p. 28, with reference to the Stoic view that a verb needs a subject to make a complete utterance. This view is perfectly true and valuable within wide limits, and is exemplified by almost all written language (which was the primary subject of their analysis). Its inadequacy is, of course, most evident when we deal with colloquial speech. But to say that the question of completion 'has nothing to do with its logical form' is overstatement. The mechanistic outlook appears in the sharp criticism (p. 92) of the 'conception of language as "conveying thought" or "expressing ideas"', which not everyone would accept unreservedly.

A subject index is desirable. On p. 32 l. 8 read *participle* for *partide*; on p. 44 l. 22, *understanding* for *undertaking*; on p. 52 l. 17, *words* for *works*.

A. C. MOORHOUSE.

The Athens of Demosthenes. By A. H. M. JONES. Pp. 32. Cambridge: University Press, 1952. 2s. 6d.

In his inaugural lecture, here printed with the addition of references to the evidence and a few brief notes, Professor Jones demonstrates that whether or not the policies advocated by Demosthenes were in other respects the best policies for Athens there were at least good economic reasons for the failure of the Athenians to do all that he asked them to do.

J. examines first the *σισπηδία* (on which a valuable article by his former pupil G. de Sainte Croix has since been published in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 1953). He argues convincingly that 6000 talents was the total declared value of the property of those Athenians who owned enough to be liable for *σισπηδία*, that 25 minae was the minimum taxable capital, that *σισπηδία* was not a progressive tax but was levied at a fixed rate, that over a period of years it was equivalent to an income tax of not more than 6d. in the pound, without making any allowance for underassessment or concealment, but that the way in which it was levied made it bear heavily on those whose property did not greatly exceed the minimum—which is why the assembly was very reluctant to vote a levy (for he argues that relatively well-to-do citizens attended the assembly, and the law courts, in disproportionately large numbers). That is one reason why Athenian military efforts in this period were on too small a scale or too spasmodic to achieve solid results. J. goes on to point out that the hoplites and the rowers could not be adequately paid, as they had been in the days of the empire, and were therefore naturally unwilling to undertake long campaigns, while the poorer members of the trierarchic symmories, those who were hardest hit by an *σισπηδία*, had to bear here too an unduly heavy burden. Finally, he disposes of the legend, already criticised by Kahrstedt (*Gött. Nachr.*, 1929), that the *θεωριόν* absorbed a large part of Athenian revenues. He leaves it to his readers to draw the conclusion that unless the Athenians received substantial support either from enthusiastic allies or from obedient subjects (or unless the poor had assembled *en masse* to enforce a policy of soaking the rich) the pursuit of a foreign policy that would involve protracted hostilities on a

considerable scale was impossible or at least incompatible with the maintenance of the established democratic institutions, since these absorbed a large part of the ordinary revenues (though not as large a part as is sometimes suggested, as J. has shown in an article in *Past and Present* 1, 1952), with peacetime expenditure on defence forming another big item. These were the facts that Demosthenes failed to face—until it was too late (which is not to say that earlier recognition of them would necessarily have made it any easier for him to organise successful resistance to Philip).

It is to be hoped that publication of this salutary lecture will stimulate further study of Athens and the Greek world in the fourth century, a period which has long been unduly neglected by British scholars (though Cambridge has furnished some exceptions). As this lecture shows, there is much that needs to be reconsidered in older work on this period.

C. ROWEALD.

Greek Philosophy: The Hub and the Spokes. By W. K. C. GUTHRIE. Pp. 29. Cambridge: University Press, 1953. 3s.

In the first part of his inaugural lecture Professor Guthrie speaks in defence of the classical scholar's approach to ancient philosophy. It is his purpose to get to know the ancient thinkers as individuals, rather than to single out what seems true and important in the light of later experience; and he will view the philosophy of the Greeks in connexion with their language and literature, religion and art (or, if he prefers, in connexion with some larger cultural unit), rather than with later doctrines, even those inspired by Greek precedents, or with the philosophy of the present day.

Here the reader may, I think, be inclined to ask, why not both? Is it beyond the capacity of the scholarly mind to view Greek philosophy in relation to the culture from which it sprang, and at the same time to appreciate the historical significance of the texts, and their indelible value as patterns of philosophical method? This has surely been done in the past by the best scholars in their more enlightened moments; what has happened to render it impossible?

Presumably the classical scholar and the historically minded philosopher have one aim in common—to discover what an ancient thinker really meant—but the latter has an additional purpose, for he wishes to understand the influence which a doctrine has exercised, and also to judge whether it is in fact true. Now it is clear, and experience confirms, that each approach, pursued to the exclusion of the other, has its risks. The philosophical writer too often claims to be exempt from the labour of interpretation, and to know intuitively what an ancient thinker must be trying to say. But the classical scholar, on his side, may tend to paint in the background so minutely that it begins to appear that the thinker was bound to say what he did say. The reasons from which he supposed his own doctrines to follow, and which he recommends to the acceptance of others, will then lose their force, and philosophy will be eliminated; which is a pity if the philosophy happens to be that of Plato or Aristotle. The moral of this is that, while industry and imagination are the first requisites if one intends to understand ancient philosophical texts, they alone are not enough; they need to be balanced by some reflections on the problems themselves. And in a comparison of methods, such as is here attempted, there might at least have been some allusion to this danger inherent in the 'classical' approach.

The examples and illustrations which Professor Guthrie has given—the 'spokes' of the wheel—seem to be somewhat loosely connected with one another and with the methodical disquisition in the first part of the lecture. I should like to comment upon one of them. Referring to 'the Islamic achievement in preserving the Greek philosophical heritage', Professor Guthrie says that, as far as can be seen at present, the Arabic writings must be viewed as an independent continuation of Greek philosophy in its final phase, not simply as a quarry from which lost Greek masterpieces may be recovered. The warning is useful, but I think it should be added that it fell to Western philosophers, in the thirteenth century, to reassert the Hellenic heritage in face of developments whereby the sense of human individuality would have been lost.

D. J. ALLAN.

La Religione nella Grecia antica fino ad Alessandro. By RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI. Pp. 282, 14 pll. Turin: Einaudi, 1953. L. 2500.

This is not a new book, but a reissue with slight changes and a new introduction of an old one; the first edition came out at Bologna in 1921. It is therefore not necessary nor indeed fair to criticise it in full detail; there are statements here and there which if the author were now making them for the first

time would call for comment, but these are not many, for fundamentally sane views concerning the religion of Greece have not altered much since the twenties of this century. One or two little slips on matters of fact (as p. 199; Hagnon, being still alive when Brasidas took Amphipolis, could not yet have had a hero-cult there) might have been corrected with advantage, however. One misstatement, or misprint, is not the author's but the printer's or publisher's, and is not in the text but in the 'blurb'; Professor Pettazzoni was born in 1883, not 1893.

The introduction, I understand, is to appear separately in an English version in a volume of opuscula to be published before long. It handles, with moderation, sound judgement, and wide knowledge of the facts, the matter of the historical origins of Greek religion. The general framework is of course, as it must be, the story of how two cultures, that of the invaders and that of the pre-Achaean inhabitants of Greece, met and mingled. But little is left of the exaggerations which used to distort the picture. The author is well aware that if he calls the 'Pelagian' culture matriarchal, he is using a conventional term (p. 12, n. 7); I would almost say that the term is now devoid of content). He also knows (p. 13) how restricted our knowledge is of anything that might be called primitive Indo-European culture. Furthermore, he recognises (p. 14) that the result of the process was, to use chemical terms, a compound and not a mechanical mixture. With these wise and commendable limitations, he yet endeavours to analyse the compound and tries, with a considerable measure of success, to assign to each element those features which are its own. I find things which I personally would have stated otherwise, but very little which I consider fundamentally mistaken.

H. J. ROSE.

La Mythologie grecque. By PIERRE GRIMAL. Pp. 125. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1953. Price not stated.

This is No. 582 of a series called *Que sais-je?* which rapidly pours out popularised information on subjects as varied as jazz and geology, bull-fighting and the early days of Christianity. The small size of the volumes forbids any full discussion of the views of their authors on disputable points, as also the addition of anything like the apparatus of foot-notes and citations which a larger work would call for. Hence the unlearned reader is left with no means of correcting the slips into which even the most accurate writer sometimes falls. In this work, p. 5 makes the too sweeping statement that all peoples have legends; the fact is that some appear to have none at all and others very few. The next page commits the author to the very improbable position that the legend, if we may call it one, of Horatius Coclès originated in a statue of a one-eyed daimon on the banks of the Tiber. A great deal of proof would be needed to convince the present reviewer that any Greek 'oracles' existed or were for a moment supposed to exist (see p. 7) *de toute éternité*; rather do the *voix* of individuals or communities seem to be the result of decisions taken by the gods from time to time. P. 12: since the cult of Asklepios as a god cannot be shown to exist earlier than about 500 a.c. (Edelstein, *Asclepius* ii, p. 98), it is idle to dream of a prehistoric population bringing it from Thessaly to Epidaurus. P. 15: it is not quite accurate to speak of Ovid publishing the *Metamorphoses*, cf. *Trist.* iii, 14, 19-24. On the same page: it is very far from beyond doubt that Apollodoros the mythographer is an epitome of anything by Apollodoros of Athens. P. 57 makes the old mistake, put right by Nilsson, of supposing that it is at sowing time that Kore departs for the lower world. P. 60: while it is true that there is 'une légende cohérente et comme une "biographie" de Dionysos', this is no proof that he brought with him any considerable body of myth. A comparative late-comer, he was fitted into what was already rapidly becoming a system of mythology. On p. 109 the highly doubtful statement is made that Prometheus, in Aeschylus, becomes 'un redempteur universel', and that the trilogy (in the existence of which G. believes; I do not) was a sort of Gospel.

But these are details. The main business of such a book is to tell a selection of the myths and sagas, which is done clearly and well, the only weak point being that occasionally a late or aberrant detail is introduced without warning, and to say something of the way in which they were modified by literary influences (p. 112 is especially good on this point) and by systematisation (pp. 101 f.). On p. 103 the author correctly points out the contribution to the legends as we know them made by *éléments folkloriques*, i.e. *märchen*-themes. A short final chapter gives some account of modern mythological studies; it is for the most part good, but the vagaries of Dumézil are taken much too seriously.

H. J. ROSE.

Archäologie: I, Einleitung; Historischer Überblick. By A. RUMPF. Pp. 143; pl. 12. Berlin: de Gruyter: Sammlung Götschen, 1953. DM. 2.40.

The title of this book may be misleading to English readers. By 'Archäologie' Rumpf means what we call Classical Archaeology, the only study of ancient monuments—as he candidly asserts—which has relevance for the Western world; and within this 'Archäologie' it is Art that is important. After the short Introduction the Historical Survey describes how 'Archäologie' has been appreciated and studied in the successive periods which Rumpf labels Antiquity (to A.D. 550), the Middle Ages (550–1350), the Renaissance (1350–1550), Baroque (1550–1750), Classicism (1750–1820), the nineteenth century (1820–70), the period of the Great Excavations (1870–1914), and 'die neueste Zeit' (since 1914). The emphasis is naturally different in each section.

Most humanists are vague in their knowledge of this subject, important though it is. Rumpf has given an admirable account, refreshingly incisive in thought and expression, well proportioned and authoritative, especially in the earlier sections. But Thucydides' neglect of art (p. 9) seems to me less culpable than Rumpf implies; and in the Medieval period the unconventional Frederick II deserves mention. The last two sections are a little disappointing, as Rumpf begins to be discreet. He is just and generous in praise, but reticent in condemnation; and there is much in recent archaeological work that must be condemned outspokenly before we can hope for reform. Again, Rumpf refuses to define the spirit of 'die neueste Zeit', though that two of its characteristics are a scholarly but indiscriminate specialisation and a credulous admiration of Archaic art is suggested by his summary of its achievements. Among these I think that more credit should be given to the American excavation of the Athenian Agora (p. 125), since this is the first competent and comprehensive exploration of a large ancient site. Finally, on p. 135, those who are distressed by the decline of Greek and Latin are offered a hope that will probably distress them even more.

Misprints, though frequent, are mostly trivial: on p. 126 l. 23 for 'Lemnos' read 'Lesbos'. There is a good index. The illustrations are well chosen and some of them enjoyable. The price is remarkable.

R. M. Cook.

Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. By F. POULSEN. Pp. 622. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, 1951. Price not stated.

This English version of the catalogue of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, already widely known in the Danish edition of 1940, is very welcome. The translation is not quite perfect, and there are some misprints; but these are unimportant, and the English reads easily. Bibliography and, where necessary, description and identification are revised (often as a result of the studies of the present Director, V. H. Poulsen), and a few acquisitions since 1940 are included. The manuscript was completed at the time of Dr. Poulsen's death, and the book is a worthy monument to his long years of work in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, and a worthy catalogue of one of the most important collections of ancient sculpture in Europe.

T. J. D.

Griechische Vasenbilder. By W. SCHMALENBACH. Pp. 42, pl. 158. Basel: Verlag Birkhäuser, 1948. Sw. Fr. 8.60.

Griechische Plastik, I: Die grossen Bildhauer des archaischen Athen. By K. SCHEFOLD. Pp. 76, pl. 90. Basel: Verlag Birkhäuser, 1949. Sw. Fr. 8.50.

These little books seem to be intended rather for the general public than for the specialist, but Schefold's is at the same time an important contribution to original scholarship. He treats archaic Attic sculpture in terms of individual artists, influencing one another and working on and worked on by the spirit of their time. The difficulty of this extremely valuable approach is stressed by Schefold himself: the paucity of material, which makes it a lucky chance if one can attribute two Greek sculptures to one hand, while one can often credit a vase-painter with dozens of works. However, thanks (after the sculptors and their patrons) to Xerxes, Themistocles, and modern excavators official and unofficial, archaic Attica does provide a bulk of material sufficient to justify such an attempt. Others, especially Payne, have already made important individual contributions, but Schefold's is the first effort to plot the field as a whole. One may not agree with all his attributions and judgements, but I at least feel that his view of the most important figures, and of their relation to each other and to their time, is essentially true and adds greatly to my understanding of their art. I particularly like the suggestion that the Master of the Moschophoros designed the Triton pediment. Schefold also seems to me right in maintaining against Payne Antenor's responsibility for the Delphi pediments. The rather neglected

'dying warrior' stele (pl. 63) which Schefold, it seems to me, estimates at its true worth, I should, however, place nearer 540 than 520 and the Rampin Master than Antenor. To trace a likeness between the Sabouroff head and Endoios's Athena in her present state strikes me as far-fetched; but perhaps Schefold would say the same of my conviction that the Acropolis Kore head 643 (pl. 73) is a late work of the Rayet Master. The format of the booklet makes the pictures very small, and their reproduction lacks clarity. This is a pity, as many of the photographs used were evidently excellent. Where reproduction is from a reproduction the result is sometimes (pl. 76) disastrous. The same criticisms apply to Schmalenbach's plates, and are there more important since the text is little more than a slight introduction to the pictures. The best part seems to me the perceptive account of the reasons for vase-painting's decline in the Classical age. Elsewhere the author offers altogether too simplified a picture of the development of style as a reflection of historical (political) developments. It is easy to criticise the selection of illustrations in such a book, but on the whole these pictures give, I think, a good idea of the evolution of Greek vase-painting and of the heights it sometimes reached.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit. (Die Gestalt, vol. 22). By ROLAND HAMPE. Pp. 47, pl. 23. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1952. DM. 12.

This Palatine colloquy is built round a pot which recently found its way from Athens to Munich. It is a jug, Attic of the second half of the eighth century, with a flat bottom and full belly bearing simple Late Geometric decoration. On shoulder and neck are pictures done in opaque glaze on a lifeless ground, which seem in the photographs of the whole vase to contrast oddly with the thinner glaze and brighter tone on the belly; the draughtsmanship in these pictures also seems inhale by comparison with the competent brush strokes of the bird file below (note especially the 'inking in' of the interior of some of the human bodies). That the painter of these pictures was not accustomed to doing scenes of this sort is also clear from 'collisions' such as were normally avoided in Greek Geometric painting and from various oddities—especially nautical ones like the polygonal rowing ports, the truncated steering oar, and the springing of the horn from the after edge of the fore-castle; similarly, the depth of the field of vision, combining a steep bird's-eye view with the horizontal plane, and the placing of a first-class narrative scene on the neck of a small jug show that what we have here is something out of the ordinary run.

The subject of the picture on the neck can pass without question. It is Odysseus, sitting astride the keel of his overturned ship, with his companions drowning around. If the painting dates, as Hampe maintains, to the full eighth century, it is of paramount interest, because it will be by far the earliest known representation from the *Odyssey*, and indeed easily the earliest recognisable mythological scene in Greek art. As such it would have an important bearing on the question of the date of the *Odyssey* and upset some established beliefs.

Hampe descends in this painting (and more dimly in one or two others) a step beyond the traditional style of the big Dipylon vases in the direction of more complex grouping and arbitrary movement, and he explores the similes of the *Iliad* for significant correspondences. So the first half of this talk, in which the stage is being set, is occupied by a discussion of the notation, appositeness, and uses of the similes; it contains many illuminating comments, though some of the most attractive of Hampe's ideas (like the successive stages indicated by the two similes that follow Agamemnon's inopportune speech in Book II) do not square up to the Greek as it stands in our texts.

J. M. Cook.

La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, Pt. I. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Tome III. Les églises et les Monastères. Par R. JANIN. Pp. xvii + 610, 4 maps. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1953. Price not stated.

Père Janin is undoubtedly one of the leading authorities today on the subject of the topography of Constantinople. In 1950 he produced an admirable book on the city, wherein he discussed in detail the lay-out of the town and the whereabouts of the major monuments, more especially the secular ones; it has been followed this year by the work under review. Here the subject is in a way more limited, for it is with the ecclesiastical monuments only that the author is concerned. The field that will be dealt with, however, is much wider, for eventually the whole sphere of the Byzantine Empire will be considered. The volume under review is thus only volume III of a seven-volume study, to be undertaken in two parts. The other volumes of part I will deal with the 'Bishoprics and

the Patriarchate', and 'Patriarchal Ceremonies and the Episcopal Succession' respectively, while part II, in four volumes, will be concerned with the provincial organisations. Needless to say, this great enterprise will be the work of more than one author and the present volume, the first of the series to appear, contains a preface by Père Laurent outlining the plan of the work. But Père Janin's task is nevertheless considerable, and he has treated his subject with outstanding care and thoroughness.

The work is virtually an index, in alphabetical order, of all the churches and monasteries at Constantinople of which there is any mention of the texts. The names of as many as 485 churches and 325 monasteries and convents have been traced by Père Janin, and though of course the records regarding many of them are scanty, those concerning others are often full. Seldom does an entry occupy much less than half a page; often they extend to several pages. When possible the old names are identified with existing monuments, and when this is done, a short description of the building and a summary of the archaeological and architectural literature concerning it is added.

The book will be of outstanding value to archaeologists working in Constantinople. The inclusion of an index of the present-day Turkish names would have been of assistance to such people. But perhaps the basic significance of the book most concerns the church historian. Constantinople was for many centuries the hub of Christendom, and the story of the religious foundations that were set up there will prove of the greatest interest. Père Janin is to be most sincerely congratulated on the completion of this most important work.

D. TALBOT RICE.

Studies and Documents Relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination. By T. H. PAPADOPOULLOS. Brussels: Bibliotheca Graeca Aevi Posterioris, 1952. Pp. xxiv + 507. Price not stated.

It has been repeatedly and rightly stressed that it was the Orthodox Church that succeeded in keeping alive Greek national

feeling in the long years of servitude after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and fostered the spirit which finally led to the liberation of Greece. It is therefore fitting that the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Graeca Aevi Posterioris*, whose object is 'to prepare the ground for a critical investigation of the Post-Byzantine times', should be dedicated to the history of the Greek church under Turkish domination.

In the first part of his study Mr. Papadopoulos gives an account of the history and administrative organisation of the Greek church in the period 1453-1800. The author, a master of the vast bibliography on the subject, makes a judicious use of his sources and gives a full and fair picture of the structure and significance of the Greek church in those times. In this part the concluding chapter 'Effects of the Ecclesiastical Regime on the fortunes of Hellenism' (pp. 122 f.) will interest both the historian of the church and the student of Greek and South-eastern European history in general.

The second part of Mr. Papadopoulos' study examines the patriarchate of Cyril V (1749-57). This, if of less general interest, is carefully done and throws light on the state of affairs in the Greek Orthodox Church of that period, and in particular on the controversy on the rebaptism of Roman Catholics, which had caused the rise of violent feeling in orthodox ecclesiastical circles in those days.

The third part of this study consists of the edition of a document by an unknown author in political verse called *Planosparaktes* (the destroyer of error) which throws new light on the patriarchate of Cyril V and the controversy of the rebaptism. Its 3179 lines, composed in a pseudo-archaic idiom, have no literary and little linguistic value. They will mainly interest the ecclesiastical and social historians of the period. The text is carefully edited and followed by elaborate notes. In fact, far too many details are given in comparison with the importance of the text—even all the orthographical errors are noted in the apparatus! A full bibliography, two appendices (on bibliographical data and some minor texts), and an index verborum of the texts edited complete this interesting study.

C. A. TRYPANIS.

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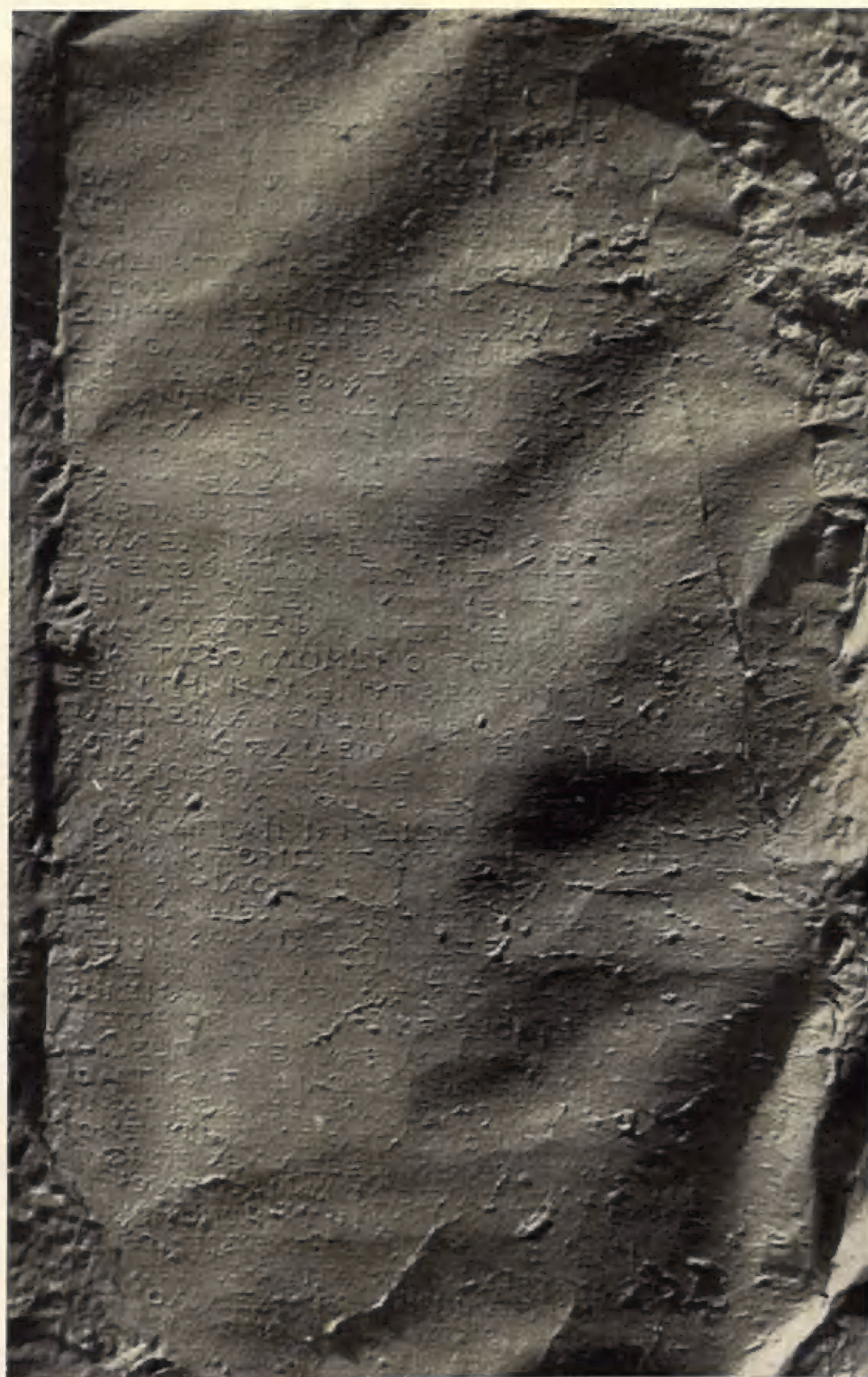
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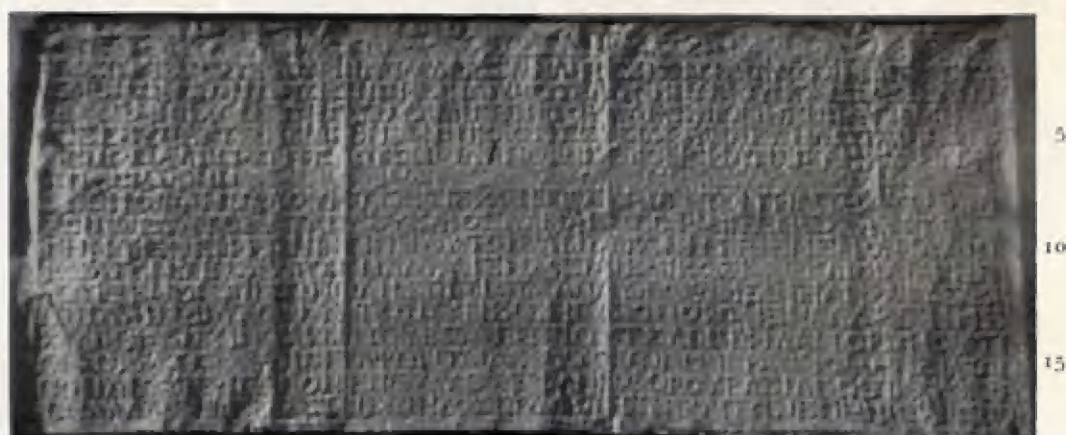
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4. Athens. Fragment of Stele.



5.



6. Argos. Armour from Grave.



2. Chios, Emporió. Lead Griffin Protomes.



1. Mycenae. Gold Diadems.



4. Knossos. Gold Cup.



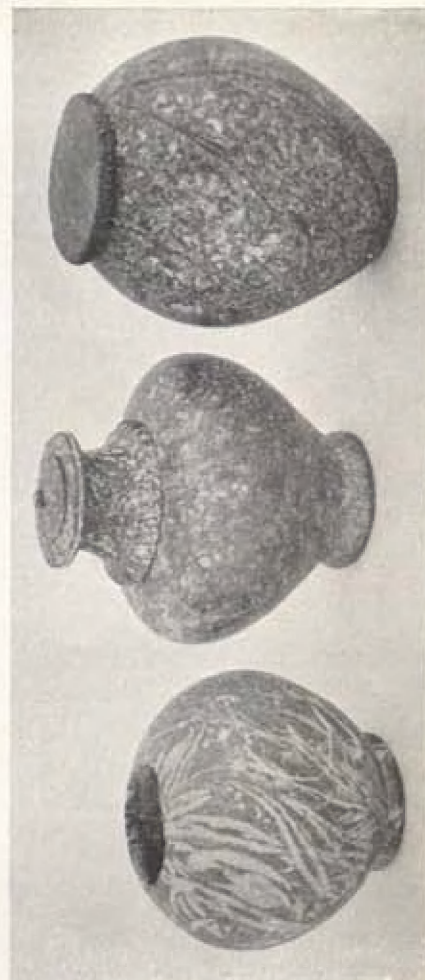
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A. Ivory Plaque, House of Sphinxes. (Scale 3 : 2.)



B. Inscribed Seal Impressions, House of Sphinxes. (Scale 1 : 1.)



C. Stone Vases, House of Shields. (Scale 1 : 5.)

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a. Salamis. Engraved Ring-Stone. (Scale 2:1.)



b. Cyprus Museum. Jug of Barbotine Ware.



c. Peyia, Basilica I. Detail of Atrium Pavement.



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e. Peristerona. Bichrome Amphora.



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